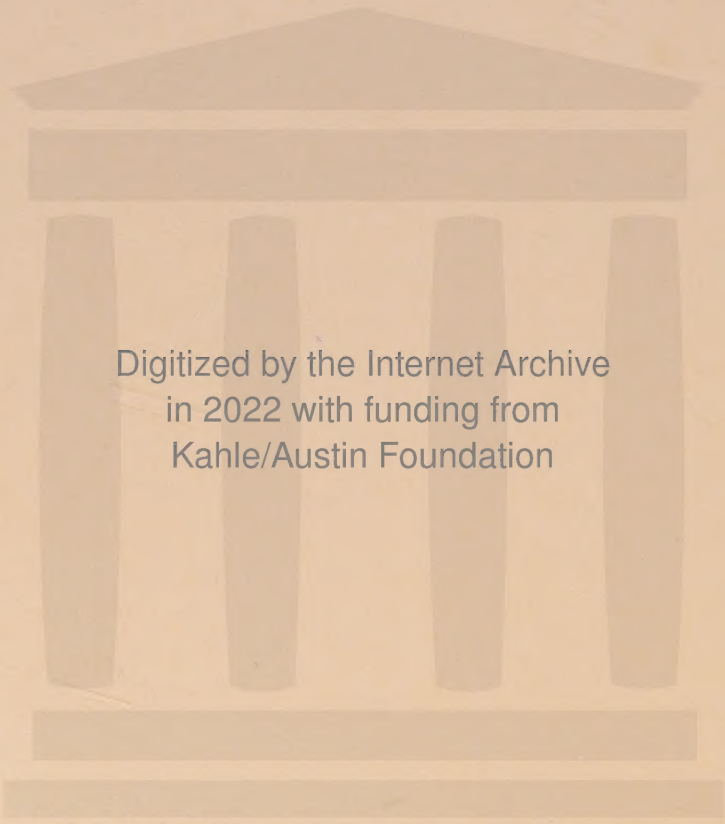


# MARY IN THE SERAPHIC ORDER

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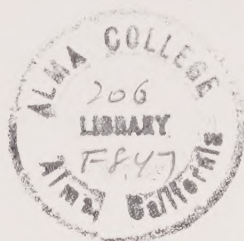


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# MARY IN THE SERAPHIC ORDER

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Report of the Thirty-fifth  
Annual Meeting  
of the  
Franciscan Educational Conference  
Padua High School, Watkins, Glen, N. Y.  
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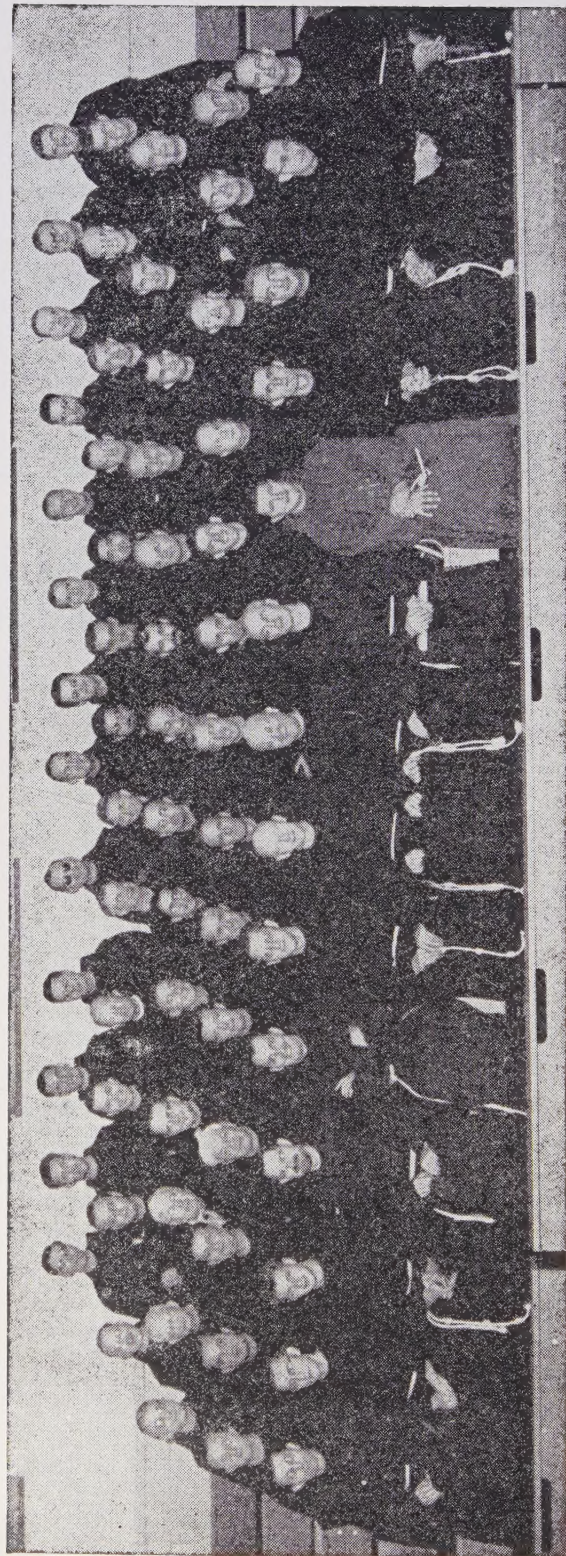
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## THE FRANCISCAN POSITION ON THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION BEFORE DUNS SCOTUS

ERNEST F. LATKO, O.F.M.

A comprehensive, impartial survey of the teaching on the Immaculate Conception of the early Franciscans before Duns Scotus still remains to be written. The chief reason for this lack lies in the deplorable neglect of the writings of many of these masters, which still remain inedited. The recent interest during the Marian Year in this phase of Franciscan endeavor is an earnest that such a monumental work will at long last be published. This paper, though it covers a wide field, is an attempt, not so much to write that definitive historical survey, but rather to deal with certain aspects of that question. Its objectives are quite modest, its scope rather limited. Within a chronological orbit it seeks to determine the attitude relative to the Immaculate Conception of the following early Franciscans: St. Anthony of Padua; the early Franciscan school, which comprises Alexander of Hales, John of Rupella, Odo Rigaux and William of Melitona; St. Bonaventure; Bl. Raymond Lull; and William of Ware, traditionally regarded as the master of the illustrious John Duns Scotus.

### Significance of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception

The great complexity of the question renders it desirable to begin this study with a summary exposition of the doctrine of the Church in regard to Our Lady's prerogative as expressed in the dogmatic *Bull of December 8, 1854*, promulgated by Pope Pius IX. As in all papal pronouncements of such a nature, the Bull gives a historico-doctrinal summary first, and then the formula of definition which alone has the guarantee of papal infallibility and demands an act of faith. The passage reads as follows:

We, by the authority of Jesus Christ our Lord, of the Blessed Apostles, Peter and Paul, and by Our Own, declare, pronounce and define that the doctrine which holds that the Blessed Virgin Mary at the first instant of her conception, by a singular privilege and grace of the omnipotent God,

in consideration of the merits of Jesus Christ, the Savior of mankind, was preserved free from all stain of the original fault, has been revealed by God, and therefore is to be firmly and constantly believed by all the faithful.<sup>1</sup>

In this pellucid formula one can determine precisely the subject, the nature, the source of the privilege and the certitude involved.

### 1. *Its Subject*

The subject of the privilege is the Blessed Virgin Mary at the first instant of her conception. Although unqualified the term conception does not refer to what is known as active conception, which is the generative act of her saintly parents; but rather to passive conception, or to the first moment of her conception when the soul has been granted to the body with its members; for only then can she be called a person. In the style of the scholastics this refers to consummated passive conception, as opposed to incomplete passive conception. The decree has not settled the question of mediate or immediate animation. It has merely determined that Our Lady enjoyed this privilege at the first instant of her human existence.<sup>2</sup>

### 2. *Its Nature*

The definition is at once negative and positive, in that it excludes from the Blessed Mother all taint of original sin on the one hand, and affirms the presence of sanctifying grace in her soul on the other. What the essential nature of this sin is has not been defined by the Church. The formal active essence of original sin was not

<sup>1</sup> "Auctoritate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac nostra declaramus, pronunciamus et definimus, doctrinam, quae tenet, beatissimam Virginem Mariam in primo instanti suae Conceptionis fuisse singulari omnipotentis Dei gratia et privilegio, intuitu meritorum Christi Jesu Salvatoris humani generis, ab omni originalis culpae labe praeservatam immunem, esse a Deo revelatam, atque ideo ab omnibus fidelibus firmiter constanterque credendam."

*Official Documents Connected with the Definition of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the B.V. Mary* (Baltimore: J. Murphy and Co., 1885), p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Le Bachelet, "Immaculée Conception," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, 7 (1927), 846; F. G. Holweck, "Immaculate Conception," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 7 (1910), 674 f.; Allan B. Wolter, "The Theology of the Immaculate Conception in the Light of Ineffabilis Deus," *Marian Studies*, 5 (1954), 25-28.

removed, but excluded from her soul, so that it must be held that it never was in her soul. "Simultaneously with the exclusion of sin, the state of original sanctity, innocence, and justice," writes Holweck, "as opposed to original sin, was conferred upon her."<sup>3</sup>

### 3. Its Source

The immunity from sin of Our Lady derives from the merits of Jesus Christ, the Savior of mankind. It was given to her by a special exemption from a universal law. This implies that she, too, since she was a child of Adam, stood in need of redemption. In fact she had an even greater need of a redeemer, as Duns Scotus expressed it.<sup>4</sup> Her redemption was the very masterpiece of the Savior: Christ redeemed Mary by way of preservation, not reparation, which was the fruit of a perfect act of mediation.<sup>5</sup>

### 4. Its Certitude

The incisive language employed by the Pope leaves no doubt that he speaks *ex cathedra*, in the fullness of his infallible power. That the Immaculate Conception is a revealed truth and therefore an object of faith is unequivocally clear. But what is not so clear is in what manner the truth was revealed, and where this revelation is to be found. This created a problem at the discussion preceding the drafting of the Bull. According to Catholic principles the entire deposit of revelation is found in Scripture and the apostolic tradition. The arguments that were finally incorporated in the Bull have led to controversies among Catholic scholars which have continued

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*; Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*; 845f.; Wolter, *op. cit.*, 20ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Opus Oxoniense, Liber III, Dist. iii, Quaest. 1*; ed. C. Balic, *Joannis Duns Scoti Theologiae Marianne Elementa* (Sibenici, 1933), pp. 35f.: "Maria maxime indiguisset Christo ut redemptore . . . illa magis indiguit mediatore praeveniente peccatum, ne esset aliquando ab ipsa contrahendum et ne ipsa contraheret." See Wolter, *op. cit.*, 28ff.; Holweck, *op. cit.*, 675; Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 847.

<sup>5</sup> Duns Scotus, *op. cit.*, Balic, 22f.: "Perfectissimus enim mediator habet perfectissimum actum mediandi possibilem respectu alicujus personae, pro qua mediatur; ergo Christus habuit perfectissimum gradum mediandi possibilem respectu alicujus personae, respectu cujus erat mediator; respectu nullius personae habuit excellentiorem gradum quam respectu Mariae; igitur, etc.; sed hoc non esset nisi meruisset eam praeservare a peccato originali."

to the present day.<sup>6</sup> But it is far beyond the scope of this paper to enter into this discussion.

### Brief History of the Feast of Immaculate Conception

An abridged history of the feast of the Immaculate Conception will indeed prove helpful in comprehending the manner in which the question agitated the Franciscans of the thirteenth century who preceded Duns Scotus.

The feast was kept in the Eastern Church long before its appearance in the West, and was the achievement of the monastic communities.<sup>7</sup> The first authentic record of it is found in the Canon of St. Andrew of Crete, written at the close of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth, in which there are these significant words: "Today we celebrate Thy conception, O pious Anna, because delivered from the bonds of sterility, thou hast conceived her who encompassed Him Who cannot be encompassed."<sup>8</sup> The monks selected the date, December 9, for the celebration of the feast, which was then retained in the calendars of the Eastern Churches.<sup>9</sup> Gradually it emerged from the cloister, and eventually before the close of the ninth century it was already a universal feast of obligation in the Byzantine Empire.<sup>10</sup>

From the East the cult spread to the Western Church. It is in Naples that we find the first authentic testimony, a calendar engraved upon marble, on which is found the inscription under the date of December 9: "*The Conception of Saint Mary Virgin.*" Scholars fix the date of this marble calendar between 840 and 850. Since the city of Naples was not lost to the Greeks until the year

<sup>6</sup> Wolter, *op. cit.*, 30ff.; Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 847f.

<sup>7</sup> Holweck, *op. cit.*, 677.

<sup>8</sup> *In Conceptionem Sanctae ac Dei Aviae Annae*, in Migne PG, 97, 1305. See M. Jugie, *L'Immaculée Conception dans l'Écriture sainte et dans la tradition orientale* ("Bibliotheca Immaculatae Conceptionis," III; Romae: Academia Mariana, 1952), 135-146; *idem*, "Immaculée Conception dans l'église grecque après le concile d'Éphèse," *Dictionnaire théol. cath.*, 7 (1927), 956.

<sup>9</sup> It was John Euboensis († ca. 750), who said the feast was celebrated 9 December; cf. his *Homilia in Conceptionem Deiparae*, Migne PG, 96, 1499. See also Holweck, *op. cit.*, 677; Jugie, *L'Immaculée Conception dans l'Écriture sainte et dans la tradition orientale*, 136ff.

<sup>10</sup> Jugie, *op. cit.*, 136.



1127, the feast came to Naples as a Byzantine importation; which is confirmed by the date, December 9, instead of December 8 of the Latin feast. The feast in Naples refers directly to the Conception of Our Lady, or to passive conception, and not, as at Constantinople, to active conception, or to the conception of St. Anne.<sup>11</sup> The feast, however, seems to disappear with the fall of the Greek Empire in the West and during the barbarian invasion.

At this point the question might be raised, What precise meaning attached to the Byzantine feast celebrated on December 9? The feast, it should be underscored, was first solemnized as the Conception of St. Anne the grandmother of God. Gradually, however, the emphasis shifted from active to passive conception, from the grandmother to the Mother of God.<sup>12</sup> The object of the cult in the East was therefore quite complex, which requires some elucidation. To maintain that it envisioned only the active conception of St. Anne on the one hand, or to equate it with the feast as understood in the decree of 1854 on the other, would be a gross misrepresentation of the facts. On the contrary, it envisaged three elements: the annunciation of the conception to St. Anne by an angel; the miracle of active conception in a sterile womb; and finally passive conception, the coming into existence of the Mother of God.<sup>13</sup>

In the interest of clarity, further investigation of this idea is highly desirable. It is certain that the first of the three factors just mentioned above determined the introduction of the cult into the liturgical cycle of Marian feasts; but it is no less certain that the other two united spontaneously and conspired to draw attention to the perpetual sanctity of the Mother of God. In the East, even as in England, the apocryphal gospel, the *Protoevangelium of St. James*,<sup>14</sup> played an important role, in that it supplied the questiona-

<sup>11</sup> Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 987. In regard to the marble calendar, cf. H. Leclercq, "Calendrier," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 2 (1910), 1587; *idem*, "Kalendaria," *ibid.*, 8 (1928), 648.

<sup>12</sup> Jugie, *op. cit.*, 137ff.; Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 992ff.; H. Thurston, "The English Feast of Our Lady's Conception," *The Month*, 73 (1891), 457; Mildner, "The Immaculate Conception in England up to the Time of John Duns Scotus," *Marianum*, 1 (1939), 91ff.; E. Bishop, "Origins of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception," *The Downside Review*, 5 (1886), 107.

<sup>13</sup> Jugie, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>14</sup> Jugie, "Le protoévangile de Jacques et l'Immaculée Conception," *L'Echos d'Orient*, 14 (1911), 16ff.

ble historical basis for the first element. With little regard for the more or less legendary circumstances accompanying the fact of conception, the poets and orators sang eloquent paeans of praise in honor of the coming into existence of the Mother of God, and in her they already perceived and revered the Son and His mission. The feast was therefore an occasion for manifesting their faith in the perpetual sanctity of Our Lady, whom they in fact honored as the Virgin devoid of all stain from the first instant of her existence. This then was the dogmatic role of the Feast of the Conception in the East. It neither originated nor developed in the climate of theological controversies, as was the case in the West. It was merely an expression of the great devotion to Mary, which quite naturally occasioned explicit declarations about the original sanctity of the Mother of God, a doctrine admitted long before the feast itself. Both the doctrine and the feast have never been controverted, at least not during the entire Byzantine period.<sup>15</sup>

### Ireland and England

It is argued that in Ireland, towards the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century, there are commemorations of the Conception of the Virgin Mary in Irish martyrologies and calendars. A calendar in verse from the tenth century shows the date of May 2.<sup>16</sup> The fact that these calendars place the feast on May 2 or 3 makes it very difficult to connect it with that celebrated in the East or even with the development that ensued in England during the eleventh century. It is very doubtful if an actual feast corresponded to these rubrics.<sup>17</sup> "This Irish feast," asserts Holweck, "certainly stands alone and outside the line of liturgical development."<sup>18</sup> The scholar, Mildner, concurs in this conclusion when he states that although it is true that we find in Ireland various calendars of the tenth century in which an entry of the feast is made, it does not

<sup>15</sup> Jugie, *L'Immaculée Conception dans l'Écriture sainte et dans la tradition orientale*, 140f.

<sup>16</sup> As cited in Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 987f.; Thurston, "The Irish Origins of Our Lady's Conception Feast," *The Month*, 103 (1904), 457. Cf. H. Leclercq, "Le Martyrologe irlandais d'Oengus," *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrét. et de lit.*, 10 (1932), 2612ff.

<sup>17</sup> Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 988f.

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*, 677.

appear that any new feature was introduced into the liturgy of that time.<sup>19</sup>

The first definite and authentic knowledge of the feast in the Western Church is found in England in the eleventh century.<sup>20</sup> Here not only was the feast commemorated on December 8 and apparently proposed to the individual piety of the faithful, but later on special Masses in its honor were celebrated and a special Pontifical Benediction took place to solemnize it—proof that the feast was recognized and promulgated by the bishops, as an integral part of the liturgy of the Church in England.<sup>21</sup> While it is far from clear and incontestable by whom and under whose influence the feast was introduced in England, some evidence points to Greek auspices.<sup>22</sup>

With the Norman Conquest in the year 1066 the feast underwent a period of eclipse. On their invasion of England the Normans showed their utter contempt for all things Anglo-Saxon by suppressing such a specifically English liturgical observance as the feast itself. The fact that it was grounded upon apocryphal writings, such as the *Protoevangelium of St. James*, appears to have been a principal excuse for doing so.<sup>23</sup> William's faithful ecclesiastical followers who were rewarded with many of the episcopal sees and abbacies abolished its public celebration. Eadmerus († 1124?), the

<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*, 91f.

<sup>20</sup> Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 990f.

<sup>21</sup> Mildner, *op. cit.*, 91f.; Jugie, "Origines de la fête de l'immaculée conception en Occident," *Revue augustinienne*, 13 (1908), 532; Holweck, *op. cit.*, 677f.; A. Noyon, "Les origines de la fête de la Conception en Occident," *Études*, 100 (1904), 763ff.; Thurston, "Abbot Anselm of Bury and the Immaculate Conception," *The Month*, (June, 1904), 570.

<sup>22</sup> H. Lesêtre, *L'Immaculée Conception et l'Église de Paris* (Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1905), 16ff. is convinced the feast was transported from the Orient to England, probably by Theodore of Canterbury. Cf. E. Vacandard, "Les origines de la fête et du dogme de l'immaculée conception," *Revue du clergé français*, 62 (1910), 15ff.; Thurston, "The English Feast of Our Lady's Conception," 465; Jugie, *L'Immaculée Conception dans l'Écriture sainte*, 140, note 2: "Il est remarquable que la première fête de la conception de Marie célébrée au XI siècle, en Angleterre et en Normandie, avait pour objet au moins partiel l'annonce miraculeuse de la naissance de Marie: ce qui trahit sans nul doute une influence orientale."

<sup>23</sup> E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), 227f.; Mildner, *op. cit.*, 95; Abbot Eadmerus' *Vita S. Anselmi*, Migne *PL*, 158, 74; Holweck, *op. cit.*, 678.

good Abbot and disciple of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, complains that in times gone by, it was celebrated with far greater acceptance, and more especially by those who were conspicuous for their simplicity of heart and earnest devotion; but that now larger learning and an overweening spirit of criticism has invaded so many; and that these men with utter disregard for the simple faith of the humble people, have made away with this festival, and have blotted it out from the calendar. He mourns the fact that such sentiments unfortunately have taken the stronger hold, because those who identified themselves with them are known for their abundant wealth and by their exalted position in the Church and State.<sup>24</sup>

Although abolished officially in many places in England, notably Winchester and Canterbury, the feast did not die out of the hearts of the pious Englishmen. Having been restored at the first favorable opportunity in the monastery of St. Edmund of Edmundsbury, in the county Suffolk, by Anselm the Younger, nephew of St. Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, it spread quickly enough, and gradually regained its popularity.<sup>25</sup> In 1129, the Council of London confirmed it for the whole English province,<sup>26</sup> and soon Bishop Gilbert of London introduced it in his diocese.<sup>27</sup> Thereafter its popularity extended into other sectors in England, but for a time it retained its private character.

A factor which contributed strongly to the spread of the feast was its reputedly miraculous confirmation in the celebrated vision of Helsin, Abbot of Ramsey. It is said that on his return from Denmark, where he had been sent by William I about 1070, an angel appeared to Helsin during a very heavy gale and saved the ship only after the abbot promised to establish the Feast of the Conception in his monastery.<sup>28</sup> Whatever might be said about the

<sup>24</sup> *Eadmeri Monachi Cantuariensis Tractatus de Conceptione S. Mariae*, ed. H. Thurston and T. Slater (Fribourg in Breisgau, 1904), 1ff.; this work, falsely attributed to St. Anselm of Canterbury, is found in Migne *PL*, 159, 301-318.

<sup>25</sup> Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1005ff.; A. Noyon, "Les origines de la fête de la conception en Occident," 770ff.; Mildner, *op. cit.*, 99.

<sup>26</sup> Holweck, *op. cit.*, 678.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1001ff.; Thurston, "The Legend of the Abbot Elsi," *The Month*, 104 (1904), 5ff.; *Eadmeri Monachi Cantuariensis Tractatus de Conceptione S. Mariae*, ed. Thurston-Slater, 88 ff.



supernatural character of the vision, there is no serious reason to doubt that the individual, Helsin, is a historical figure, and his mission to Denmark a historical fact. The account of the miracle found its way into many breviaries and doubtless enhanced the popularity of the feast.<sup>29</sup>

At the close of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries the feast, in spite of vigorous discussions regarding its legitimacy, made considerable progress.<sup>30</sup> What is more important, however, is the fact that in England the cult to the Conception of Our Lady, safeguarded and nurtured in the monasteries, the site of its restoration, begins to be introduced officially in the dioceses. The monks of St. Alban are, for example, very much impressed by an archbishop, who in 1228 visited with them with the obvious intention of learning whether the feast is celebrated in that country.<sup>31</sup> The Synod of Oxford, held in 1222, nine years before the death of St. Anthony of Padua, and thirteen prior to Robert Grosseteste's elevation to the see of Lincoln, mentions it as a feast of devotion, but does not raise it to the rank of a holy day of obligation.<sup>32</sup> The Synod of Exeter, however, in 1287 includes it among obligatory feasts.<sup>33</sup>

### On the Continent

From England the feast spread across the Channel to Normandy, to other parts of France, and to the Continent beyond.<sup>34</sup> In Normandy, for instance, in the archdiocese of Rouen and in its six suffragan sees the feast was raised to the dignity of the Annunciation and became a holy day of obligation.<sup>35</sup> Quaint and charming liturgical customs manifest the honor in which the feast was held.

<sup>29</sup> Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1003; E. Freeman, *History of the Norman Conquest of England* (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1876), IV, 135ff.; Thurston, "The English Feast of Our Lady's Conception," 461.

<sup>30</sup> Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1006-1015.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 1065. Cf. St. Bonaventure, *In III Sententiarum, Dist. III, Pars i, Art. 1, Quaes. 1* (Quaracchi, 1887), III, 63: "Sunt tamen aliqui, qui ex speciali devotione celebrationem conceptionem beatæ Virginis, quos nec omnino laudare nec simpliciter audeo reprehendere."

<sup>32</sup> Can. 8, Mansi, *Concilia*, XXII, 1153: "Praeter festum Conceptionis, cuius celebrationi non imponitur necessitas."

<sup>33</sup> Can. 23, Mansi, *Concilia*, XXIV, 813.

<sup>34</sup> E. Vacandard, "Les origines de la fête de la Conception dans le diocèse de Rouen et en Angleterre," *Revue des questions historiques*, 61 (1897), 166-184; Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1033f.

<sup>35</sup> Holweck, *op. cit.*, 678.



Bread and wine were distributed in memory of the chapter which confirmed the feast; and public processions were held on that day through the streets of the city.<sup>36</sup> "During the Middle Ages," as Holweck puts it, "the Feast of the Conception of Mary was commonly called the 'Feast of the Norman Nation,' which shows that it was celebrated in Normandy with great splendor and that it spread from there over Western Europe."<sup>37</sup> At this time the Norman students at the University of Paris chose it as their patronal feast.<sup>38</sup>

Even in the region of Lyons, despite the strong opposition of St. Bernard, there is evidence of the existence of the feast in the metropolitan churches and in the calendar of the Church of Rheims.<sup>39</sup> The Synod of Coutances, held about 1215, prescribes that the feast be held in the entire diocese.<sup>40</sup> There is proof that it existed or was introduced in such places as Le Mans, in 1247; in Évreux, 1264; Blois, 1272; Saintes, 1287; and Rodez, 1289.<sup>41</sup> In the same era it was established or reintroduced at Notre-Dame of Paris, at the request of the bishop Renaud, whose place of origin was Normandy. His testament is mute testimony that he was true to the traditions of the sons of Normandy in his special devotion to the Conception of the Mother of God.<sup>42</sup> Corroboration of this is found in the register of pastoral visits of the great Franciscan regent master Odo Rigaud, who gave up his chair at the University to guide the destiny of the archdiocese of Rouen for twenty-seven years, from 1248-1275. In this register there is reference to the feast six different times, but one entry stands out, that of 1266, when the archbishop of Rouen is said to have offered Mass in the church of Saint-Séverin of Paris,

<sup>36</sup> Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1034; Vacandard, *op. cit.*, 268.

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*, 678. The existence in Normandy at this time of a cult of the Conception of Our Lady has not been proved. After painstaking research E. Vacandard reached the conclusion that there is not a single document of the eleventh century which speaks of the feast; that only the manuscripts of the following centuries mention it. Cf. Vacandard, *op. cit.*, 168.

<sup>38</sup> Vacandard, *ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1034, Cf. A. Noyon, "Notes bibliographiques sur l'histoire de la théologie de l'immaculée conception," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*, 3 (1911), 177-182; 6 (1914), 213-221.

<sup>40</sup> Can. 58, Martène, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum* (Paris, 1717), IV, 820; Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1066.

<sup>41</sup> Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> Lesêtre, *op. cit.*, 38.

on the day of the Conception of the Blessed Mary, on the Feast of the Norman Nation.<sup>43</sup> Even if the epithet "Norman Nation" alludes directly only to the group of University students, the special devotion of its members is indirect testimony of the profound devotion of their native land. No less a great figure than the renowned master, Henry of Ghent, attests to the virile piety of the Normans, when he writes: "Some claim that there was a revelation that the feast was to be celebrated, and that therefore the Normans, in whose country it is said the revelation took place, celebrate that Conception with greater solemnity than other peoples."<sup>44</sup>

Elsewhere on the Continent there are allusions to the feast. The feast appears in Holland, not long after 1280.<sup>45</sup> In Germany documents of 1289 and 1294 speak of the feast as existing in Saxony.<sup>46</sup> The testimony of 1289 is particularly interesting because it contains the information that indulgences can be gained on the Feast of the Conception at the Dominican convent in Halberstadt, a favor obtained from Rome by three archbishops and nine bishops.<sup>47</sup> In Italy in 1240 Bartholomew of Trent, one of the first disciples of St. Dominic, shows amazement at the solemnity at the cathedral church of Anagni, on the day of the Conception of the Mother of God, in the presence of the Roman court which, he asserts, did not prohibit it at all.<sup>48</sup> Corroboration of the feast is found in an old register.<sup>49</sup> According to Luke Wadding, this feast was introduced in the Order at the General Chapter of Pisa held in 1263 under the presidency of St. Bonaventure.<sup>50</sup> This is untrue. The authentic acts

<sup>43</sup> T. Bonnin, *Journal des visites pastorales d'Etudes Rigaud, archevêque de Rouen* (Rouen, 1852), 562.

<sup>44</sup> *Quodlibetum* XV (Venetiis, 1608), II, 380vb: "Aliqui dicunt super ejus celebratione facienda habitam fuisse divinam revelationem, et quod propterea Normanni in quorum territorio dicitur hujusmodi revelatio facta fuisse, prae ceteris populis illam conceptionem praecipue celebrant."

<sup>45</sup> Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1066.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>49</sup> P. Doncoeur, "Les premières interventions du Saint-Siège relatives à l'immaculée conception, XII-XIV siècle," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 8 (1907), 276. For the significance of this Feast of the Conception in the thirteenth century, cf. Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1067ff.

<sup>50</sup> *Annales Minorum*; 3rd rev. ed., Joseph Maria Fonseca ab Eborā (Quaracchi, 1931), IV, 244: "Jussum item ut novae hae festivitates admitterentur in

of that chapter, edited by both Father Golubovich<sup>51</sup> and Father S. van Dijk,<sup>52</sup> are silent about the feast, which moreover was not confirmed by subsequent chapters.<sup>53</sup> It is certain that in the Franciscan convent at Paris the feast was solemnized as early as 1286, a fact confirmed by the chancellor of the University who in his report asserts that the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Mary was celebrated in the convent of the Friars Minor.<sup>54</sup> Can one legitimately infer from this that this is our feast of the Immaculate Conception?

### Meaning of the Feast

Raising questions about the meaning of the Feast of the Conception of Our Lady in the era under consideration might appear to be an idle and meaningless undertaking. Yet there is room here for further elucidation. The all-important question is: What was the true meaning of the feast of the Conception? What was its object? Did it refer to the Immaculate Conception in the same sense as we know it today? In attempting to justify, in a theological sense, the feast of the Conception, its defenders explicitly introduced the idea of Our Lady's sinless Conception. From previous considerations it appears that the Monk Eadmerus, is the first whose statements can

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Ordine, videlicet Conceptionis beatae Virginis Mariae, Visitationis ejusdem, beatae Annae illius genitricis, et Marthae Virginis."

<sup>51</sup> H. Golubovich, "Statuta Liturgica seu Rubricae Breviarii Auctore Divo Bonaventure in Gli. Capitulo Pisano An. 1263 Editae," *Archiv. Fran. Hist.*, 4 (1911), 62-73.

<sup>52</sup> S. J. P. van Dijk, "The Statutes of the General Chapter of Pisa (1263)," *Arch. Fran. Hist.*, 45 (1952), 299-322.

<sup>53</sup> Michael Brlek, "Legislatio Ordinis Fratrum Minorum de Immaculata Conceptione B.M.V.," *Antonianum*, 29 (Jan. 1954), 26.

<sup>54</sup> *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, H. Denifle-Aemil. Chatelain (Paris: Delalain, 1891), II, n. 539, p. 9: "... Sequenti die agebatur festum Conceptionis beatae Mariae apud Fratres Minores." This is corroborated in the *Statuta Consortii B. M. Virginis et S. Francisci Parmae, Saeculi XIV*, ed. B. Giordani, *Arch. Fran. Hist.*, 16 (1923), 365: "... annuatim in festo Conceptionis Virginis gloriosae omnes conveniant ad ecclesiam Fratrum Minorum tam viri quam mulieres." And *ibid.*, 366: "... quia cum festum istud sit festum B. Virgini gratiosum, sicut per miracula plura est coelitus nunciatum seu revelatum, et ideo ultramontani solemniter istud festum faciunt ut sint sibi amplius gratiosi, idcirco similiter facimus quatenus per hoc ejus gratiam acquiramus." This seems to allude to the miraculous vision of the Benedictine abbot Helsin, and to the feast celebrated in England and elsewhere.

be interpreted, though not without some misgivings and reservations, as favoring a sinless conception of Our Lady.<sup>55</sup> His disciple Osbert of Clare, following in his footsteps, employs pretty much the same line of reasoning.<sup>56</sup> But they can hardly be hailed as champions of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception as promulgated by the Pope in 1854.

Diversity of interpretation of the Feast of Conception of Our Lady in the thirteenth century should render any scholar extremely cautious and circumspect when interpreting the opinions of certain writers whose thoughts are not necessarily limpid. The immaculist sense of the feast was not championed by everyone. Henry of Ghent, for example, discusses at great length the several ways in which the feast can be interpreted;<sup>57</sup> and even William Ware, who defended publicly and courageously the sinless conception, claims that even if Our Lady did in fact contract original sin the feast can still be solemnized in the Church.<sup>58</sup>

The immaculist interpretation, however, once introduced, never through the providence of God completely disappeared, but continued to exist as a *pia opinio*. For many years it would fret even the great schoolmen such as Henry of Ghent and St. Bonaventure,<sup>59</sup> who regarded it as theologically untenable for a whole constellation of reasons, but who in their great charity considered it prudent to explain the pious cult and feast of the Blessed Virgin's Conception in an acceptable doctrinal sense. Little by little, then, the problem

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<sup>55</sup> Eadmerus, *Tractatus de Conceptione S. Mariae*, ed. Thurston-Slater; in Migne *PL*, 159, 301ff. Cf. Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1007ff. Whatever can be said about St. Anselm of Canterbury (†1109), cf. Thurston, "Abbot Anselm of Bury and the Immaculate Conception," *The Month*, 104 (1904), 564; Mildner, "Immaculate Conception in England up to the Time of John Duns Scotus," *Marianum*, 1 (1939), 203; F. Spedalieri, "Anselmus per Eadmerum," *Marianum*, 5 (1943), 205-219. For the doctrine of Herbert of Losinga (1116), cf. Goulburn-Simonds, *The Life, Letters, and Sermons of Herbert of Losinga* (Oxford, 1878), 2 ff.

<sup>56</sup> *Sermo de Conceptione Sanctae Mariae*, attributed to Osbert and joined as an appendix to *Eadmeri Monachi Cantuariensis Tractatus de Conceptione S. Mariae*, ed. Thurston-Slater, Appendix C, p. 66, 74, 79. *Ibid.*, Appendix A, p. 56ff.; Appendix B, p. 61ff. See also Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1007ff.

<sup>57</sup> *Op. cit.*, 380vb.

<sup>58</sup> *Quaestiones Disputatae de Immaculata Conceptione B.M.V.*, ed. Quaracchi ("Bibliotheca Franciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi," III, 1904), p. 8: "Et supposito, quod contraxisset originale, adhuc posset celebrari."

<sup>59</sup> *Op. cit.*, loc. cit.



of the time and manner of Our Lady's sanctification, which became the bone of contention in the heated controversies of the university circles of both the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, led eventually to the complete triumph in the papal decree of 1854 of that singular prerogative of Mary.

### St. Anthony of Padua (ca. 1192—1231)

As was to be expected, the sermons of St. Anthony <sup>60</sup> have been searched from end to end in an attempt to ascertain whether he did or did not defend the Immaculate Conception. His panegyrists <sup>61</sup> have vigorously asserted that he championed this prerogative of Our Lady; while others, more concerned with what he actually said than with what he is alleged to have said, do not recognize in his writings any unequivocal and direct allusions to the Marian privilege. The stature of the Paduan as a great saint and his brilliance as a preacher had obviously blinded the famous editor, Locatelli,<sup>62</sup> who credits him with being the first theologian in the

<sup>60</sup> For information on chronology in life of St. Anthony, cf., André Callebaut, O.F.M., "Saint Antoine de Padoue, recherches sur ses trente premières années," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 24 (1931), 449-494; Bede Kleinschmidt, O.F.M., "Antonius von Padua," *Franziskanische Studien*, 18 (1931), 1-33.

<sup>61</sup> Among others: A. Roskavány, *Beata Virgo Maria in Suo Conceptu Immaculata ex Monumentis Omnium Saeculorum Demonstrata* (Budapestini, 1873), I, 81; Pierre Pauwels, *Les Franciscaines et l'Immaculée Conception* (Malines: Godenne, 1904), 46; A. Lepitre, *S. Antoine de Padoue* (Paris, 1901), 161; P. Apollinaire, "Saint Antoine de Padoue, théologien," *Études Franciscaines*, 48 (1936), 613; D. M. Sparacio, *S. Antonio di Padova Taumaturgo Francescano nella vita nel pensiero nella gloria* (Padova, 1923), I, 465 ff. V. Facchinetti, *Antonio de Padova il Santo l'Apostolo il Taumaturgo* (milano, 1925), 150 ff.; G. Cantini, "Il pensiero di S. Antonio di Padova intorno al concepimento immacolato di Maria," *Studi Francescani*, S 3, III-XXVIII (1931), 129-144; G. Bellincini, *La parola e l'anima del Santo di Padova* (Padova, 1932). For a thorough discussion of the literature on this topic, see the doctrinal dissertation of C. M. Romeri, *De Immaculata Conceptione B. M. Virginis apud S. Antonium Patavinum* (Romae, 1939).

<sup>62</sup> *S. Antonii Pat. Sermones Dominicales et in Solemnitatibus*, ed. A. M. Locatelli (Patavii: Soc. S. Antonii Pat., 1895), xiv: "Est Antonius primus inter theologos Franciscani Ordinis, qui non solum doctrinam Immaculatae Conceptionis B. Mariae Virginis affirmat, sed eam sacrarum Scripturarum typis, imaginibus et sentiis comprobatur."; *idem, ibid.*, 92A. This is the edition used here. Cf. Arsene le Carou, "Les sermons de St-Antoine de Padoue," *La France Franciscaine*, 16 (1933), 36-71; G. Cantini, "De Fontibus Sermonum S. Antonii Qui in Editione Locatelli Continentur," *Antonianum*, 6 (1931), 327-



Franciscan Order, who not only affirmed the Virgin's privilege, but also defended it in his sermons. An examination of the texts, however, which authors claim refer to the Immaculate Conception, does not bear this out. In fact, it is quite certain that Anthony did not defend the prerogative of Mary. What his teaching was can be gleaned from his sermons.

No definite affirmative argument can be construed from the various figures of speech which Anthony employs the better to described the great sanctity of Mary. In a sermon on the Annunciation he calls her a stone of the desert: *B. Virgo dicitur de petra deserti. Petra, quia inarabilis, super quam coluber, idest diabolus, colens umbras, ut dicit Salomon, non potuit invenire semitam.*<sup>63</sup> She is said to be inarable, *inarabilis*, because the devil could not find a path in her. The epithet, *inarabilis*, cannot refer to her privilege of Immaculate Conception, since Anthony in the same sermon<sup>64</sup> as well as elsewhere<sup>65</sup> tells us she was impregnated not by man but by the Holy Ghost, and that therefore she was inarable, since she remained a virgin before, during and after childbirth. The reference here obviously is to her virginity.

Neither do the words in the same sermon, *non potuit invenire semitam*, prove anything. Our saint elsewhere indicates just what he means by that statement when he says that the serpent, in whom luxury lurks always, dwells in those who are tepid and slothful.<sup>66</sup> No conceivable principle of exegesis can get anything else out of this text than that the serpent discovered in Mary one who loved

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360; J. Heerinckx, "De Sermonibus Dominicalibus et in Festivitatibus S. Antonii Patavini," *Antonianum*, 9 (1934), 3-36; A. Callebaut, "Les sermons sur les Psaumes imprimés sous le nom de S. Antoine restitués au Cardinal Jean d'Abbeville," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 25 (1932), 161-174.

<sup>63</sup> *In Annuntiatione B. Mariae Virginis*, under *Sermo de Eodem*, Locatelli 707B. See the judicious discussion of Romeri, *op. cit.*, 67. But cf. Sparacio, *op. cit.*, 470; G. Cantini, "Il pensiero di S. Antonio di Padova intorno al concepimento immacolato di Maria," *Studi Francescani*, S. 3, III-XXVIII (1931), 137.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, "Dicitur etiam deserti, quia inculta et semine virili non seminata, sed opere Spiritus Sancti impraegnata."

<sup>65</sup> *Dominica I in Quadragesima*, Locatelli, 42 A: ". . . deserti quia inarabilis, Virgo enim ante partum et in partu et post partum exstitit."

<sup>66</sup> *Sermo in Dominica XII post Pentecostem*, Locatelli 391 A: "Coluber dictus, quod colat umbras, vel quod sit lubricosus, cervum fugit, leonem interficit, et significat luxuriam, quae colit umbras, idest habitat in illis, qui sunt umbrosi, idest tepidi et otiosi."

and nurtured virginity. This is confirmed by the passage found in yet another sermon: *de B. Virgine quae dicitur petra deserti: petra propter firmum propositum Virginitatis*.<sup>67</sup>

The second text in which Anthony alludes to the Virgin in a metaphor is the following: *Et nota, quod beata Virgo, Dei filii thronus dicitur columna nubis. Columna, quia nostram fragilitatem sustentat. Nubis, quia a peccato immunis*.<sup>68</sup> It has been strenuously asserted that the figure of a cloud is in the vocabulary of Anthony a symbol of immunity from all sin, and that this is confirmed in another passage, where Christ is said to have ascended the clouds, which is to say, that he assumed a body immune from all sins.<sup>69</sup> Of this ingenious interpretation it may be said that the meaning given to the term *nubes*, the cloud, is not always that of immunity from sin. Elsewhere he employs the symbol a number of times, but in several ways. When he envisages the proud, he calls them light and obscure<sup>70</sup> clouds. When he speaks of the just man, he also uses the term cloud.<sup>71</sup> And saintly preachers are called clouds because detached from all that is earthly, they are capable of pouring torrents of words upon their audiences.<sup>72</sup>

### Original Sin and Concupiscence

The meaning of the epithet cloud, *nubes*, moreover, when applied to the Virgin will differ from that applied to Christ. Referring to Our Lady as a cloud because she is immune from sin, Anthony in exalting her unique sanctity demonstrates this in enumerating her many virtues. In his words, however, the idea of freedom from original sin is precluded. He desires merely to manifest that the Blessed Mother, being immune from all actual sin, can be invoked with the utmost confidence, since in her we can find every aid

<sup>67</sup> *Dominica I in Quadragesima*, Locatelli 42 A.

<sup>68</sup> *Sermo de Fideli Anima*, Locatelli, 296 A.

<sup>69</sup> *In Circumcisione Domini*, Locatelli 777 A: "Ascendit nubem levem, idest assumpsit carnem a peccatis immunem." Cf. Romeri, *op. cit.*, 68ff.

<sup>70</sup> *In Dominica IV post Pascha*, Locatelli 185 A: "Nubes, leves et obscurae, superbos significant."

<sup>71</sup> *Sermo in Dominica XII post Pentecosten*, Locatelli, 394 A: "Nubes aquosa est vir justus."

<sup>72</sup> *Sermo in Dominica IV de Adventu*, Locatelli, 628 A: "Sancti Praedicatorum dicuntur *nubes*, quae leves, idest exonerati a terrenis, pluunt verbis."

against evil.<sup>73</sup> In the passage obviously referring to Christ the case is quite different. Here he speaks of the circumcision of Christ which obtains in the body only, since in His mind there was nothing to circumcise. And why? The answer comes: because he had not sinned; neither had he contracted sin; for having ascended a light cloud he assumed a body immune from sin.<sup>74</sup>

The last passage to be scrutinized, one in which Anthony utilized figurative language is as follows: *Libanus non incisus est B. Maria, quae nullius concupiscentiae ferro unquam fuit incisa*.<sup>75</sup> By itself the text proves nothing at all. Does it really refer to the Immaculate Conception? It is affirmed that according to the saint, concupiscence and original sin are synonymous.<sup>76</sup> Support of this, it is alleged, can be found in another place, where the Paduan Doctor calls original sin a burdensome yoke. *Grave jugum est originale peccatum, idest fomes peccati, idest concupiscentia, quae, ut dicit Augustinus, non est permittenda regnare*.<sup>77</sup> Concupiscence, we are told, must not be permitted to reign in us. From original sin, we are reminded by St. Anthony, stem all sorts of desires, which are actually concupiscence, the weapons of the devil, originating in the weakness of our nature. For this feebleness is a tyrant, which evokes evil desires.<sup>78</sup> Does this mean that concupiscence is the same as original sin? That could hardly be the case, since he speaks here of the consequences of original sin rather than its definition. St. Anthony here speaks pretty much like his confrere, St. Bonaventure, who affirms that concupiscence stems from the essence of, and is sequel to, original sin.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>73</sup> *Sermo de Fideli Anima*, Locatelli, 296 A.

<sup>74</sup> *In Circumcisione Domini*, Locatelli, 777 A.

<sup>75</sup> *Sermo in Purificatione S. Mariae*, Locatelli, 719-720.

<sup>76</sup> Cantini, *op. cit.*, 137.

<sup>77</sup> *Sermo in Dominica XV post Pentecosten*, Locatelli, 447 A. The reference is to St. Augustine, *De Nuptiis et Concupiscentia Libri II*, Migne PL, 44, 430.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, "Sunt et ejus desideria, quae sunt actuales concupiscentiae, quae sunt arma diaboli, quae veniunt ex languore naturae. Languor enim iste tyrannus est, qui movet mala desideria."

<sup>79</sup> *Breviloquium*, III, vii; *Opera Omnia* (Quaracchi, 1891), V, 236 A: "Sic tollitur originalis peccati macula quod remanet squela (concupiscentia), cum qua oportet pugnare quamdiu vivimus in hac vita, quia in nullo prorsus extinguitur concupiscentia per gratiam communem; quod dico propter Beatissimam Virginem, in qua in conceptione Filii extincta fuit per gratiam singularem."

If concupiscence, furthermore, is identical with original sin, how can we prohibit concupiscence from holding sway over us? Yet in the sermon we are told, not to permit concupiscence to reign over us. Anthony calls original sin the evil desires, the arms of the devil which seek to enslave us. This becomes clearer from the following words found in the same sermon under consideration.

Et quod Adam noluit servire superiori sui, idest inferius eius noluit servire ei; immo ipse servivit inimico suo, idest diabolo vel carni suae, qua non est efficacior hostis ad nocendum, cuius jugum ferreum (idest sensualitas vel carnalitas) impositum est super cervicem rationis.<sup>80</sup>

If therefore Anthony speaking metaphorically says that Mary was not even so much as touched by concupiscence, it is legitimate to conclude that in her concupiscence was either shackled or extinguished, so that she at no time sensed any warfare. Or else these words could allude to the innocence of her life, for she, because of the lustre of her life is called Libanus, *qui candidatio interpretatur*.<sup>81</sup> This can hardly be said to refer to freedom from original sin.

Nor can the text in another sermon be advanced as proof. *Pater induit Filium suum Jesum veste alba, idest carne ab omni labe peccati munda a Virgine Immaculata assumpta*.<sup>82</sup> As a matter of fact, modern eulogists of Anthony no longer build upon this quotation, which even they agree must be interpreted in accord with other passages.<sup>83</sup>

This brings us to a consideration of other more important passages, some of which have been employed for the first time by a recent eulogist of Anthony. It is the considered judgment of this writer that as often as Anthony refers to the purity of the humanity of Christ he speaks also similarly of the Virgin Mary. They see in all such words a parallel between the Son and the Blessed Mother. The pertinent passage is the following:

Vel ovis fuit Adam. . . . Dicitur in naturalibus, quod si ex lana ovis a lupo dilacerata fiat vestis, illa vestis scaturit vermes. Sic lana carnis nostrae ab ove (scilicet primo parente), a diabolo lupo dilacerata, quam contraximus, vermibus primorum motuum scaturit et putrescit. Sed ut nos

<sup>80</sup> *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>81</sup> *Sermo in Purificatione S. Mariae*, Locatelli 720 A.

<sup>82</sup> *Sermo in Dominica in Quinquagesima*, Locatelli, 37 A.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Cantini, *op. cit.*, 138; Romeri, *op. cit.*, 72, note 3.



Christus mundaret ab inquinamento carnis et spiritus, incorruptam accepit lanam, qualem habuit ovis ante lupi dilacerationem.<sup>84</sup>

What does this passage say? Does it speak of Mary's freedom from sin? Does it envisage more than any other text the Virgin's freedom from original stain? This text only proves that it is Christ, and not Mary, who assumed flesh such as the sheep, or Adam, possessed before being lacerated by the wolf, that is before sin. The obvious meaning of the passage is that Christ assumed nature undefiled by sin, a phenomenon that could have taken place even if the Blessed Virgin was conceived in sin, since the humanity of Christ was the masterpiece of the Holy Ghost.

That such an exposition is justified follows from another passage, very important to the eulogists of our saint. In the sermon on the Last Supper Anthony says:

Et cum accepisset linteum, praecinxit se. De purissima enim carne Virginis linteum nostrae humanitatis accepit. . . . Nota, quod humana natura habet tria: conceptionis immunditiam, peregrinationis miseriam, mortis incinerationem. Vir indutus lineis est Jesus Christus, qui de B. Virgine vestem lineam accepit et non principium immundum conceptionis, quia opere Spiritus Sancti de purissima Virgine conceptus.<sup>85</sup>

Taken as a whole, this text refers not to Our Lady's privilege, but rather to the holy humanity of Christ, who assumed from his Mother flesh without the principle of impurity, without sin. The epithet *purissima Virgine* cannot be employed in the immaculist sense, for Anthony says nothing about sin. If the Virgin is most pure, it is because she is the dwelling place of the Holy Trinity, in which the Son of God became flesh and blood.

As regards another passage which envisions the humanity of Christ, the same conclusion can be advanced. Preaching on a certain occasion during advent, Anthony says: *Cum ergo venit Emmanuel, quem Virgo concepit et peperit, non caseum, sed butyrum comedit, quia non corruptam vel vitio obnoxiam, sed purissimam carnem de purissimae Virginis carne accepit.*<sup>86</sup> What does our saint wish to say here? Is it correct exegesis to hold that here is a parallel between

<sup>84</sup> *Sermo in Annuntiatione*, Locatelli 708 A. Cf. Cantini, *op. cit.*, 137.

<sup>85</sup> *Sermo in Cena Domini*, Locatelli 846 A.

<sup>86</sup> *Sermo in Dominica I de Adventu*, Locatelli 591 A. Cf. Bellincini, *op. cit.*, 457.

the Son and His Mother, in that the body is called the most pure, in the immaculist sense. Such a procedure would not be true to the text. What the author has in mind is to show that Christ had not assumed a body which was tainted by sin. He is far from saying the same about the Blessed Virgin. This view of the meaning of the passage is supported by the saint's commentary of the same text in another place, in which he says that Christ assumed our nature, such as Adam possessed before the fall, and not after.<sup>87</sup> Finally, corroboration of our position is found in the variant lection found in two codices, cited in Locatelli, which reads: *de purissima carne Virginis*.<sup>88</sup>

One of the most important passages to be considered is the following. After quoting the much debated reference found in St. Augustine, in which Augustine asserts that whenever there is question of sin he chooses to exclude the Blessed Virgin, who was endowed with grace far superior to that of any other saint,<sup>89</sup> the Paduan makes this statement: *Illa autem gloriosa Virgo singulari gratia praeventa est atque repleta, ut ipsum haberet ventris sui fructum, quem ex initio habuit universitatis Dominum*.<sup>90</sup> The argument is that because Anthony employs first the words of Augustine exempting Mary from sin, and then speaks of her as being predisposed through, and eminently endowed with a singular grace, he must have had the Immaculate Conception in mind. There is, it is argued vigorously, exemption from all sin on the one hand, and the reception in fullest measure of exceptional grace on the other; obviously a reference to her prerogative. Of this remarkable interpretation it might be said first that it is not incontestable that Augustine, in the text quoted above, meant to exclude original sin from Our Lady. Many eminent schoolmen were of the opinion that this passage speaks only of actual sins. The Seraphic Doctor, St. Bonaventure, asserts that in the pertinent passage Augustine is considering not original, but actual sin.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *Sermo in Annuntiatione B. Mariae Virginis*, Locatelli, 708 A.

<sup>88</sup> Locatelli, *op. cit.*, 591, footnote.

<sup>89</sup> St. Augustine, *De Natura et Gratia*, XXXVI, 42, Migne *PL* 44,267: "Excepta itaque sancta virgine Maria, de qua propter honorem Domini nullam prorsus cum de peccatis agitur, haberi volo quaestionem."

<sup>90</sup> *Sermo in Dominica III in Quadragesima*, Locatelli 89 A-B. Cf. Romeri, *op. cit.*, 137.

<sup>91</sup> *In III Sententiarum, Dist. III, Pars, i, Quaest. 2* (Quaracchi, 1886), III,

### Mary and the Saints

A final sermon needs to be examined, one which it is said argues definitely in favor of Anthony as the defender of Mary's privilege. It is often claimed that in his sermon on the nativity of Mary, Anthony is concerned with demonstrating the fact that the excellence of the Blessed Mother is far superior to that of all the saints, which must include a conception without sin, for otherwise she would be no different from Jeremias or the Baptist.<sup>92</sup> Is such a conclusion justified? On the contrary; at no time does Anthony in this sermon say that the sanctity of Mary excels that of all saints with respect to her conception. In fact he says just the opposite. *Sicut stella a stella differt in claritate, sic Beatae Virginis Nativitas ab omnium Sanctorum differt nativitate.*<sup>93</sup> The interpretation of this passage turns largely on the meaning to be given to the term, *nativitas*, birth. To say that Anthony refers to birth in the womb, and not to birth in the proper sense, is to do injury to the text of the whole sermon, as a searching perusal of it will bear out. Not once, but a few times he speaks of the birth of the Blessed Mother. He refers to a vision of some holy man to whom it was revealed that on this day the Blessed Virgin was born, and that the angels in heaven praised God for that.<sup>94</sup> The feast of the nativity of Mary certainly means what it says, namely, her birth, in the manner of all men descended from Adam.

Upon another passage in the same sermon, rests the principal and strongest argument for affirming that Anthony was no champion of the Immaculate Conception. The text is as follows:

B. Maria dicitur luna plena, quia ex omni parte perfecta. Luna ideo imperfecta et semiplena quia habet maculam et cornua. Sed gloriosa Virgo nec in sua nativitate habuit maculam, quia in utero matris fuit

68 B: "... dicendum quod Augustinus intelligit de peccato actuali, non de originali."

<sup>92</sup> Cantini, *op. cit.*, 142; Sparacio, *op. cit.*, 467. Cf. Romeri, *op. cit.*, 49 ff.

<sup>93</sup> *Sermo in Nativitate B. Mariae Virginis*, Locatelli 696 A.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, Locatelli 695: "Legitur, quod quidam vir sanctus dum devote orationi insisteret, audivit in coelo Angelici cantus, dulcem melodiam. Quod cum iterum, revolutio anno, eodem die audiret, quaesivit a Domino, ut ei, quid hoc esset, revelaret. Responsum est, quod tali die Beata Maria nata fuisset, de cujus Nativitate Angeli in coelo laudes Domino persolvebant: Et ideo ista die Nativitas gloriosae Virginis celebratur."

sanctificata, ab angelis custodita; nec in diebus suis cornua superbiae et ideo plena et perfecta lucet.<sup>95</sup>

According to this text, Our Lady is said not to have any taint at birth, since she had been sanctified in the womb of her mother. There is here no indication that her sanctification took place at the very instant of her conception in Anna's womb. The fact that Anthony speaks of birth in the usual sense seems to preclude any immaculist sense. If she is possessed of a sanctity far superior to that of all the saints, it is because of the extraordinary measure of grace she received in view of her mission as the Mother of God.

The text, however, has been rejected as inauthentic by the panegyrists of Anthony, who maintain that it is not given in early codices.<sup>96</sup> On the contrary, it is most certainly found in several very early codices, a few of which belong to the middle and the close of the thirteenth century. In a footnote of the Locatelli edition it is affirmed that the longer text, as cited above, is a variant lection.<sup>97</sup> If we juxtapose both texts, the meaning becomes quite clear and provides evidence of the most damaging kind against the immaculist sense.

(*Longer Lection*)

Luna ideo imperfecta et semiplena quia habet maculam et cornua. Sed gloriosa Virgo necin sua nativitate habuit maculam, quia in utero matris fuit sanctificata.

(*Shorter Lection*)

Luna ideo imperfecta et semiplena quia habet maculam, quia in utero matris fuit sanctificata.

In view of this the import of the passage becomes unmistakable. On the sanctification of the Blessed Virgin, the Paduan Doctor speaks like his contemporaries: Our Lady was sanctified in the womb of her mother very soon after contracting original sin.

In conclusion, there is no justification for proclaiming St. Anthony a defender of the Immaculate Conception. Though he preached eloquently about the eminent sanctity of Mary, in a milieu when the problem of Our Lady's sanctification was not yet clarified, and when the feast of her conception was not yet introduced in the Franciscan Order, and only observed officially here and there in

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 696 B.

<sup>96</sup> Romeri, *op. cit.*, 12-15, and 48; discusses this at some length.

<sup>97</sup> Locatelli, *op. cit.*, 696: see also p. iv ff.



England and on the Continent, the Paduan Doctor reflected the more or less common doctrine of his era.

### Early Franciscan School

From the preceding paragraphs it ought to be abundantly clear that the explicit introduction of the immaculist sense in the doctrine and feast of Our Lady's Conception overcame one theological difficulty at the expense of engendering others. This new concept appeared to conflict with the traditional notions of both original sin and of universal redemption. The accepted Augustinian notion of identifying original sin with concupiscence (*fomes peccati*) together with the theory of its propagation in terms of the carnal love (*libido carnalis*) accompanying the generative act created at the very outset a formidable prejudice against the Marian prerogative. Inextricably interwoven with this was the doctrine of universal redemption which presupposed in all the children born of Adam the existence of original sin. Obviously, then, one of the first moves in removing the theological obstacles that loomed insurmountable at first blush and conspired against the privilege of Mary, would be a somewhat different approach to, and a better understanding of, the nature of original sin. To the ultimate solution of this problem the early Franciscan school made a distinct contribution, the genius of which the following pages purpose to delineate.

The early Franciscan school at Paris, for all practical purposes, may be said to begin in 1236, when Alexander of Hales, a theologian of international stature, entered the Order, retaining his chair at the University.<sup>98</sup> To this group belong the friars who occupied the

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<sup>98</sup> For information on the life of Alexander, cf. Victorin Doucet, *Prolegomena to Magistri Alexandri de Hales Glossa in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum* (Quaracchi 1951), I, 56\*-75\*. It had generally been held that Alexander had joined the Order in 1231 after the students' strike at the University of Paris. On life, cf. A. Endres, "Des Alexander v. Hales Leben und psychologische Lehre," *Philosophisches Jahrbuch der Goerres-Gesellschaft*, 1 (1888), 24-55. Cf. P. Glorieux, *Repertoire des maitres en théologie de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Paris: J. Vrin, 1933), II, 15; A. Vacant, "Alexandre de Hales," *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, I (1899), 772-785. For bibliography cf. Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertoire des sources historiques du Moyen Age*, (Paris: A. Picard, 1905), I, 135-136. A. Callebaut, "Lettres franciscaines concernant la Belgique et la France aux XIII-XV siècles," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 7 (1914), 249; Salimbene de Adam, *Cronica*, ed. O. Holder-Egger,

Franciscan chair of theology at Paris and showed an unmistakably strong literary dependence upon Alexander. This school consisted of John of Rupella, Odo Rigaux, and William of Melitona.<sup>99</sup> Alexander, after his reception into the Order, thus giving the Franciscans their first chair in the theological faculty at Paris,<sup>100</sup> apparently continued in the capacity of regent master until his death in 1245.<sup>101</sup> Since John of Rupella became master in 1238, and continued as regent until his death on Feb. 8, 1245,<sup>102</sup> the same year in which Alexander died, it is still disputed whether the Franciscans held two theological chairs, or whether Hales and Rupella shared a single chair, giving lectures on alternate days.<sup>103</sup> They were both succeeded by Odo Rigaux, who functioned as regent master from 1245–1247, when he was made archbishop of Rouen.<sup>104</sup> In 1248 he was succeeded by William of Melitona,<sup>105</sup> who seems to have been regent until Bonaventure became master in 1253/4.<sup>106</sup>

A searching study of the works of these Franciscan masters reveals an almost servile dependence upon one another not only

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Vol. XXXII of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores* (Hannoveriae et Lipsiae: Bibliotheca Hahniani, 1913), 43.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. P. Gratian, *Histoire de la fondation et de l'évolution de l'Ordre des Freres Mineurs au XIII siecle* (Paris: J. Duculot, 1928), 131.

<sup>100</sup> See the testimony of Bernard of Bessa, "Liber de Laudibus B. Francisci," *Analecta Franciscana*, III (1897), 658 f; Roger Bacon, *Opus Minus*, ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1859), 325–329; Victorin Doucet, in the *Prolegomena* to *Magistri Alexandri de Hales Glossa in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum*, (Quaracchi, 1951), 24\*ff, 28\*f; *idem*, *Prolegomena In Librum III Necnon in Libros I et II Summae Fratris Alexandri* (Quaracchi: 1948), p. clii; Glorieux, *op. cit.*, 15.

<sup>101</sup> Doucet, *Prolegomena to Magistri de Hales Glossa*, 70\*–74\*.

<sup>102</sup> Doucet, *Prolegomena in Librum III*, ccxi; Glorieux, *op. cit.*, p. 25; H. Denifle-E. Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris: Delalain, 1889), I, 157 ff., n. 108.

<sup>103</sup> See the excellent summary of the controversy in Doucet, *op. cit.*, clii f., who concludes: "... nos firmum habemus Alexandrum rexisse usque ad finem vitae suae, insimul cum Joanne de Rupella." See *ibid.*, note 5.

<sup>104</sup> Glorieux, *op. cit.*, 31; *idem*, "La suite des maitres franciscains de Paris au XIII siecle," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 26 (1933), 268; *idem*, "Maitres franciscains regents a Paris. Mise au point," *Recherches de theologie ancienne et medievale*, 18 (1951), 324–332; Doucet, *op. cit.* cliii, note 5; T. Bonnin, *Journal des visites pastorales d'Éudes Rigaud, archeveque de Rouen* (Rouen, 1852). *passim*.

<sup>105</sup> Doucet, *op. cit.*, ccxl; Glorieux, *Repertoire*, 34; *idem*, "Maitres franciscains regents a Paris, Mise au point."

<sup>106</sup> Glorieux, *Repertoire*, 37; *idem*, "Maitres franciscains . . . Mise au point," 324 ff.

with respect to doctrine, but even as to verbal expression.<sup>107</sup> This was due no doubt to the strong ties of the *esprit de corps* of the group, but also, and perhaps chiefly, to the initial poverty of the Parisian convent whose meager library facilities were limited by and large to the works of the friars themselves. In fact, the *Summa Fratris Alexandri*, that monumental compilation of the early Franciscan group, may well have been a practical means of satisfying the needs of the theological students of the Paris friary. But most important, in joining the Order Alexander gave to the friars their first chair in the theological faculty. So great was his prestige that even Bonaventure proclaims his indebtedness to Hales when he informs us that he has followed very faithfully "our father and master of happy memory, brother Alexander."<sup>108</sup>

Dissatisfaction with the Augustinian notion of original sin led many a theologian to develop other theories.<sup>109</sup> The most acceptable theory was the one proposed by St. Anselm,<sup>110</sup> the archbishop of Canterbury, which placed the essence of that sin in what he calls the *absentia iustitiae debitae*, and reduced concupiscence in Augustine's notion to a mere effect or sequel of the privation of original justice. As regards this original justice, it consisted in that rectitude of the will (*Rectitudo voluntatis*) which both Adam and Eve possessed at their creation and which God planned as one of the

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Doucet, *Prolegomena in Librum III*, p. ccxvi: ". . . paucis exceptis, verbotenus recepta est."

<sup>108</sup> *Liber II Sententiarum, Praelocutio* (Quaracchi, 1885), II, 2: ". . . pater et magister noster bonae memoriae frater Alexander . . . cujus vestigiis praecipue inhaerere propono."

<sup>109</sup> Odon Lottin has expertly traced the history of theories of original sin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries at great length. See his "Les theories du peche originel au XII siecle," *Recherches de theologie ancienne et medievale*, 11 (1939), 17-32; 12 (1940), 78-102; 236-74; "Le peche originel chez Albert le Grand, Bonaventure et Thomas d'Aquin," *ibid.*, 12 (1940), 275-328; "Le traite du peche originel chez les premiers maitres dominicains de Paris," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 17 (1940), 25-57; "Le traite du peche originel chez les premiers maitres franciscains de Paris," *ibid.*, 18 (1941), 26-64; "Baptême et peche originel de S. Anselme a S. Thomas d'Aquin," *ibid.*, 19 (1942), 225-245. These essays have been recited in Lottin's *Psychologie et Morale aux XII et XIII siecles*, IV, *Problèmes de morale*, Part III, I (Louvain: Abbaye du Mont Cesar, 1954), 11-305. Unfortunately, neither a table of contents nor index is given.

<sup>110</sup> *Liber de Conceptu Virginali et Originali Peccato*, III-V, Migne PL, 158, 463-469.

constituent elements of the original constitution of man. After the first sin this justice was lost for both Adam and his progeny, who now are born in a state contrary to the one originally willed by God.

Although the members of the early Franciscan<sup>111</sup> school championed and developed the Anselmian theory on original sin, they could not bring themselves to abandon the Augustinian notion entirely, because of the great respect they felt for the bishop of Hippo. In the teeth of such an impasse, they endeavored to integrate the two theories. The result of this union was a synthesis which passed on through both the Seraphic Doctor and St. Albert to St. Thomas and others.<sup>112</sup>

### Alexander of Hales (1185/6–1245)

The theory of Alexander of Hales on original sin can be appraised from several viewpoints. In the synthesis of Alexander, original sin consists of two factors: lack of original justice, which is the notion of St. Anselm; and the Augustinian notion of concupiscence. In the former there is the character of sin; while in the latter there is that of punishment, which, weakened though it is, still remains even though baptism has removed the guilt of original sin. Together the two provide the dual aspect Augustine asserts is found in every sin: the *aversio a bono incommutabili*, and the *conversio ad bonum commutabile*.

Concedendum est quod originale secundum quod huiusmodi continet in se culpam et poenam. Ratione concupiscentiae infligite habet in se poenam, secundum quam concupiscentiam dicitur parvulus concupiscibilis et pronus ad concupiscendum quod concupiscendum non esset, et adultus concupiscens ex necessitate quadam, non absoluta sed respectiva vel condicionali. Sed haec concupiscentia dupliciter potest accipi, vel prout est in summo vel non in summo: primo modo dimittitur in baptismo, ut scilicet non tantum sit pronus ad concupiscendum sicut prius; secundo modo remanet post baptismum, et est poena remanens ad exercitium et cumulum meriti, et secundum hanc dicitur V ad Galatas quod caro concupiscit adversus spiritum, id est sensualis appetitus adversus appetitum spiritualem. Et proprie rationem culpae habet in se originale secundum quod dicit Anselmus quod originale est carentia originalis iustitiae aliunde contracta.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. Lottin, *Psychologie et morale*, 171 ff; see p. 229.

<sup>112</sup> Lottin, *op. cit.*, 230–271. See also I. Brady, "The Relation between Sin and Death according to Medieval Theologians," *Studia Mariana*, 7 (1950), 56–58.



Est ergo originali determinatur in his duobus, scilicet in praedicta carentia et concupiscentia.

Et sicut in peccato actuali est habitualiter vel actualiter aversio a bono incommutabili et conversio ad commutabile preponendo bonum commutabile bono incommutabili, sic in originali sese concomitantur praedicta concupiscentia et praedicta carentia . . .

Dicendum est quod Augustinus dicens originale esse concupiscentiam non determinat totum ejus esse sed solum partem; sed ad esse ejus cum hoc addendum est secundum quod dictum fuit quod est carentia vel nuditas originalis justitiae debitae aliunde contracta.<sup>113</sup>

Closer scrutiny of the two elements involved in original sin will give us a more comprehensive perspective. According to Alexander and the others of his group, original justice is not identified as gratuitous justice or sanctifying grace, but is natural rectitude, or in modern terminology, the preternatural rectitude, whereby the will is positively inclined to remain in a state of natural goodness. The idea to which Alexander subscribes is expressed clearly by the anonymous author of Douai MS 434:

Cum dicitur: peccatum originale est absentia debitae justitiae, aut justitia sumitur ibi pro justitia gratuita, aut pro naturali. Pro gratuita non; quia in libro de originali peccato dicit Anselmus: si Adam permansisset justus, donum habebat transmittendi justitiam ad posterios; sed justitia gratuita a primis [parentibus] in posterios non potest transmitti, quia a solo Deo infunditur in animam parvuli. Ergo non est intelligendum de dilectione [read: justitia] gratuita. . . . Loquitur ergo Anselmus de justitia naturali, quam justitiam dicit esse rectitudinem voluntatis propter se servatam. . . . Adam, si non peccasset, non solum poterat non declinare a malo, sed etiam poterat agere bonum; bonum dico in genere, et non bonum meritorium.<sup>114</sup>

The presence of this natural justice disposes God to grant grace, on the assumption that there exists a supernatural order.<sup>115</sup>

In this consideration three elements can be distinguished: the will or rational appetite as a simple faculty of the soul; the added quality or habit of original justice; and finally virtue which enables the will to make progress through meritorious acts. The will, which

<sup>113</sup> Alexander, *Quaestio de Peccato Originali*, edited by Lottin, *op. cit.*, 200.

<sup>114</sup> Edited by Lottin, *op. cit.*, 181.

<sup>115</sup> Douai MS, 434, ed. by Lottin, *op. cit.*, 181: "Dicendum quod peccatum (originale) non est proprie privatio gratiae, sed corruptio naturalium, quae naturalia, si essent in sua rectitudine naturali, disponent ad gratiam; sed ipsa carnis corruptio, sicut dictum est, prohibet animam ne ipsa infusa habeat (read: habeat) rectitudinem voluntatis. Non ergo peccatum originale proprie opponitur gratiae."

can be designated the *pura potentia* to do good or to remain in good, is intrinsically the same in the fallen state even as in that of original innocence. But original justice is a habitual potency, a *potentia habitualis*, enabling man readily to remain in a state of natural goodness, or to perform naturally good acts. Virtue proper, which enables man to increase in grace and virtue, may be present in man after the fall even though this preternatural justice is not restored.<sup>116</sup>

### Original Justice

To sum up, then, original justice, according to Alexander, is a preternatural quality or habit with which God endowed the will of man in its pristine innocence which positively inclined it to remain good. With the loss of this gift the will could of itself incline to sin. Like the essence of original sin the absence of original justice is not so much a positive inclination to sin as it is the loss of a positive inclination to remain good.<sup>117</sup>

The other element in Alexander's synthesis of original sin is concupiscence. In Alexander's synthesis of the nature of original sin, the proneness to sin, which might be called the positive inclination towards sin, is explained in terms of concupiscence. Now this, conceived as a habitual state and called the *fomes peccati*, since it derives from the Augustinian theory, is synonymous with original sin. The Approach of Alexander to the problem of the *fomes peccati* is interesting.

Discarding the notions of other theologians, Alexander identifies this *fomes peccati* with concupiscence. Strictly speaking the *fomes peccati* is defined as a vitiating corruption existing in us, which inclines us principally to sin. As such it exists in the sensitive powers

<sup>116</sup> Ed. by Lottin, *op. cit.*, 204, footnote.

<sup>117</sup> The mere absence of this original justice is not by itself original sin. This justice is *justitia debita*, that is, something God willed should be present in all children of Adam. This is expressed in precise language in the Douai MS 434, Lottin, *op. cit.*, 176: "Unde Anselmus dicit: antequam peccasset primus parens, si erat debitum (servandi) rectitudinem voluntatis, sed ipso peccante incurrit aliud debitum, scilicet debitum recuperandae justitiae quam deseruit; hoc duplici debito fuit oneratus et hoc duplex debitum eo posteritatem suam transmisit; ideo parvulus duplex habet debitum, licet impossibile sit quod, quantum est de se, justitiam recuperet."

of man. In the broader sense, however, it can be extended to the flesh as a cause or to the rational appetite in that it is moved or stimulated by the sense appetite. Only in the latter sense can concupiscence or the *fomes peccati* be equated with original sin, for sin properly exists in the will.

Aliqui ita dicunt quod ex peccato primorum parentum contraximus quatuor, scilicet peccatum originale, fomitem peccati, concupiscentiam, stimulum carnis; et inter haec ita distinguunt. Dicunt enim, et verum est, quod ante peccatum erat ordinata quaelibet potentia animae et omnes aliae potentiae a rationali subditae erant rationali, rationalis vero Deo. Non erat etiam repugnantia carnis adversus spiritum, sed anima erat subjecta Deo, caro vero spiritui; unde rectitudo erat in qualibet potentia animae et in subiectione carnis ad spiritum. Sed per primum peccatum fuit defectus hujus rectitudinis et in qualibet potentia animae et in carne, quoniam quaelibet potentia animae fuit corrupta, et similiter caro, et in omnibus similiter consecuta est universalis corruptio quoad hoc. Dicunt ergo quod stimulus carnis principaliter est in carne corrupta; originale vero in potentia rationali corrupta, unde proprie dicit defectum rectitudinis in potentia rationali; fomes vero est in potentia vegetativa corrupta; unde sic diffiniunt fomitem; fomes est causa materialis servandi peccatum per actum vegetativae potentiae utpote nutritivae vel generativae; concupiscentia principaliter est in concupiscibili sensibili corrupta, et non tantum est poena praecedentis peccati sed etiam inclinantium ad peccatum; et isti dicunt quod sicut neutra istarum cogitationum est altera, sic nullum horum quatuor est alterum; et ita absolute dicunt quod fomes nec est peccatum originale, nec concupiscentia.

Sed credo aliter esse dicendum; quoniam glossae aliquando ponunt fomitem esse idem quod originale ratione concupiscentiae quae est de essentia originalis, aliquando quod concupiscentia prout solum est in parte sensibili, aliquando esse alterum, et post patebit differentia hujus concupiscentiae et illius.

Secundum hoc dicendum quod fomes potest accipi communiter et proprie. Secundum quod communiter accipitur, dicitur esse fomes quod praestat fomentum peccato, et tunc est non solum in potentia sensibili concupiscibili, sed etiam in rationali et in carne; differunt tamen, quoniam in carne est, non subjective, sed sicut in sua causa prima, et hoc prout est caro corrupta non solum corruptione poenali, sed vitiosa. Prout ergo fomes sic dicitur communiter, est in potentia rationali; et tunc cum originale proprie [sit] in potentia rationali bene concedendum est quod fomes idem est quod originale, sed hoc ratione concupiscentiae solum, non ratione carentiae prout hujusmodi carentia est rationalis corruptae secundum quod ponimus in potentia rationali esse corruptionem quae de se potest inclinare ad peccatum, et non solum prout excitatur concupiscentia potentiae sensibilis. Alio modo potest accipi fomes, proprie, ut solum dicatur fomes corruptio vitiosa existens in nobis, inclinans nos principaliter ad peccatum et exercitans; et tunc solum est in potentia sensibili proprie, subjective et proxime, quoniam primo causatum est in carne.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>118</sup> *Quaestio de Peccato Originali*, ed. Lottin, *op. cit.*, 202.

Transmission of original sin, in the hypothesis of Alexander, is inextricably intertwined with the notion of its essence. A distinction must be made between the consequences of the sin of Adam as they affect the body on the one hand and the soul on the other. As regards the body, then, Alexander argues that since our bodies were contained seminally (*seminaliter*) in Adam, they are affected by his fall and thereby subject to the same punishment or corruption, which consists not only in the loss of immortality but more especially in the fact that the body is no longer perfectly subordinated to the higher spiritual faculties. The chain effect of temptation in the present state of man proceeds in pretty much the following manner: the flesh stimulates the senses, which perceive illicit objects, then desire and seek them out, and finally the sense appetite excited by the flesh in turn excites and moves the rational powers of both the intellect and will. In this way the complete cycle of our corruption affects both body and soul.<sup>119</sup>

To summarize the consequences of sin as they affect the soul, it is necessary to answer two questions: First, how does the corruption of the soul arise from that of the body? Second, is this corruption of the soul present as a punishment only or also as a sin? In answer to the former, Alexander assures us that we can hold that since the soul by its very nature desires to exist and be united with the body, the soul will be weighed down or burdened with the defects of the body and so share in its punishment, if this body happens to be defective or corrupted. His brilliant mind was quick to see another problem, namely, the manner in which this moral defect, the lack of original justice is propagated. How does true sin exist in the soul? To answer this Alexander leans quite heavily on the theory already known to Odo of Cambrai,<sup>120</sup> a summary of which is worthwhile.

The demonstration constructed by Alexander is based upon several arguments. Not only was the soul of Adam an individual substance, Alexander informs us, but in Adam's soul was created the universal nature of every soul according to genus or species or likeness. Because of his sin, Adam's soul was affected as an individual and as a universal nature as well. Since every soul was somehow in Adam's (not in any traducianist sense) it contracted

<sup>119</sup> *Op. cit.*, ed. Lottin, *op. cit.*, 202-203.

<sup>120</sup> Odo de Cambrai, *De Peccato Originali*, II, Migne PL 160, 1085 A.



sin as well as punishment. In like manner, because every human will existed in Adam's will, his sin is our sin. Another reason flows from the finality characteristic of generation. In procreation every living creature strives to produce another creature similar to itself. Where man is concerned, however, human nature is complete only when the body is united to the soul. His final argument is based on Anselm's assertion that if Adam had remained faithful, he would have transmitted original justice to his progeny. If Anselm contends that the person corrupts nature, and that corrupt nature corrupts the person, he means to say that this original justice was natural, that is, that it was intended according to God's original plan, to be the happy lot of human nature. But, concludes Alexander, it was fitting that when Adam lost this justice which would have been given to all his descendants, the lack of original justice should also be present in all who descended from him by way of procreation.

Quaeritur ergo utrum a corruptione corporis insit corruptio animae; et si sic, utrum illa corruptio quae inest animae ex conjunctione ejus ad carnem sit in anima poena tantum aut poena et culpa.

Propter ista objecta et alia priora et alia etiam quae obici possent, ut omnia simul manifestentur, notandum est ratione cujus oportet ponere originale peccatum in anima et quomodo illud contractum est in nobis ab Adam. Et quia ratione peccati originalis contraximus corruptionem poenae a parte corporis et corruptionem poenae et culpa a parte animae, primo videamus quare ad Adam corruptionem poenae contraximus tam ex parte animae, tam ex parte corporis, et postea quomodo corruptionem culpa.

Notandum est ergo primo quod in nobis sunt duo, anima scilicet et corpus; et ratione corporis procedimus in esse via propagationis ab Adam; unde secundum carnem seminaliter fuimus in carne Adae. Quia ergo per primum peccatum Adae corrupta fuit totaliter caro ejus in qua eramus seminaliter, corruptione poenae et maxime quoad ista membra per quae exercetur opus potentiae generativae, per quod opus ex illo processimus omnes in esse per decisionem carnis sic corruptam, ideo ab eo contraximus carnem corruptam corruptione poenae. Sed quia corpus nostrum naturaliter appetit perfici ab anima rationali et anima rationalis similis similiter naturaliter appetit uniri suo corpori; et hoc quoad appetitivam potentiam generalem tum ex parte animae tum ex parte corporis, cum anima corpori corrupto corruptione poenae uniatur, licet non appetat uniri corpori corrupto, sed solum quia corpus. . . .

Sed sequitur videre quomodo ab eo contraximus corruptionem culpa.

Ad quod notandum est quod relatione ad animam Adae eam contraximus. In anima enim Adae creata fuit natura universalis cujuslibet animae, secundum genus vel speciem vel similitudinem, licet non secundum naturam. . . . Corporalis vero secundum naturam creata erant; spiritualia vero in suo simili. Quia ergo per primum peccatum corrupta fuit corrup-

tione culpae anima Adae secundum totalem sui naturam et particularem et universalem, cum omnes animae essent in illa anima quoquo modo, scilicet ratione illius [naturae] universalis, videtur esse quaedam congruentia quod ratione hujus debuerimus contraxisse ab eo quoad animam non solum corruptionem poenae, sed culpae.

Praeterea. Omnes ab Adam processimus in esse via propagationis quae est per generationem. Sed omne generans intendit generare sibi simile in specie. Si ergo animatum generatur, non terminabitur intentio generationis ad solum corpus, sed ad illud quod animatum est, et ita finaliter ad animam quantum est de intentione generationis. Si ergo fieret sola deciso carnis a carne, non esset terminata intentio generationis nisi quod decisum est ulterius perficeretur ab anima. Unde animatum aliud animatum generare intendit, ut vegetabile aliud vegetabile, sensibile aliud sensibile, rationale aliud rationale. Adam ergo generans intendebat generare corpus animatum anima rationali. Sed ipse peccavit secundum quod nos sic eramus in ipso. Et ideo quoad hoc potest dici quod peccavimus, ipso peccante.

Praeterea. Secundum quod dicit Anselmus in libro de conceptu virginali, in Adam ante peccatum erat justitia naturalis qua omnes procedentes ab ipso essent originaliter justi, si stetisset. In anima ergo Adae erat ratio servandi originalem justitiam seu innocentiam quam ab eo habuissemus, si stetisset. Sed per primum peccatum recessit ipse ab hac naturali justitia, et ideo justum est ut a recessu naturalis justitiae qui fuit in ipso, quam justitiam hubuissemus si stetisset, sit recessus ejusdem justitiae in qualibet anima quae est conjuncta carni exeunti ab eo in esse via generationis. . . .

Et ex his omnibus insimul susceptis videtur haberi una ratio sufficiens quare contraximus peccatum originale a primis parentibus, scilicet quia in creatione animae Adae creatae fuerunt omnes animae sicut in suo simili, et natura universalis cujuslibet animae in anima Adae fuit, et item intentio generationis non terminatur complete nisi ad animam; peccavit etiam non in quantum singularis persona, sed in quantum in eo erat natura universalis; et ideo praeceptum datum fuit ei non in quantum erat singularis persona, sed in quantum respiciebat posteror.<sup>121</sup>

In the light of the preceding considerations it becomes clear that Alexander's speculations on the nature and mode of propagation of original sin, while still far from adequate or satisfactory, represent a distinct contribution to the ultimate theology of the Immaculate Conception. His doctrine is the basis for the speculations of the early Franciscan masters. His acceptance of the definition of original sin advanced by Anselm, in spite of the retention of the Augustinian position which continued still to present difficulties, is a perceptibly great stride forward in the direction of its ultimate solution. In recognizing the essentially spiritual character of that defect called original sin, and in his searching for a moral cause for

<sup>121</sup> Alexander, *op. cit.*, ed. Lottin, *op. cit.*, 196-198.

its existence as a fault in the unbaptized, he stressed the law of moral solidarity of the human race with Adam. This will yield two results in the near future. Theologians, once they have come to realize the full import of this, will eventually reduce concupiscence to a consequence rather than the essence of sin. The shift moreover will be to stress sanctifying grace which will play a greater role than the preternatural justice in the interpretation of the formula, the lack of original justice, *carentia justitiae debitae*. When this stage is reached, the fact that Mary was conceived by her parents through an act of carnal intercourse will no longer remain a stumbling block to admitting her Immaculate Conception.

Although Alexander goes not consider the problem of the Immaculate Conception, he discusses the question of the presence of the *fomes peccati* in Our Lady, and in a much lengthier question the general problem of her sanctification in the womb of her mother.<sup>122</sup> Because this attained a high degree of importance in the early Franciscan school, it deserves a more detailed consideration.

### Mary & St. John the Baptist

In Alexander's day, even as in the era before, it was customary to draw a parallel between the Conception of Our Lady with that of St. John the Baptist. There is some truth in maintaining that the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of Mary can be regarded as the inspiration of this discussion. Alexander begins with his appraisal of the nature of sanctification which, he says, properly speaking implies original sin, and consists in the purification from original stain, *Mundatio ab originali culpa*.<sup>123</sup> This is why it is improper to say that Christ was sanctified, since He never had

<sup>122</sup> For a detailed discussion of Alexander's *Quaestio de Santificatione*, which is question 198, see Doucet, *Prolegomena in Librum III* (Quaracchi, 1948), IV, p. clxxxix. We should like to express our deep gratitude to Rev. Allan Wolter, O.F.M., of the Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, through whose kindness we were able to use as the source of our citations the *Quaestio de Santificatione*, Cod. Vat. Latinus 782, fol. 60b-62b. We are also indebted to him for the many valuable suggestions he had offered.

<sup>123</sup> *Op. cit.*, fol. 60b: "Dicimus quod sanctificatio secundum quod communiter vel generaliter accipitur, prout scilicet communiter est in omnibus sanctificatis, est mundatio ab originali culpa, nec plus habet sanctificatio de ratione sua communi quam hujusmodi mundationem."

original sin.<sup>124</sup> There were three persons known to us who were sanctified before birth in the womb of their mothers, Jeremias, (*Jeremias* 1:5), St. John the Baptist (*Luke* 1:41) and Our Lady. Since Scripture testifies to the prenatal sanctification of both the prophet Jeremias and the Baptist, but is silent about the Mother of God, Alexander argues in defense of Our Lady from the comments of St. Bernard found in his important letter to the Canons of Lyons, in which he (Bernard) holds that the more abundant blessing of sanctification descended upon her, which not only sanctified her birth but also rendered her life immune from every sin.<sup>125</sup>

The question uppermost in the mind of Alexander is: Suppose sanctification implies nothing more than the purification from original sin, can one maintain that it is equal in the case of Jeremias, the Baptist and the Blessed Virgin? The problem in his mind can be summarized in the following manner. In the Augustinian hypothesis which identified concupiscence or the *fomes peccati* with original sin, it was not idle to inquire whether original sin was equal in all men, since the inclination of the sensual appetite towards its respective object varies in intensity from one individual to another. There was no unanimity among the early Franciscan masters on the subject. John of Rupella alludes to the divided opinions on the matter without taking a definite stand of his own. An anonymous author held that original sin has many aspects. In answer to the problem Alexander unequivocally rejects the theory of inequality insisting that original sin is essentially a lack of original justice in the will. The varying intensity of the inclination towards sensual goods, moreover, is not, he continues, a part of original sin as such, but arises by reason of the difference in the natures of the various individuals.<sup>126</sup>

He is furthermore fully conversant with the general thesis that sanctification is a kind of anticipation of the effects usually pro-

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 61b: "Verum est quod sanctificari proprie est de non-sancto sanctum fieri; unde habet comparationem et ad terminum a quo, quod est non-sanctus, et ad terminum adquem quod est sanctum. Unde proprie potuit esse in aliis hominibus a Christo, qui aliquando fuerunt filii irae et post facti sunt filii gratiae; non autem de Christo qui numquam fuit filius irae."

<sup>125</sup> Alexander, *ibid.*, fol. 60 c. Cf. St. Bernard, *Epistola* 174 ad Lugdun., Migne *PL*, 182, 333.

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Lottin, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-3; 189; 203-207.



duced by the sacraments of baptism or circumcision. Not that the sacraments of the Old and the New Testaments are identical. The sacraments of the Old Law differ from those of the New in that they do not effect what they signify, *non efficiunt quod figurant*. Imperfect as they are, they do not by themselves confer grace, but merely remove the sin.<sup>127</sup> Such an imperfection does not exist in the sacraments of the New Law, because they produce what they signify, as baptism, for example, in which is conferred the dual grace which purifies from the evil both of the sin and the punishment (*reatus*) for the sin, and which serves for virtues.<sup>128</sup> In his pious desire to defend the accepted differences in sanctification that placed the Blessed Virgin far above the Baptist, Alexander responds that even though sanctification in general asserts nothing more than a purification from the fault of original sin, an effect is produced by circumcision, in the case of certain persons sanctified, grace is superadded. This, however, was a special privilege.<sup>129</sup>

In this light, finally, sanctification can be considered from a dual viewpoint. First, that of its common effect which is cleansing from sin; and second, the grace superadded by way of singular prerogative, which is not equal in all men, since various privileges are conferred upon divers persons already sanctified. This distinction moreover corresponds to the two aspects in original sin. With respect to the lack of original justice (*carentia debitae justitiae*), sanctification like the sin itself is equal in all. In regard to inordinate concupiscence, sanctification is not equal. There is a marked difference between the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Baptist. In the Blessed Virgin concupiscence is removed to the extent that it

<sup>127</sup> Alexander, *op. cit.*, fol. 62a: "Sacramenta Veteris Legis non efficiunt quod figurant, quia quantum in se est, non conferebant gratiam, licet amoveret culpam aliquod illorum, sicut circumcisio."

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 62b: "Talis autem imperfectio non est in Novo Testamento, quia sacramenta ibi efficiunt quod figurant, sicut Baptismus, in quo datur gratia mundans a malo tam culpae quam poenae sive reatus pro culpa et etiam gratia ad virtutes."

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 60c: "Nec plus habet sanctificatio de ratione sua communi quam hujusmodi mundationem, ut dicamus quod per sanctificationem fiebat in utero nundum natis quod extra fiebat per circumcisionem jam natis. Tamen, praeter hanc communem rationem sanctificationis, in aliquibus personis sanctificatio superaddebatur gratis; sed hoc erat ex privilegio speciali, sicut narrat B. Ieronymus de B. Virgine."

would lead her to either mortal or venial sin. But in the Baptist, only the inclination towards mortal sin is removed, so that he was capable of sinning venially. In the prophet Jeremias the strength of concupiscence was only diminished but not removed. This confirmation in good which the Blessed Mother received at the moment of her sanctification in the womb of St. Anne did not extinguish concupiscence but merely prevented it from dominating her in regard to either mortal or venial sin. Upon conceiving the Son of God, however, concupiscence was completely extinguished in her.

Sanctificatio dupliciter potest considerari. Vel quantum ad illud quod est de ipsa communi ratione sanctificationis, scilicet mundationem a culpa originali; vel quantum ad privilegium gratiae ipsis sanctificatis superadditum. Hoc ultimo modo non fuit aequalis sanctificatio in omnibus, quia diversis sanctificatis diversa privilegia collata sunt. Item, primo modo, scilicet quantum ad mundationem a culpa originali, dupliciter consideratur sanctificatio, quia in originali duo sunt. Unum est carentia debitaie justitiae sive justitiae originalis aliunde contracta, et quoad hoc aequalis fuit sanctificatio in omnibus. Aliud est concupiscentia inordinata, et quantum ad hanc non fuit aequalis sanctificatio, sed secundum magis et minus. Quia in B. Virgine tollebatur concupiscentia in quantum ducebat ad effectum omnis peccati tam mortalis quam venialis. In B. Joanne tollebatur concupiscentia prout ducebat ad effectum mortalis peccati et non venialis: poterat enim peccare venialiter. . . . In Jeremia vero non tollebatur concupiscentia nec prout poterat ducere ad veniale nec ad mortale. . . . Dicimus enim quod cum sanctificatione B. Virginis [fuit] confirmatio in bono ut non posset peccare aliquo peccato, quia concupiscentia nullum habebat dominium in ipsa, quamvis adhuc esset concupiscentia in ea post sanctificationem in utero. Amplius autem postmodum confirmata est in conceptione Filii, quando plene extincta est in ea concupiscentia. Similiter in B. Joanne fuit quaedam confirmatio, ne scilicet posset peccare mortaliter, et hujus excellantiae fuit signum illa exsultatio in utero. In Jeremia autem non dicimus fuisse confirmationem sed tantum diminutionem concupiscentiae.<sup>130</sup>

John of Rupella († 1245), Odo Rigaux († 1275),

William of Melitona († 1257).

The influence which Friar Alexander exerted upon the early Franciscan school was incalculable. His approach to the problem of sanctification inspired the friars to consider Our Lady's sanctifica-

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 61b.

tion from several viewpoints. John of Rupella devoted a special question to this subject which was not only incorporated almost word for word in the Franciscan compilation called the *Summa Fratris Alexandri*,<sup>131</sup> but was also capable of inspiring similar treatment by Rupella's successors, both Odo Rigaux and William of Melitona (Milton, Melton, Middletown). In Rupella's treatise on the sanctification of Mary there are several subordinate questions, all of which are incorporated into the *Summa Fratris Alexandri*.

To appreciate the significance of the questions posed by Rupella in his treatise, it is necessary to recall briefly that the Franciscans adopted the mediate animation theory and consequently distinguished three principal moments in the process of generation: 1) conception proper which occurs when the spermatozoon and ovum fuse, and is regarded as the immediate result of the generative act; 2) the infusion of the rational soul some forty or even eighty days later, which modern theological circles refer to as consummated passive conception, but which was labelled by scholastics as the *nativitas in utero*; and finally 3) the *nativitas ex utero*, or birth in the usual sense.<sup>132</sup>

In regard to conception proper, Rupella,<sup>133</sup> the *Summa*,<sup>134</sup> Odo Rigaux,<sup>135</sup> and William of Melitona<sup>136</sup> raise two questions: Was the

<sup>131</sup> Cf. Doucet, *Prolegomena in Librum III*, pp. ccxvi, ccxli, ccxev.

<sup>132</sup> Allan Wolter, O.F.M., "Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the Early Franciscan School," (Paper read at the Franciscan Marian Congress, Santa Barbara, California, May 5, 1954), 14-15 (Typewritten).

<sup>133</sup> Joannis de Rupella, *Tractatus de Sanctificatione B. Virginis Mariae*, Cod. Tolosanensis 737, fol. 33b-36d. We were able to utilize this codex through the courtesy of Rev. Allan Wolter, O.F.M., to whom we wish to express our gratitude. For further information on the writings of Rupella, cf. Parthenius Minges, "De Scriptis Quibusdam Fr. Joannis de Rupella, O.F.M.," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 6 (1913), 597-622.

<sup>134</sup> *Summa Fratris Alexandri*, III, n. 73-84 (Quaracchi, 1948) IV, pp. 111-126.

<sup>135</sup> Odonis Rigaldi *Commentarium in IV Sententiarum Liber III*, Dist. 3; Codex Brug. 208, fol. 357d-360d. Cf. B. Pergamo, "De Quaestionibus Ineditis Fr. Odonis Rigaldi, Fr. Gulielmi de Melitona et Codicis Vat. Lat. 782 circa Naturam Theologiae deque Earum Relatione ad Summam Theologicam Fr. Alexandri Halensis," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 29 (1936), 3-54; 308-364.

<sup>136</sup> *Quaestio Fratris Gulielmi de Melitona de Sanctificatione Virginis*; Cod. Tholosanus 737, fol. 36d-39a. This codex we were able to use through the kindness of Rev. Allan Wolter, O.F.M., of the Franciscan Institute, to whom we acknowledge our indebtedness. Cf. A. Callebaut, "L'annee de la mort de

Blessed Virgin sanctified prior to conception? Was she sanctified in the very moment of conception?

The first question raised by the friars, whether Mary was sanctified prior to conception, was allied inextricably with the current theory of transmission of original sin. Was Mary purified in her parents? Briefly, the question regarded both Joachim and Anna. Were they both so abundantly filled with grace that not only were they freed from original sin in the customary fashion but also so purified that instead of transmitting original sin to their child they transmitted original justice as all parents would have done had Adam not fallen? The implication here is that the generative act was so purified that it did not become the medium of corrupting the flesh of the child.

Rejecting as they feel they must such a theory, the early friars advance their reasons. Grace affects only the person, not the nature as such, a fact self evident in baptism, in which concupiscence remains, not of course as sin, but only as a punishment. Although all nature sinned in Adam, and although the sin is removed by grace, thereby cleansing the person, the nature will be sanctified only when it is glorified in the life to come. To paraphrase Rupella: sanctification is twofold: sanctification of nature and that of the person. As regards the person sanctification stems from the essence of grace; but the sanctification of nature will take place in the future life, according to the Scriptures. Baptismal sanctification, which is a result of the grace present in the soul, is only the sanctification of the person, not nature. Since the *fomes* remains in nature even after baptism and is transmitted through generation, there can be no generation without sin. The reason is, that nature, which is not sanctified, is propagated through generation, which must contract sin. This is why Our Lady could not be sanctified in her parents. Prior to her conception she could be said to be in her parents as far as her nature was concerned, though not in her person.

Duples est sanctificatio, scilicet sanctificatio naturae et sanctificatio personae. Sanctificatio vero personae est per presentem gratiam; sanctificatio naturae non erit nisi per futuram gloriam, quia ibi sanctificabitur natura, scilicet in gloria, secundum quod dicitur I. ad Cor. 54-55: In resurrectione

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Fr. Guillaume de Melitona," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 19 (1926), 431-434.



sanctificabitur ipsa natura et tunc fiet sermo qui scriptus est; ubi est mors victoria tua? ubi est mors stimulus tuus? Et appellat stimulum fomitem. Unde sanctificatio quae est per Baptismum, quae est per presentem gratiam, non est sanctificatio naturae, sed sanctificatio solum personae. Sed fomes remanet adhuc post Baptismum in natura et transfunditur per generationem per totam naturam. Et propter hoc non est generatio sine peccato, quia natura non est sanctificata et per generationem transfunditur natura, et propter hoc illud quod generatur in generatione, necesse est quod contrahat peccatum. Et propter hoc non potuit B. Virgo in parentibus suis sanctificari, imo necesse fuit quod in generatione sua contraheret peccatum a parentibus; erat etiam in ipsis ante suam conceptionem quantum ad rationem naturae et non personae, et propter hoc in ipsis non potuit sanctificari.<sup>137</sup>

The *Summa*,<sup>138</sup> Odo Rigaux,<sup>139</sup> and William of Melitona,<sup>140</sup> all concur in that conclusion. Their reasoning process can be summed up in the proposition that however holy the Blessed Virgin's parents may have been, their personal holiness did not entail a purification of their nature, and therefore did not extend to Mary herself.

In reply to the second question, whether Mary was sanctified at the very moment of conception, our authors again respond in the negative, although Odo Rigaux parts company with his confreres in contributing the incisive argument. John Rupella, the *Summa*, and William of Melitona comprise a single group, in that the *Summa* copies Rupella verbatim, and William only a little less slavishly. The reasons they assign derive from St. Bernard.<sup>141</sup> First, they say that Mary's conception was no different from that of any other human being. Since it proceeded from sexual desire, sin was present. The conception affected by Our Lady's parents was essentially sinful, and since the presence and action of the Holy Ghost is definitely excluded, no sanctification is possible.

<sup>137</sup> Rupella, *op. cit.*, fol. 34a.

<sup>138</sup> *Summa Fratris Alexandri*, no. 75, (Quaracchi), pp. 112-113.

<sup>139</sup> *Op. cit.*, fol. 358a: "Respondeo: dicendum quod Virgo non fuit sanctificata ante conceptionem."

<sup>140</sup> *Op. cit.*, fol. 37c: "Respondeo: est sanctificatio personae per gratiam in praesenti et est sanctificatio naturae per gloriam in futuro . . . Unde sanctificatio quae est per baptismum, est sanctificatio personae, non naturae. Unde fomes remanet post baptismum, licet diminutus, et transfunditur per generationem. Unde, quia transfusio est in generatione, operatione naturae, quae non est sanctificata, non transfunditur sanctificatio parentum in prolem."

<sup>141</sup> *Op. cit.*, Migne PL 182, 335.

Et ostendit Bernardus quod non, dicens: Forte inter amplexus maritales sanctitas ipsa conceptioni se immiscuit, ut simul sanctificata fuerit et concepta? Ita forte dicetur; sed ipse contra hoc obicit: Sed haec non admittit ratio. Quo modo namque aut sanctitas absque spiritu sanctificante aut Sancto Spiritui societas cum peccato fuit? aut peccatum quo modo non fuit ubi libido non defuit. (Et formatur ratio sic: Non potest esse sanctificatio absque Spiritus Sanctificantis; sed non potest esse societas Spiritus sanctificantis cum peccato; ergo nec praesentia; ergo non potest esse sanctificatio cum peccato; sed conceptio fuit in peccato. Unde praesentia peccati fuit in conceptione; ergo praesentia Spiritus Sanctificantis non fuit in sua conceptione; ergo nec sanctificatio. Minorem probat scilicet quod ibi fuit praesentia peccati. In omni conceptione naturali est libido; sed ubicumque est libido, ibi est peccatum; ergo in omni conceptione naturali est peccatum; sed conceptio Virginis fuit naturalis; ergo fuit concepta in peccato.)

Secunda ratio Bernardi: Ante conceptionem minime potuit, quia non erat; sed nec in ipso conceptu propter peccatum quod ibi erat; restat ergo ut post conceptum in utero iam existens sanctificationem accepisse credatur quae excluso peccato, sanctam fecit nativitatem, non tamen conceptionem. Ergo post conceptionem [et] non in conceptione fuit sanctificata.

Tertia ratio Bernardi: per comparisonem ad Christum. Si paucis filiorum hominum datum est cum sanctitate nasci, non tamen concipi, ut uni sane servetur praerogativa sancti conceptus, (qui omnes sanctificat; solus absque peccato veniens faciet purificationem peccatorum et iste fuit Jesus Christus. Sed si alii daretur sanctificatio in suo conceptu, non ei servaretur praerogativa dignitatis) sanctificationis in conceptu. Cum ergo Christus habeat praerogativam sancti conceptus, patet quod aliquis alius non fuit sanctificatus in conceptu; ergo nec B. Virgo.

Quarta ratio Bernardi: "Solus Dominus Jesus, de Spiritu Sancto conceptus, quia solus ante conceptum sanctus, quo excepto respicit universos quod unus humiliter confitetur: In iniquitatibus conceptus sum et in peccatis concepit me mater mea." Solus ergo conceptus est absque peccato; non ergo B. Virgo; ergo non fuit sanctificata in suo conceptu.

Quinta ratio: Si B. Virgo non fuisset concepta in peccato, ergo non fuisset obligata peccato nec habuisset reatum peccati; si ergo quod non habet reatum peccati non indiget redemptione, quia redemptio est propter obligationem ad peccatum et ad reatum peccati, ergo ipsa non indigeret redemptione; \* ergo non poneretur quod esset pertinens ad redemptionem; (sed hoc non est ponendum, quia redempta fuit per Christum; ergo fuit concepta in peccato; non ergo sanctificata in conceptu).

Sexta ratio: Salvator noster sicut pro liberandis omnibus venit, ita nullum a reatu liberum reperit. Ergo nec B. Virginem invenit liberam a reatu peccati; ergo ipsa fuit concepta in peccato; non ergo sanctificata fuit in conceptu suo.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>142</sup> Rupella, *op. cit.*, fol. 34a-34c. A comparison between this text and that in the *Summa* (n. 76, Quaracchi, 113) reveals identical wording except the parts in parentheses which the *Summa* omits. William of Melitona uses the arguments but in the first he omits the quotation from St. Bernard which the *Summa* used, and copies only Rupella's elaboration—the part in parentheses.

### Nature and Person

Another difficulty immediately rears its head. How can the marital act be essentially sinful, asks Rupella, if the exercise of the marriage right can at times be meritorious? His reply consists of two parts. The first is based upon the distinction between nature and person. As a personal act, he says, the exercise of the marriage privilege is under the command of the will and when the latter is moved by grace or charity, the act is not only not sinful, but meritorious as well. But if we on the other hand consider that act as a function of corrupted nature wherein concupiscence reigns, even though no personal sin is involved, the conception follows the laws of the corrupt nature and the child conceived contracts sin.<sup>143</sup>

The other reason for denying the fact that Our Lady was sanctified at the moment of conception is that it is derogatory to the dignity that is Christ's alone, for He alone was immaculately conceived. Such a privilege moreover would exclude Mary from the universal need of redemption. It was argued that if the Blessed Virgin were not conceived in sin, she would have no stain of sin, without which she would have no need of redemption. But this cannot be allowed, since she too was redeemed by Christ.<sup>144</sup>

Although Odo Rigaux agrees with the others of the group and gives a negative answer to this question, he does develop other arguments to prove the point. He rejects at the outset the argument borrowed from St. Bernard by the others, taking exception as he does to the proposition that the marital act was essentially sinful. His argumentation is that since sin is not in the flesh, it cannot be

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In the third argument Melitona includes the part in parentheses omitted by the *Summa*. Both the *Summa* and William of Melitona seem to employ Rupella as their immediate source. In argument five, Melitona omits the portion after the asterisk. For the rest, he copies the arguments of Rupella almost verbatim.

<sup>143</sup> William of Melitona, *op. cit.*, fol. 37c: "Respondeo quod est considerare coitum conjugalem secundum quod est actus personae vel naturae. Prout est actus personae, sic est voluntas movens informata caritate et sic ordinatus et meritorius. Prout autem est actus naturae, sic motivum est fomes peccati et a parte illa est libido ibi et deordinatio. Sed conceptio respicit naturam moventem et non voluntatem propter quod in conceptione semper est libido et inordinatio; propter quod non potest esse ibi sanctificatio secundum Bernardum."

<sup>144</sup> Cf. footnote 142.

present in the parents, for the simple reason, as Augustine says, that the marital act is a necessary cause of propagation and therefore sinless. In the supposition that Mary's conception was miraculous, there could be no question of sin.

Videtur auctoritas Bernardi habere aliquod dubium de hoc quod dicit "propter peccatum" quod inerat. Quia peccatum non erat in carne, similiter non erat in parentibus quia concubitus matrimonialis, necessarius causa generandi, est inculpabilis, sicut dicit Augustinus, De bono conjugali. Supponendum quod miraculosa fuit ipsius conceptio; ergo manifestum quod nullum fuit ibi peccatum. Quid est ergo hoc quod dicit Bernardus? <sup>145</sup>

He proposes other reasons to corroborate his position. Sanctification by grace, he says, since it is a rebirth presupposes birth, even as supernatural life supposes natural life. Where there is no soul there can be no grace and without grace, no sanctification. Another objection he draws from the relation of original sin to death, and from his supposition that Mary actually died. If Mary's body was sanctified at the moment of its conception, when her soul was infused, it would not have contracted original sin, and then no explanation could be given for her death. Therefore either she had died by way of a special dispensation, or an injustice was perpetrated upon her. But she did not die by way of a dispensation, such as was granted to Christ alone. No one, moreover, is liberated from the mass of sin (*massa peccati*), save in virtue of the redemption of Christ. Mary would not have been redeemed by Christ, if she had been purified in her conception. St. Paul writes that all have sinned in Adam, and sin we know exists in the soul as such. Mary's soul therefore must have contracted sin and her flesh could not have been purified at the moment of her conception.

Augustinus, Ad Dardanum: "Prius oportet nasci quam renasci et prius nasci ex utero quam renasci ex utero." Si ergo renasci est propter gratiae infusionem, ergo oportuit quod prius nasceretur quam sanctificaretur; non enim fuit sanctificatio in ipsa conceptione. —Item, sanctificatio non est nisi per gratiam; sed gratiae non est subjectum nisi anima; ergo impossibile fuit eam sanctificari nisi postquam anima ejus creata est; hoc autem non fuit in conceptione; imo post, ergo, etc.—

Item, si fuit sanctificatio in conceptione, ergo anima adveniens non contraxit originale; ergo si mors est poena originalis, non fuit obnoxia morti; ergo aut mortua est ex dispensatione aut injuria est factae; sed non fuit

<sup>145</sup> Odo Rigaux, *op. cit.*, fol. 358b–359a.



mortua ex dispensatione, quia solus Christus fuit talis; nec facta est ei enjuria. Illud constat; ergo contraxit originale; ergo caro non fuit sanctificata in conceptione. . . .

Item, Augustinus: "Nemo liberatur a massa peccati nisi in fide Redemptoris." Ergo beata Virgo spectat ad redemptionem et liberationem Christi; sed nihil a miseria liberatur nisi quod prius fuerit subjectum miseriae; similiter nihil liberatur a peccato nisi quod fuit subjectum peccati; ergo B. Virgo habuit originale.—

Item, V Rom. X: Omnes in Adam peccaverunt, sed peccatum non est nisi in anima; ergo in anima Virginis fuit peccatum; ergo nec in ipsa conceptione nec in ipsa infusione fuit sanctificata; sed si fuit in utero, hoc fuit post conceptionem et post animae infusionem; sicut dicit Bernardus.—

Item, quod animae infusionem sanctificata fuerit videtur, quia prius est vita naturae quam gratiae; si ergo infusio animae respicit vitam naturae, sanctificatio vero vitam gratiae, ergo, etc.—

Item, prius est esse quam bene esse; sed anima dat esse, sanctificatio bene esse; etc. Respondeo: Dicendum quod Virgo gloriosa post conceptionem fuit sanctificata et post animae infusionem, et rationes ad hoc inductae sunt concedendae.<sup>146</sup>

In this way he also solves the final question, whether Mary had been sanctified before birth. In his concluding remarks Odo Rigaux asserts that Mary must have been sanctified not only after her conception but also after the infusion of her soul. This can be seen in his distinction between birth in the womb and birth in the proper sense. Birth in the womb results when the soul is united with the flesh which is in the womb; and it is after this birth that the Virgin was sanctified. But there is another birth, taken in its proper sense, and it is in this sense that St. Bernard spoke when he said that the Mother of our Lord was rendered holy even before she was born.<sup>147</sup>

### Moment of Sanctification

The Franciscan triad of Rupella,<sup>148</sup> the *Summa*<sup>149</sup> and William<sup>150</sup> of Melitona reply to yet another question, was Mary sanctified between the moment of conception and the moment the soul was

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 359b: "Nativitas in utero est in unione animae ad carnem quae est in utero; post hanc nativitatem sanctificata est Virgo. Est alia nativitas ex utero et de hac intelligit Bernardus quod Mater Domini fuit ante sancta quam nata."

<sup>148</sup> Rupella, *op. cit.*, fol. 34d.

<sup>149</sup> *Summa*, n. 77 (Quaracchi), 114-115.

<sup>150</sup> William of Melitona, *Op. cit.*, fol. 38a.

infused? And once again their answer is negative. They reason that prior to the birth in the womb (*nativitas in utero*) no human person is present but only human flesh. Only when joined to the soul does the body become susceptible to grace and sanctification.

In the next question to be analyzed William of Melitona displays his real genius in grasping the real problem of the Immaculate Conception. Unlike the three others in the early Franciscan group who failed to perceive the actual problem, William endeavors to answer the question, whether Mary was sanctified in the infusion of the soul. In the very introduction of this crucial question, the formulation of which is usually credited to St. Bonaventure, we have a significant advance towards the ultimate happy solution of the problem. Its importance should not be underestimated.

William's answer to the inquiry is in the negative. He argues that if Mary were purified at this precise moment, redemption would have been superfluous, since it presupposes that the soul has contracted the stain of original sin. He recognizes the objection which holds that if Mary were sanctified only after the infusion of her soul, it would detract from her honor, since this would place her as it were on the same level as the others who were sanctified before their birth *ex utero*. In rebuttal he replies that her excellence consists in the positive graces bestowed upon her which far exceeded those given to any other saint and which rendered her immune from sin.

Quaeritur utrum fuerit sanctificata in infusione animae.

Quod non videtur: quia tunc simul esset et animata et sanctificata et tunc non indigeret redemptione, quia numquam haberet peccatum; redemption enim absolvit a reatu culpae.

Item, Leo Papa: "Salvator noster, sicut pro liberandis omnibus venit, ita nullum a reatu liberum reperit; igitur B. Virgo quandoque fuit rea poenae; igitur non semper sancta.

Item, secundum Bernardum: Fuit filia irae; unde dicit ad Lugdunenses: Attamen quis dicat Spiritu Sancto repletum manere nihilominus filium irae?

Contra: Bernardus, Ad Lugdunenses loquitur contra ponentes beatam Virginem partam esse a virgine, dicit: "Non est hoc virginem honorare, sed virginis honore detrahere"; quasi dicat: hoc detrahit honori Virginis adscribere alii quod de ea dicitur; sed si est sanctificata post infusionem animae, hoc convenit aliis; igitur ponendo hoc detrahitur honori ejus.

Respondeo: Est notare praerogativam alicujus in singularitate facti sive rei, est et alicujus in singularitate modi. Unde attribuire convenientiam sive communicationem aliquibus in re derogat praerogativae quae est ex

singularitate rei; unde quia est fecunditas virginalis seu praerogativa beatae Virginis ratione singularitatis rei, ponere aliam virginem et fecundam est detrudere honori ejus. Praerogativa ejus quantum ad sanctificationem attenditur in singularitate modi; unde Bernardus: "Ego puto quod et copiosior sanctitatis benedictio in eam descenderit quae ipsius non solum sanctificaret ortum, sed et viram ab omni decinceps peccato custodiret immunem, quod nemini alteri in natis mulierum creditur esse donatum." Haec Bernardus. Modum igitur sanctificationis illius quantum ad excellentiam in sanctitate esset detrudere illius honori, non quantum ad statum.

Item, beata Virgo obtinuit gradum sanctitatis medium inter Filium et alios; sed medium non per abnegationem sed per communicationem; igitur communicavit in aliquo modo sanctitatis cum Filio, quia constat quod in gradu aliquo non; sed videtur quod in nullo, nisi forte in hoc quod sanctificata fuit in conjunctione corporis cum anima, quia si in aliquo, quaeritur in quo? Respondeo: Beata Virgo obtinet gradum medium sanctitatis in hoc quod ceteris praestatur per partes, illi praestatur in toto. Unde Hieronymus: "Ceteris per partes praestatur, Mariae vero simul se totam infundit plenitudo gratiae, nec tamen pervenit ad sanctitatem Filii." Unde uno modo dicitur medium per abnegationem quantum ad modum sanctitatis, quia fuit praedita virtutibus juxta modum sanctorum, quia excellebat; nec juxta modum Christi, quia non pervenit ad illum. Vel bonitas vel sanctitas in moribus attenditur per approximationem fini; unde majoritas secundum majorem approximationem, major appropinquatio est ex majori sanctificatione. Dicitur igitur medium secundum communicationem ratione convenientiae majoris in similitudine, non ratione convenientiae in gradu sicut innuitur in opponendo, sed ponitur in appropinquatione ad gradum.<sup>151</sup>

The early Franciscan masters raised other questions about Our Lady's sanctification. Both Rupella and the *Summa* seek an answer to this question; was the Blessed Virgin sanctified after the infusion of the soul and in the womb of her mother? They are all of them in agreement in answering in the affirmative, although Odo Rigaux and William of Melitona did not think it necessary to devote a special question to it. Rupella, upon whom the *Summa* depends, considers this in a special question, actually the fourth of his treatise on Our Lady's sanctification. This privilege must be granted to the Blessed Virgin, they say. There is no problem here for these friars, because the medieval theologians had no doubt that if Jeremias and John the Baptist had been sanctified in the womb, this prerogative certainly would not have been denied the Mother of God.<sup>152</sup>

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 38a-38b.

<sup>152</sup> *Op. cit.*, fol. 35c: "Concedendum est quod gloriosa Virgo ante suam

The problem that confronts Rupella in a further question is whether in addition to Mary's sanctification *in utero* another sanctification was necessary that Christ in taking flesh and blood from her would not contract sin.<sup>153</sup> The *Summa*<sup>154</sup> inquires into the same problem, but in a different order. Sanctification affects only the person, not the nature. Even though the parents or parent is personally sanctified, this does not of itself insure that the child conceived will not contract sin. As regards Mary's flesh, we can distinguish a twofold relationship. One concerns her soul, we are told by Rupella,<sup>155</sup> and under this aspect her flesh is considered as it were in itself and not as related to other flesh. The second regards human nature, as a medium of transmitting through parenthood her species or nature to another. Under this aspect her flesh is related to the body that owes its origin to her. In Mary's first sanctification only the relation of her flesh to her own soul was affected, even though this purification removed all inclination in her towards sin and in addition quelled the concupiscence of others in regard to her. In conceiving her divine Son, Mary required another sanctification as to nature, in order that she might by nature be the principle from which other flesh might descend from her flesh. This was necessary so that from her might come the flesh which was to be united to the Divine Word without sin.

From this question John of Rupella proceeds to yet another: was Mary purified of the *fomes peccati* in her first sanctification? In answer he appeals once more to the distinction between person and nature. In her first sanctification, he tells us, the *fomes* was not removed from the Virgin as far as nature is concerned; but in the second it was removed, since in this other one her flesh according as it is the principle for another body was changed. This took place so that from her flesh the body of Christ might be assumed without sin. The *fomes* which concerns the person has a double effect, the first of which is proneness to sin, and the second, difficulty to good. Through her grace of the first sanctification the *fomes* was removed

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nativitatem post infusionem animae in suo corpore fuit sanctificata in utero matris suae; et concedo etiam quod majori dono gratiae fuit ditata quam aliquis alius."

<sup>153</sup> *Op. cit.*, fol. 35c.

<sup>154</sup> *Summa*, no. 80 (Quaracchi), 121-122.

<sup>155</sup> *Op. cit.*, fol. 35d-36a.



from the Virgin in a dual manner, according as it concerns the person, and through the second, as to nature according as it concerns the nature. But it is not removed in its entirety in the person through the first sanctification, although here it is expurgated, as regards the proneness to evil. In the second, all difficulty to do good is removed. He concludes by stressing his belief in the fact that the Blessed Virgin in the first sanctification was so purified from sin and the dual *fomes* that there remained in her person nothing to purge.

Ad istam quaestionem dicendum quod fomes respicit naturam et personam. In prima autem sanctificatione non removebatur fomes a Virgine in quantum respicit naturam, sed in secunda, quia in secunda mutata fuit caro ejus ut est principium ad carnem aliam, et hoc ut de ipsa carne Virginis sumeretur caro sine peccato quae Verbo uniretur. Fomes autem prout respicit personam, duplicem habet effectum, quorum unus est pronitas ad malum, secundus est difficultas ad bonum. . . . Et appello difficultatem ad bonum secundum quod dicimus quod vis animae concupiscibilis pigra est ad diligendum et concupiscendum Deum vel summum bonum; irascibilis pigra ad extensionem in arduum; rationalis pigra ad appetendum summum verum. Per gratiam ergo sanctificationis primae removebatur fomes a Virgine secundum quod respicit personam; per gratiam secundae, in quantum respicit naturam. Iterum, non omnino removebatur in persona per gratiam primae sanctificationis; sed per primam sanctificationem remotus est fomes a Virgine, in quantum dicit pronitatem ad malum. In secunda quantum ad difficultatem ad bonum. Unde quantum ad hoc post primam sanctificationem non posset peccare, sed extingueretur tota pronitas quae est ad malum; tamen adhuc post illam remansit difficultas ad bonum, quae fuit remota in secunda sanctificatione. Et ita duplex est differentia secundum hoc primae sanctificationis ad secundum. Credo tamen firmiter quod gloriosa Virgo in prima sanctificatione quantum ad suam personam ita sanctificata et purgata fuit a peccato et a fomite prout dicit pronitatem ad malum et difficultatem ad bonum quod nihil in persona sua remansit purgandum, sed solum in natura fuit sancta in secunda sanctificatione. Une credo quod in prima removebatur omnis effectus qui poterat respicere personam ejus, licet non respiciens naturam, quia nisi hoc concedatur propter quosdam dicitur quod etiam in persona removebatur pronitas ad malum; in secunda, difficultas ad bonum, sicut difficultas cognoscendi et discernendi verum quantum ad rationalem, et sic de aliis viribus.<sup>156</sup>

### The Fomes Peccati

His brilliant confrere William of Melitona also discusses to what extent the *fomes peccati* or concupiscence was affected by Mary's

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, fol. 36a.

first sanctification. Was she perfectly, illimitably sanctified? Or was she sanctified in regard to something specific? His reply can be synopsized along these lines. In Mary's first sanctification the *fomes* was so subjugated and subdued by virtue of the abundance of grace that it was powerless of itself to induce her soul to any sin whatsoever. But in the conception of her Divine Son not only was it overpowered, but extinguished altogether.

Quaeritur utrum fuerit sanctificata in conceptione Filii Dei quantum ad aliquid an omnino et perfecte fuerit sanctificata?

Respondeo quod in prima sanctificatione fuit ita subjectus fomes et suppeditatus ex abundantia gratiae quod non valuit de se animam inclinare ad peccatum aliquid. Dico tamen sine praeiudicio quod in tantum potuisset fomes excitari ab occasionibus exterioribus quod posset ut si Virgo exposuisset se aspectibus mundanorum et colloquiis hominum a quibus subtraxit se instructu gratiae abundantis posset ita excitari fomes et fulciri ex aliquo actu exteriori quod posset inclinare animam ad aliquid veniale; unde Bernardus super Missus: Suspiciandum non est quod invenerit Angelus ostium Virginis cuius fuit in proposito hominum frequentias fugere, vitare colloquia ne vel turbaretur orantis silentium vel continentis castitas tentaretur. In conceptione Filii non fuit suppeditatus sed omnino extinctus.<sup>157</sup>

### St. Bonaventure (1221-1274)

In St. Bonaventure, the actual founder of the Franciscan school, who in his synthesis of Franciscan thought gave to the earlier school a unity it did not possess,<sup>158</sup> we discover an approach to the problem of the Immaculate Conception that showed a perspicacious grasp of its crucial elements and made a gigantic stride in the direction of

<sup>157</sup> *Op. cit.*, fol. 38c.

<sup>158</sup> Philotheus Boehner, "Alexander of Hales," ("The History of the Franciscan School," I, St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1943), *passim*. (Mimeographed); *idem*, "John of Rupella, St. Bonaventure" ("The History of the Franciscan School," II, St. Bonaventure, N.Y., 1944), pp. 33 ff. (Mimeographed). See also E. Longpre, "Melanges historiques de theologie franciscaine," *La France Franciscaine*, 5 (1922), 426-440; B. Vogt, "Der Ursprung und die Entwicklung der Franziskanerschule," *Franziskanische Studien*, (1922), 137-158; E. Longpre, "L'Ecole franciscaine. Histoire partielle, histoire vraie," *La France Franciscaine*, 6 (1923), 108-134; F. Ehrle, "Das Studium der Handschriften der mittelalterlichen Scholastik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Schule des hl. Bonaventura," *Zeitschrift fuer katolische theologie*, (1883), 1-51; For chronology of St. Bonaventure, cf. P. Glorieux, "Essai sur la chronologie de Saint Bonaventure dans l'Ordre des Freres Mineurs," *La France Franciscaine*, 4 (1921), 41-51; For biography, cf. E. Longpre, "Bonaventure (Saint)," *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de geographie ecclesiastiques*, 9 (1937), 742-788.

the ultimate triumph of the Marian prerogative. In spite of his professed dependence on Alexander, whom he reveres highly and chooses to follow closely on all topics, Bonaventure in his treatment of the problem leaves the beaten path of his predecessors and proceeds far beyond Alexander and the others.

During the actual writing of his Commentary on the Sentences, which took a few years, from 1249–1251, according to some authors, Bonaventure was familiar with the works of Alexander, Odo Rigaux, St. Albert the Great, and with the compilation known as the *Summa Alexandri*.<sup>159</sup> The Seraphic Doctor, unlike his predecessors, such as John Rupella, limits himself to a consideration of only a few points. He falls back on his customary tripartite division. It is in the III Book of the Sentences, that he treats of the sanctification of the Virgin Mary with respect to time. The plan he chose to follow, much simpler than that of the earlier friars, is the following: the hypothesis of sanctification of the body of the Virgin anterior to animation, in question one; the hypothesis of sanctification of the soul before the contraction of original sin, in question two; and finally the hypothesis of sanctification of the soul in the womb of her mother but before birth, in question three.<sup>160</sup>

To the first question, whether the flesh of the Virgin Mary was sanctified before animation, Bonaventure replies in the negative. Here he is in full accord with his predecessors, the friars of the early Franciscan school. It is absurd, argues the Seraphic Doctor, to speak of sanctification of the body, when the soul does not yet exist. One must not speak of sanctification of the body, but rather of its purification; since sanctification is achieved through sanctifying grace. But the subject of this grace is not, and cannot be, the body, since grace cannot be infused except into a rational soul.<sup>161</sup>

There are a few theological principles which Bonaventure employs to refute this opinion. The first can be presented in the following manner. For the Seraphic Doctor, original sin is not merely privation of original justice, but also a necessity of concupiscence.<sup>162</sup> As

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Doucet, *Prolegomena in Librum III*, p. ccxlvii.

<sup>160</sup> *In III Sententiarum, Dist. III, Pars i, Art. 1* (Quaracchi, 1887), III, p. 60 ff.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>162</sup> *In II Sententiarum, Dist. XXX, Art. ii, Quaestio 1* (Quaracchi, 1885), II, p. 722: "Sic etiam originale peccatum dicitur esse in aliquo non solum, quia

Bonaventure conceived it, original sin involved three elements: 1) lack of original justice (Anselm); 2) concupiscence (Augustine); and 3) the *foeditas carnis*. The first he calls essential; the second, material; and the third, causal.<sup>163</sup> The privation of original justice carries with it also privation of sanctifying grace.<sup>164</sup> The soul contracts original sin through its union with a defiled body.<sup>165</sup> It would seem to follow from this, that if the body had been purified before, the soul in its union with the body, would not have contracted this sin.<sup>166</sup> The soul of the Blessed Virgin, it would seem in the supposition that her body was cleansed, would thus have been preserved from original sin.

The second tenet he proposes in pretty much the following way. In the actual order willed by God, it is sanctification rather than purification that is required for deliverance or preservation from original sin. Now this sin is remitted only through the communication of sanctifying grace, which is conferred upon the soul and not upon the flesh. Since the soul of Our Lady in the hypothesis did not yet come into existence, the only possible mode of sanctification would consist in the sanctification of the soul of her parents, in that the Virgin would have been sanctified in the person of her parents, Joachim and Anna.<sup>167</sup>

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caret iustitia originali, sed etiam, quia curvitatem habet et necessitatem concupiscendi." Cf. Lottin, *op. cit.*, p. 223: "Bonaventure concilie donc, en les approuvant toutes deux, les deux formules débattues dans les écoles."

<sup>163</sup> *Op. cit.*, *Dist. XXXIII, Art. ii, Quaes. 1* (Quaracchi), II, 788: "Ista tria concurrunt ad originale peccatum, scilicet debitae iustitiae carentia et concupiscentia et carnis foeditas; et primum est ipsi originali essenziale, secundum vero materiale et tertium causale."

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dist. XXIX, Art. ii, Quaes. 1* (Quaracchi), II, p. 701a; cf. also *ibid. Quaes. 2*, p. 703b.

<sup>165</sup> *Ibid.*, *Dist. XXXI, Art. ii, Quaest. 1* (Quaracchi) II, p. 748a: "Anima contrahit peccatum originale mediante carne." *Ibid.*, p. 749b: "Ex hoc igitur clarum est, quod foeditas, quae est in carne, potest animam sibi unitam facere peccatricem. Et quia ista foeditas a primo parente habet traduci in omnes posteros genitos secundum legem propagationis; hinc est, quod mediante carne ad omnes transfundit originale." Cf., Lottin, *op. cit.*, pp. 227 f, who states that Bonaventure is in accord not so much with Alexander, as with Odo Rigaux, from whom he borrowed the idea of *colligantia*, to explain the manner in which carnal corruption influences the soul.

<sup>166</sup> *In III Sententiarum, Dist. III, Pars i, Quaes. 1* (Quaracchi), II, p. 61. Cf. J. Bittremieux, "Le sentiment de S. Bonaventure sur l'Immaculée Conception de la Sainte Vierge," *Etudes Franciscaines*, 40 (1928), 367-394.

<sup>167</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.



But this, however, is impossible, concludes Bonaventure. It is impossible because it implies that grace is transmitted by way of generation. Original justice, which gift is conferred upon nature, can be transmitted through generation; but sanctifying grace, because it is a divine gift conferred upon a person, cannot be transmitted through the generative act.<sup>168</sup>

Our Lady, as Bonaventure emphasized, could not have been sanctified in her parents, for two other reasons. Although it is quite possible for sanctification to be transmitted to the child by the parent, as is the case in original justice, it does not take place through the carnal act, since then two opposites would be said to be present simultaneously in the same thing.<sup>169</sup> The second reason is based upon the high honor of the Virgin. Suppose, he states, that sanctification would be effected and the libidinous element would by divine intervention be eliminated; still, it is not becoming that it should be eliminated, for the very reason that such is the privilege of the Virgin alone. For she alone, as the saints claim, conceived without sin and gave birth without pain. Such a prerogative therefore must not be conceded to her parents.<sup>170</sup>

In answer to one of several objections, Bonaventure admits the existence of the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and takes extra pains to advance reasons to defend it. There are some people, he says, who celebrate the Conception of the Virgin, but I would not dare either to praise them outright or to condemn them. If I say that I would not dare to approve the feast, he continues, in apologetic undertones it seems, it is because the holy Fathers, who in their great love and devotion had instituted other Marian feasts, had issued no decree about solemnizing her Conception. In support of this view he cites the example of St. Bernard. But, on the other

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<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62: "Quia gratia sanctificationis non habet transfundi a parente in prolem, pro eo quod proles non est in parente secundum animam; ideo nec in parente habet sanctificationis gratiam."

<sup>169</sup> *Ibid.*; "Etsi hoc esset possibile, quod sanctificatio derivaretur a parente in prolem, sicut originalis justitia; nunquam tamen derivatur mediante coitu libidinoso, quia tunc duo opposita essent simul est semel in eodem."

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*: "Esto quod sanctificatio adesset, et libido defuerit virtute divina; non tamen decuit, ut deesset, propter hoc quod haec est solius beatae Virginis praerogativa; sola enim ipsa, ut Sancti dicunt, sine peccato concepit et sine dolore peperit; et ideo hoc parentibus concedi non debuit beatae Virginis, sed soli Virgini reservari."

hand, he continues, I would not dare to reprehend these good people, because, it is said, this feast was first celebrated under the auspices of divine revelation. Now if this be true, it is doubtless a good thing to solemnize the feast. But, because this is not authentic, we are not compelled to believe it. At the same time, however, because it is not contrary to faith, we are not forced to deny it either.<sup>171</sup>

It is in the second question that Bonaventure gives evidence of his genius as a perspicacious theologian in grasping the precise import of the problem. Here he departs from the outlook of the earlier friars. Although William of Melitona raised the same question, it is generally admitted that the Seraphic Doctor was the first to formulate it. The crucial question he asked is this, Was the soul of the Blessed Virgin sanctified before contracting original sin? <sup>172</sup> The importance of posing such a question ought not to be underestimated.

In response to this vital question, Bonaventure proceeds with caution born of great prudence, and presents the arguments of those in favor of the privilege first. In order to understand this problem, he says, it should be remembered what these authors wish to convey. They say that sanctifying grace came before the stain of original sin, and the reason for this position is that it behooves the Virgin to be sanctified in the most excellent manner possible, far above that found in other saints, not only in regard to the abundance of sanctity, but also with respect to time. They contend, he continues, that grace was infused in her in the instant of her creation, and that in the same instant her soul was infused in her body. Now, because grace is much more powerful than nature, the effect of the grace of sanctity prevails more in the body than the effect of turpitude in the soul. Therefore, they say, she did not contract sin.<sup>173</sup>

This opinion, he continues, seems to be based upon a whole constellation of arguments from fitness: such as, the honor due Christ, that his mother, from whom he took flesh and blood, be the most pure; the singular prerogative of the Virgin that she should be endowed with a greater sanctity than all the other saints; the fact

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 63a.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 65: "Utrum anima beatae Virginis sanctificata fuerit ante originalis peccati contractionem."

<sup>173</sup> *Ibid.*, 66b.

that Mary is the mediatrix between us and Christ, even as Christ between us and God; for just as there had been a person immune from original sin both in body and in soul, whether in cause or in effect; and a person possessing in both ways original sin; so also there ought to be an intermediate person who in a certain sense would have and in a certain sense would not have the sin. And this person is the Blessed Virgin.<sup>174</sup>

To these arguments from fitness, moreover, other reasons can be adduced, continues the Seraphic Doctor. The great Anselm, they contend, speaks in favor of the privilege. What is quite important is the fact that this position is not contrary to the truths found in Sacred Scripture or to the Christian faith. It is not prejudicial to, in fact it is more consonant with, the truths of Scripture, if you consider the mysteries found in it. The Blessed Virgin is depicted as the Ark of the Covenant; her soul as the urn into which the manna was kept. Since therefore the urn was first filled with manna before it was placed in the Ark of the Covenant, the soul of the Virgin was sanctified, in priority of nature, before it was united with the flesh. Nor is it contrary to Christian faith, for they say the Virgin was freed from original sin through grace, which came from and had its origin in the faith of Christ, the head, even as the grace of other saints. And although this grace prevented the infection of the soul, it did not prevent the defilement of the body. For this reason, because of the defilement of the body, the penalties in all justice remained in the Virgin Mary; for grace of sanctification does not obviate the punishment, but rather the stain. And thus it is that the Virgin, subject to the penalties, was freed from original sin by Christ, but in a manner different from others. Others had been righted after falling; but Our Lady, about to fall as it were, was sustained that she might not fall. An example of this would be the picture of two persons falling in the mud. And so they conclude, asserts the Seraph, that the Virgin has been subject to the infection of original sin not in effect, but only in cause.<sup>175</sup>

But there is another opinion, says Bonaventure, which claims that the sanctification of the Virgin came only after the contraction of

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<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 67a.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

original sin, since no one was immune from original sin except the Son of Mary.<sup>176</sup> This opinion, he states without equivocation, is the more common, more reasonable and the more solid. It is the more common opinion, he claims, because almost all hold that the Blessed Virgin had original sin, which is evident in the various penalties she was subject to, which she did not suffer for the redemption of others. It must not be said that she merely assumed these penalties; she contracted them. The opinion is also more reasonable. The reason is that a being of nature precedes a being of grace: *Esse naturae praecedit esse gratiae*. From this it follows that the soul ought first of all to be united with the body before it can be adorned with divine grace. But the soul which is united with the body before being sanctified by grace is infected by original sin from which grace delivers it shortly afterwards.<sup>177</sup>

This latter argument, strong as it may have seemed to others, such as William of Melitona, has no apodictic value for Bonaventure. To this proposition, *esse naturae praecedit esse gratiae*, which he places in the first question, but does not answer there, Bonaventure, conversant as he is with the earlier Franciscan masters, gives the key to the solution when he adds his own phrase: *quia esse naturae praecedit esse gratiae, vel tempore vel natura*. The argument of the Seraphic Doctor takes the following pattern. It must be admitted, at least as more probable, that *esse naturae* precedes, in the order of time, *esse gratiae*. Now, if a person is a being according to nature, this presupposes union of soul and body. Consequently, the soul of Mary was first united with the body, in order that she might receive *esse gratiae*. Such a union however involved original sin. It follows therefore that Our Lady should have contracted sin, before she was sanctified by grace.<sup>178</sup>

This opinion is also more secure, since it is in accord more with the faith, piety, and the authority of the saints. The saints, when speaking of this matter, always agree in saying that Christ alone is exempted from the universality of sin. Then Bonaventure candidly

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, 67b: "Aliorum vero positio est, quod sanctificatio Virginis subsequuta est originalis peccati contractionem; et hoc, quia nullus immunis fuit a culpa originalis peccati nisi solum Filius Virginis."

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*: "Hic autem modus dicendi communior est et rationabilior et securior."

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*, 67f.



admits that never had he heard any one say that the Virgin Mary was immune from original sin. It also is in agreement with faith and piety, in that, although the Mother of God must be held in high reverence and great devotion, the greater honor and esteem must be shown the Son of God, from whom springs all honor and glory.<sup>179</sup>

In spite of what had already been said, the problem still vexes us, from what vantage point did Bonaventure envisage the question? He could have visualized one of three possibilities: 1) creation of the soul and the infusion of grace as chronologically prior to the union with the body and its infection; 2) creation and union with the body and infusion of grace, as simultaneous in the order of time (*in ordine temporis*) but with priority of nature for sanctification in regard to animation; and 3) creation, animation and sanctification as simultaneous in the order of time, but with priority of nature for animation in regard to sanctification by grace. To which of these possibilities did the Doctor refer?<sup>180</sup>

Certainly not to the first, since it implies the absurdity of the preexistence of the soul, in a state of separation, which precedes its union with the body. Bonaventure had in mind, and this becomes evident from a study of the text itself, the theory of simultaneity of time (*simultaneitas temporis*) for sanctification of the soul and for its creation and infusion into the body.<sup>181</sup> One can therefore apply a threefold distinction: creation, animation, and sanctification. Here we are confronted with three instants, all of which are simultaneous in time, but among which there can be priority or posteriority of nature. Which one of these did Bonaventure have in mind?<sup>182</sup>

### Creation Prior to Sanctification

The language he employs to describe the opinion favorable to the Immaculate Conception renders the conclusion incontestable that he had considered creation as prior (priority of nature) to sanctification, and sanctification as anterior (in priority of nature) to animation. His terms are obvious: "In the instant of her creation grace was infused in her and in the same instant her soul was

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>180</sup> Cf. Bitttrémieux, *op. cit.*, 369ff.

<sup>181</sup> *Op. cit.*, 61f.

<sup>182</sup> Bitttrémieux, *op. cit.*, 370.

infused in her body.”<sup>183</sup> This finds corroboration in the metaphor he utilizes to portray the opinion which he feels obliged to reject. The Blessed Mother is compared to the Ark of the Covenant, her soul to the urn, and sanctifying grace to the manna, which was placed in the urn. Manna was first placed in the urn which was then located in the Ark.<sup>184</sup> If we suppose that all this took place in one and same instant, it follows that there is priority of nature for the infusion of grace in the soul with respect to union with the body. It is precisely this hypothesis which confronted Bonaventure and which he rejected outright.<sup>185</sup>

Yet another question might be raised. Did Bonaventure visualize the hypothesis of sanctification of the soul as posterior (according to nature) to animation? Suppose he had thought of this possibility, would he have lent the weight of his great authority in support of this favorable opinion? There is no doubt that he would not. It is true that he excluded in no uncertain terms the proposition that the soul of Mary had been sanctified before contracting original sin, and the reasons he advances are such as to prevail against both sanctification posterior to animation and against sanctification anterior to animation.<sup>186</sup>

Corroboratory evidence for this conclusion is easily found in the solution to the third question of the same article, in which he says without hesitation that Our Lady was sanctified in the womb of her mother. This is obvious to anyone who recalls that the Church commemorates her nativity, in testimony of her sanctification. As regards the time of her sanctification, on what day or at what hour she was sanctified, this is something no one knows. But it is held to be probable that infusion of grace took place soon after infusion of the soul. *Si autem quaeratur, qua die vel hora sanctificata fuerit, hoc ignoratur; probabiliter tamen creditur quod cito post infusionem animae fuerit facta infusio gratiae.*<sup>187</sup> Parallel statements were made by his contemporaries, such as St. Thomas,<sup>188</sup> for instance.

<sup>183</sup> *Op. cit.*, 66b: “Ideo in instanti suae creationis fuit sibi gratia infusa, et in eodem instanti anima infusa est carni.”

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 67a.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. Bittremieux, *op. cit.*, 371.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>187</sup> *Op. cit.*, 71a. Cf. G. Herzog, “La Sainte Vierge dans l’histoire,” *Revue d’histoire et de littérature religieuse*, 12 (1907), 483-607.

<sup>188</sup> *Quodl. VI, Quaest. v, Art. 7, Opera Omnia* (Parmae: P. Fiaccadori,

Whatever might be said about the hour, this much is certain, that she was sanctified before birth.

Grace was therefore infused into Mary's soul very shortly after the union of the soul with the body: *cito post infusionem animae fuerit facta infusio gratiae*. This formula, *cito post*, implies a true posteriority in the order of time. There had been therefore some interval of time, between animation and sanctification, and consequently there was in the soul of the Blessed Virgin the infection of original sin.

The fact that St. Bonaventure could not bring himself to accept the Immaculate Conception does not in the slightest detract from his sincerity and filial devotion to Our Lady. Neither does it diminish our high regard and admiration for the illimitable wealth of his Marian doctrine. If he did not have the proper perspective of the Marian prerogative, it was only because he wished to safeguard the honor due Christ as the savior of mankind; an attitude which was common to the great masters of his age. We must not deny him the great merit of having posed the real problem in clear, incisive terms. It was he who made the necessary distinctions; and it was he too who had envisaged the chief hypotheses. In all this he was the trailblazer for another Franciscan master, John Duns Scotus, the Doctor of the Immaculate Conception, who in answering all objections adequately prepared the ground for the eventual triumph of the pious opinion.

### Blessed Raymond Lull (1232-1315).

Long and at times vehement controversy has raged over the question whether or not Raymond Lull,<sup>189</sup> a Franciscan tertiary and

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1859), IX, p. 546: "Creditor quod cito post conceptionem et animae infusionem fuerit sanctificata."

<sup>189</sup> For the biography of Raymond Lull, see E. Allison Peers, *Ramón Lull, a Biography* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1929); E. Longpré, "Lulle Raymond (Le bienheureux)," *Dict. théol. cath.*, 9 (1926), 1072-1141; Jerónimo Rosselló, *Obras de Ramón Lull* (Palma: Bibl. Popular, 1886), Vol. A, *Biografía*, pp. 1-60 (incomplete). For information on authentic works, cf. *Obras de Ramón Lull* (Palma de Mallorca: Comissió Editora Lulliana, 1906), in progress; Ramon d'Alós, "Los Catálogos lulianos. Contribución al estudio de la obra de Ramón Lull," (A doctoral thesis, Barcelona, 1918); Carmelo Ottaviano, *L'Ars Compendiosa de R. Lulle avec une étude*

Spanish mystic, a scholar of world-wide reputation and prolific writer of literary achievement, is to be listed among the earliest defenders in Spain of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. As an eminent Lullian scholar puts it: "During the centuries of strife now past no title was claimed for Lull more vigorously by his partisans than 'first defender of the Immaculate Conception.'" <sup>190</sup> Whatever might be said in regard to that controversy, there is no doubt that Lull speaks of the sinless conception of Our Lady. But his theological presentation is as inexact, primitive, and crude as that of other authors of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with the exception of Duns Scotus.

Raymond Lull treats of the sinless conception of Our Lady in five works whose authenticity is accepted by scholars. <sup>191</sup>

In his *Liber Principiorum Theologiae*, written before the year 1277 (perhaps in the year 1272), at Majorca, <sup>192</sup> he ends the treatise with these words: *Completæ sunt regulæ principiorum theologiae patrocínio beatae Virginis Mariae sine labe conceptæ et gratia sui gloriosissimi filii, in qua natura divina et humana mirifice sunt unitæ.* <sup>193</sup> The bare statement, *sine labe conceptæ*, does not yet make Lull a champion of the Immaculate Conception.

In his literary masterpiece entitled, *Blanquerna Anachoretæ Interrogationes et Responsiones CCCLXV, De Amico et Amato*, which in probability was written at Montpellier between 1283 and 1285, <sup>194</sup> he again speaks of the stainless conception of the Blessed Mother. Referring to a man who would suppose in Our Lady any blemish of sin, Lull compares him with a person who, mentally deranged, raves about a darkened sun. He says: *In aurora spaciabatur amicus et intuitus est orientem solem, et gaudio repletus incepit cantare: de aurore pudico thalamo in hunc mundum egressus est amatus meus: in qua qui cogitat maculam, in sole cogitat tene-*

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*sur la bibliographie et le fond ambrosien de Lulle* ("Études de philosophie médiévale," XII; Paris: J. Vrin, 1930).

<sup>190</sup> Peers, *op. cit.*, 407.

<sup>191</sup> It has been established that the two works, *Liber de Conceptu Virginali*, and *Liber de "Benedicta Tu in Mulieribus,"* are spurious. Cf. Longpré, *op. cit.*, 1110.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. Ottaviano, *op. cit.*, 33. See also LeBachelet, *op. cit.*, 1062.

<sup>193</sup> *Raymundi Lulli Doctoris Illuminati et Martyris Opera*, ed. Yves Salinger (Moguntiae, 1721), I, 60.

<sup>194</sup> Ottaviano, *op. cit.*, 40; LeBachelet, *op. cit.*, 1062.



bram.<sup>195</sup> This response is not found in the French translation of the discerning Marius André;<sup>196</sup> nor in that of G. Elchegoyen.<sup>197</sup> Neither is it a part of the English version of E. Allison Peers, the brilliant Lullian scholar.<sup>198</sup>

About five years later, 1290, at Montpellier,<sup>199</sup> Raymond Lull, in describing the unusual goodness and sanctity of Our Lady, rejects all sin when speaking of her and proclaims her to be endowed with unsullied sanctity. He says:

Eremita carissime, Beatissima Maria Virgo Domina nostra bona est per naturam (naturaliter enim habet proprietatem quae bona est in se ipsa) et hoc in tantum ut nec mortaliter, nec per veniale actuale, venialiter etiam peccaverit unquam. Nunquam in ea malum aliquod extitit: neque ex ea malum aliquod secutum est: neque potest sequi, adeo bona est et omni bono plena. Nam sicut de sole proprie lux et illuminatio sequitur, quia proprietatem habet illuminandi mundum: sic et adhuc multo melius ex hac gloriosa Domina bonum sequitur toti mundo: quia tota extitit bona.<sup>200</sup>

Such a statement is hardly conclusive proof of the Immaculate Conception. But in another work called, *Arbor Scientiae*, written in Rome, in 1295,<sup>201</sup> Lull employs words which are more formal and more incisive. The question he raises here is, Was Our Lady conceived in original sin? He responds that sin and virtue are two opposites, and that because at the time when our Blessed Mother was conceived, virtue began to stand in opposition to virtue with ever increasing force, with more force in fact than before, she was conceived without original sin.<sup>202</sup>

<sup>195</sup> *Blaquerna de Amico et Amato*, trans. Jacques Lefèvre (Paris: Jean Petit, 1505), n. 275.

<sup>196</sup> L'Ami et l'Aimé, trans. Marius André (Paris, 1921).

<sup>197</sup> Elchegoyen, "Le livre de l'Ami et de l'Aimé de Raymond Lulle," *Études Franciscaines*, 46 (1934), 54-69; 172-193.

<sup>198</sup> *Blanquerna*, trans. from the Catalan of Ramón Lull, by E. A. Peers (London: Jarrolds, 1925); *idem*, *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved* (London, 1945).

<sup>199</sup> Ottaviano, *op. cit.*, 44.

<sup>200</sup> *Liber de Laudibus Beatissimae Virginis Mariae: Qui et Ars Intentionum Appellari Potest*, ed. Jean Petit (Paris: Jean Petit, 1499), fol. 5ff., Chap. II, *De Bonitate; Secundum Bonum Beatae Virginis*.

<sup>201</sup> Ottaviano, *op. cit.*, 47.

<sup>202</sup> *Arbor Scientiae Ven. et Caelitus Illuminati Patris Raymundi Lulii Majoricensis* (rev. ed.; Lugduni: J. Pillehotte, 1637), 587: "Arbor Maternalis Duodecima. . . De Quaestionibus Temporis Arboris Maternalis: Tempore

In no other writing is Lull so eloquent and persuasive in regard to the Immaculate Conception as in the lengthy *Dispute between Ramon and the Hermit*, composed at Paris, in August of the year 1298.<sup>203</sup> It is in Book III, question 96 that he treats of the problem at great length.<sup>204</sup>

In this treatise Lull manifests the influence of the thinking of several great doctors of Mary of past ages, of men such as Eadmer and Neckam. He states at the outset that he unequivocally considers the Blessed Virgin to have been conceived without the stain of sin, for several reasons. In order that the Son of God might receive from Our Lady His human flesh, it was altogether necessary that the Blessed Mother be prepared adequately; which is to say, that she be exempted from all sin whatsoever, either actual or original, since God and sin cannot be reconciled, cannot coexist in the same subject.<sup>205</sup>

It was furthermore perfectly fitting that in the work of the Incarnation of the Word all things be in perfect harmony: the beginning, the middle, and the end. This harmony moreover required that between the conception of the mother and that of her Son there exist a correspondence, a similarity.<sup>206</sup> Drawing upon the comparison of Adam and Eve, he argues that Our Lady, the first fruit of the new creation, ought not to be inferior to the first man Adam and to the first woman Eve, both of whom were created in the state of innocence. From such premises he concludes that the Blessed Virgin did not actually contract original sin, and that she was sanctified in her first conception, her fleshly conception. The

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quo Domina nostra fuit concepta, fuit concepta in peccato originali? Solutio. Peccatum et virtus sunt contraria, et quia illo tempore quo Domina nostra concepta fuit, virtus fortius incoepit esse contraria peccato, quam in tempore transacto, oportet quod Domina nostra concepta fuerit absque peccato."

<sup>203</sup> Ottaviano, *op. cit.*, 50.

<sup>204</sup> *Disputatio Eremitae et Raymundi super Aliquibus Dubiis Quaestionibus Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi, Liber III, Quaes. xcvi: Utrum Beata Virgo Contraxerit Peccatum Originale*; ed. Salzinger, Vol. IV, 83ff.

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, 83: "Nisi Beata Virgo fuisset disposita, quod Filius Dei de ipsa assumeret carnem, scilicet quod non esset corrupta, nec in aliquo peccato sive actuali sive originali, Filius Dei non potuisset ab ipsa assumere carnem; cum Deus et peccatum non possint concordari in aliquo subjecto."

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*; ". . . ut sua conceptio et conceptio sui Filii invicem relative sibi corresponderent."

body that she received from her holy parents was not the flesh of sin.<sup>207</sup>

But the hermit, however, with whom he is disputing replies rather weakly that all humanity was corrupted by original sin, and that Our Lady, being conceived before the Redemption, contracted this like everyone else. To this objection Raymond answers that the Son of God, in view of the new creation to be realized in the divine plans, could have prepared the material at the moment the Blessed Mother was conceived by her parents.<sup>208</sup>

### Need of Redemption

Nevertheless the question is still raised, How then is it true that every human being absolutely has need of redemption, since in this hypothesis Our Lady would escape this? His reply is that according to certain authors the Holy Ghost sanctified Mary and purified her of all sin in the womb of her mother; that in much the same way he could have sanctified and purified of original sin the matter from which the Virgin was conceived, since his omnipotence was not thereby lessened.<sup>209</sup> "Before a house is actually built," answers Raymond, "its end, that is habitation, is conceived. Just so the Redemption was a part of God's plan before it was effected: everything was made ready for it, and part of the preparation was the sinlessness of Our Lady."<sup>210</sup> The Blessed Virgin therefore had no stain of original sin, the Holy Ghost having prepared the way for the Incarnation by her sanctification as the sun prepares the day by means of the glorious dawn.<sup>211</sup>

<sup>207</sup> *Ibid.*: "Ergo concluditur, quod beata Virgo non contraxerit originale peccatum, imo fuerit sanctificato scisso semine, de quo fuit, a suis parentibus."

<sup>208</sup> *Ibid.*: "Concluditur quod Filius Dei potuerit praeparare materiam recreationis in principio conceptionis, quod beata Virgo habuit a suis parentibus."

<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*: "Sicut Deus non assumpsit hominem sed humanam naturam, sic semen, de quo fuit Beata Virgo, non assumpsit peccatum a suis parentibus, sed sanctificatione, a Sancto Spiritu."

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, 84: "Finis Recreationis fuit ante conceptus, quam fuit Recreatio, et Filius Dei, qui concepit et voluit finem, sic et multo melius praeparavit et ordinavit omnia pertinentia ad Recreationem a principio usque ad finem, sicut bonus artifex praeparat et ordinat materiam camerae a principio usque ad finem."

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*: "... sed sanctificationem a Sancto Spiritu, qui sic praeparavit Viam Incarnationis per sanctificationem, sicut sol diem per auroram."

To sum up, Raymond Lull does not deny the need for, nor the fact of Redemption, in regard to the Blessed Virgin. While he does employ wooden theology,—as wooden as it is unacceptable—he anticipates for Our Lady the fruits of Christ's redemption, when he asserts that the redemptive action of Jesus Christ was effected upon the tiny cell of her body communicated by her parents in the generative act.

In his exposition of the manner in which the Blessed Virgin was by a special intervention of the Holy Ghost exempted from the infection of the body which would in turn infect the soul with original sin, Raymond Lull subscribes to one of a few current theories. With respect to the transmission of the sin of Adam, it was held by many that the infection of the body was communicated to the soul. Because of its very intimate union with an infected body, the soul becomes defiled and contracts sin. There were authors who subscribed to the theory that the body which is the immediate term of the generative act contracts some infection which stems from concupiscence inherent in this act. The whole human race, it was said, was included in the first parent, *per seminalem rationem*. When Adam sinned, there followed in his whole being and therefore in everything that he encompassed a certain physical sordidness or contamination, which became irrevocably attached to every human body in the course of generation. But the Holy Ghost, however, could by a special intervention, preclude such an infection through the radical purification of the flesh, a fact that obtained in Our Lady. It is this theory to which Lull subscribes.<sup>212</sup>

From the foregoing paragraphs it becomes evident that Lull was endowed with moments of mystic intuition of the Immaculate Conception. A great lover of Our Lady he exalts her purity and great sanctity in inspired words, and unreservedly affirms her sinless conception. But in spite of the eulogies of Lullian enthusiasts, Raymond cannot be called the champion of Our Lady's Immaculate Conception. His theological defense of the privilege, because it is incorrect, is theologically unacceptable. His merit consists in the fact that he reechoed the tradition which is linked with such men as Eadmer and Osbert of Clare.

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<sup>212</sup> See Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1019f.



## William of Ware († ca. 1300)

The last Franciscan to be considered in this survey is the English friar, William of Ware, who is best remembered as the master of the illustrious John Duns Scotus.<sup>213</sup> The life of William is practically unknown.<sup>214</sup> He was born at Ware (many variations of this name are given: Guarro, Varro, Uar, Baro, Basia, Oona, Waria), a town in the county of Hertford, situated about twenty miles from London. Very likely he entered the Franciscan Order in his youth, probably at London.<sup>215</sup>

There are hardly any details about the scholarly career of William of Ware. According to the common consensus of Franciscan historians, Ware had been teacher first at Oxford, and then at Paris. His name, however, does not appear among the Oxford masters;<sup>216</sup> an omission detected by Little, who concluded that Ware belongs to the Franciscan school of Paris, where he taught the greater part of his active life.<sup>217</sup> Other scholars have accepted this conclusion. He was regent master at the University of Paris from 1296–1299, according to the most recent chronology.<sup>218</sup> Never-

<sup>213</sup> Franciscan tradition of long standing considers Ware one of the masters of Duns Scotus. For an excellent summary of the arguments in favor of this tradition, cf. C. Balić, *Les commentaires de Jean Duns Scot sur les quatre livres des sentences* (Louvain: Bureau de la Revue, 1927), p. 59, note 5; *idem*, "Quelques précisions fournies par la tradition manuscrite sur la vie, les oeuvres et l'attitude doctrinale de Jean Duns Scot," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 22 (1926), 551–566; P. Muscat, "Guillelmi de Ware Quaestio Inedita de Unitate Dei," *Antonianum*, 2 (1927), 335–350. For an excellent discussion on biography, see E. Longpré, "Maîtres franciscains de Paris: Guillaume de Ware O.F.M.," *La France Franciscaine*, 5 (1922), 71–82; A. G. Little, "The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century," *Archiv. Fran. Hist.*, 19 (1926), 803–874. But cf. F. de Guimaraens, "La doctrine des théologiens sur l'Immaculée Conception de 1250 à 1350," *Études Franciscaines*, New Series, No. 9, vol. 3 (Dec., 1952), 181–203; No. 10, vol. 4 (June, 1953), 23–51; No. 11, vol. 4 (Dec., 1953), 167–187. This Capuchin friar holds that no one has yet produced a decisive argument to prove that Ware was the master of Scotus; *ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 28.

<sup>214</sup> For what little details we have, cf. Longpré, *op. cit.*; this is an excellent treatise.

<sup>215</sup> Longpré, *ibid.*, 73; Little, *op. cit.*, 866.

<sup>216</sup> Longpré, *op. cit.*, 75.

<sup>217</sup> *Op. cit.*, 866.

<sup>218</sup> P. Glorieux, "Maîtres franciscains régents à Paris. Mise au point," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 18 (1951), 332. Here the author corrects some of the dates which he established in his article, "D'Alexandre

theless, there is good reason to maintain that Ware taught at Oxford. In a marginal note in a manuscript of Ware's Commentary on the Sentences, extant at Cesena, there is this inscription: *Lectura Guare Oxonii in domo ordinis Minorum completa*.<sup>219</sup> This is a noteworthy testimony. It could very likely be, that William of Ware had taught at Oxford only as a bachelor and not as a regent master of theology, even as Duns Scotus, whose name also is missing from the roster of doctors of Oxford.<sup>220</sup> His principal literary work, the Commentary on the Sentences, was written between 1290-1298, certainly before 1300.<sup>221</sup> His death is fixed *ca.* 1300.<sup>222</sup>

Owing to the Franciscan tradition that William of Ware was one of the masters of Duns Scotus, it is generally maintained that in his lectures on the Immaculate Conception, Scotus manifests unmistakably a doctrinal dependence upon his master.<sup>223</sup> A comparative study of their solutions to the problem of Our Lady's prerogative seems to enervate such a position considerably. Several channels of investigation as to the doctrinal dependence of Scotus on Ware render an adequate reappraisal not only desirable but also necessary.

A searching study of Ware's treatise on the Immaculate Conception reveals that it is still rather primitive, leaving untouched some very serious difficulties, and showing perhaps the immediate influence of the teachings of the earlier promoters and champions of the feast in England. Ware begins his solution to the problem with the usual objections against, and the arguments in favor of, the Marian privilege.<sup>224</sup> He next presents the three current opinions.

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de Halès à Pierre Auriol. La suite des maîtres franciscains de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Arch. Franc. Hist.*, 26 (1933), 257-281.

<sup>219</sup> Cited by Longpré, *op. cit.*, 75.

<sup>220</sup> Longpré, *ibid.*; cf. Little, *op. cit.*, 866.

<sup>221</sup> Longpré, *op. cit.*, 77ff.; Little, *op. cit.*, 867f.; J. Lechner, "Die mehrfachen Fassungen des Sentenzenkommentars des Wilhelm von Ware O.F.M.," *Fransiskanische Studien*, 32 (1949), 14-31; E. Magrini, "La produzione letteraria di Guglielmo di Ware," *Miscellanea Francescana*, 36 (1936), 312-332; 38 (1938), 411-429.

<sup>222</sup> Cf. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, (Paris: J. Vrin, 1933), II, p. 144f.

<sup>223</sup> Cf. Longpré, *op. cit.*, 75; Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1064.

<sup>224</sup> *In Librum III Sententiarum, Dist. III, Quaeritur, utrum beata Virgo concepta fuerit in originali peccato*; edited in *Fr. Gulielmi Guarrae, Fr. Joannis Duns Scoti, Fr. Petri Aureoli, Quaestiones Disputatae de Immaculata*

The first opinion is that sponsored by the contemporary theologian of international renown, Henry of Ghent, who says that Mary was conceived in original sin, and that she was in the same instant purified and sanctified, but in the first and second sign of the same instant. Those who subscribe to this view claim that a thing can exist as one entity in the one instant by virtue of the first sign, and as another entity in the very same instant by reason of the second sign. They assert, Ware tells, that the plausibility of this can be verified in a few examples.

In the first example, that of Ghent's tiny, unpretentious bean,<sup>226</sup> if a bean is hurled upwards against a descending mill-stone, since the mill-stone cannot remain still above the bean, it is necessary that the bean in the very same instant ascend and descend: but according to, first one, and then another sign in the very same instant. In the second, when the form of fire is about to be introduced into the matter of air, in the same instant there is both the corruption of the form of the air and the introduction of the form of fire, but in two different signs of the same instant. And so they argue, he continues, that contradictories can be found in the different signs of the same instant.<sup>227</sup>

William's refutation of these arguments is as follows. He states that he cannot accept this position for two reasons. The first is, because then contradictories would be simultaneously true in the same magnitude which is really indivisible; for a multiplication of instants is a multiplication according to reason. Diversity according to reason cannot place contradictories in reality in the same instant. Therefore the Blessed Virgin could not have been infected with original sin and simultaneously sanctified in the same instant.<sup>228</sup>

His second reason for rejecting Ghent's position is his *argumentum ad hominem*. Those who support this opinion, Ware says, deny this in a similar position. For they say that an angel could

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*Conceptione B. M. Virginis* ("Bibliotheca Franciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi," III; Quaracchi, 1904), 1.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, 2. Although Henry of Ghent is not mentioned by name, the reference is to his *Quodlibetum* XV, *Quaest.* xiii: *Utrum Conceptio Gloriosae Virginis Mariae Sit Celebranda Ratione Conceptionis* (Venetiis, 1608), II, fol. 380r-386r.

<sup>226</sup> *Op. cit.*, fol. 382vb.

<sup>227</sup> Ware, *op. cit.*, 2.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*

not have sinned in the first instant of his creation, because in that instant he placed his first good act. But if he had in that same instant sinned, he would have had a bad act; and thus he would have had a good act and a bad act in the very same instant: which is impossible. Still, according to these men, this would have been quite possible according to divers signs of the same instant.<sup>229</sup>

In regard to the second example, concludes Ware, it is not to the point, since generation of fire and corruption of the air are not opposites, they can stand simultaneously in the same instant. But, on the other hand, generation of fire and corruption of fire are two opposites.<sup>230</sup>

The second opinion holds Ware proceeds, that Our Lady was conceived in original sin, and then purified, but not in the same instant. He next lists ten arguments which were wont to be advanced against this prerogative, the most important of which is that if she had not contracted original sin, she would not have had any need of the redemptive death of Christ.<sup>231</sup>

There is a third theory which maintains that Mary had not contracted original sin, Ware says. And this is the one, Ware assures us, to which he subscribes, *quam volo tenere*, because, as he puts it, if I am to err, since I am not certain of the other side, I prefer to err by excess, in attributing to Mary this prerogative, than by defect, in diminishing or in rejecting any prerogative which she possessed.<sup>232</sup>

### Possibility—Fitness—Actuality

The plan he means to follow, in proving that the feast of the Marian privilege ought to be celebrated, comprises three stages, the possibility, the fitness, and the actuality of the sinless conception. To establish its possibility, Ware invokes the theory of active conception and preventive purification. The flesh of Our Lady, con-

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>230</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, 3: "Alia est opinio, quod non contraxit originale. Quam volo tenere, quia, si debeam deficere, cum non sim certus de altera parte, magis volo deficere per superabundantiam, dando Mariae aliquam praerogativam, quam per defectum, diminuendo vel subtrahendo ab ea aliquam praerogativam, quam habuit."



ceived by her parents, was by this very fact infected with a morbid quality, from which, in the case of children of Adam, comes original sin at the moment when body and soul are united. But in the case of Mary, her body was purified at the same instant that it was infected. Her flesh was purified, rather than sanctified, since sanctification can be attributed only to the soul, which alone is susceptible of sin and grace. Such a hypothesis, Ware continues, is not derogatory to the personal privilege of Our Savior, who was conceived undefiled by a pure Mother. Our Lady, on the other hand, emerges pure but from an impure source; while other men appear defiled because of a contaminated origin.<sup>233</sup>

Such a conception, Ware continues, is not merely possible; it is also fitting. Jesus Christ, purity itself, should have wished a Mother, who would be as pure as possible. Consequently, He should have wished, not merely to purify her, but rather to preserve her from every defilement.<sup>234</sup>

These two premises having been proved, the conclusion is, in the mind of Ware, inevitable. That which Christ could, and in all fitness ought to, accomplish he did accomplish, because of His great filial love for His Mother.<sup>235</sup> To substantiate his position, he invokes the authority of eminent theologians. Robert Grosseteste, he says, is said to have maintained this view.<sup>236</sup> And as for Alexander Neckam, he too, at the end of his life, in the exposition of the words of the Canticle of Canticles, supports the position that Mary was never subject to original sin.<sup>237</sup> Even Richard of St. Victor,<sup>238</sup> we are told,

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 5f.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>235</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>236</sup> Peter Auriol speaks of Grosseteste in the same way; cf., *ibid.*, 73. Longpré has found a text in one of Grosseteste's inedited sermons; cf. his article, "Robert Grossetête et l'Immaculée Conception," *Arch. Fran. Hist.*, 26 (1933), 551: "Tota pulchra es, amica mea et macula non est in te. —Non fuit in beata Virgine macula originalis peccati in ortu suo. Qualiter enim sancta Ecclesia celebraret ipsius Nativitatem si in peccato nata fuisset? Purgatam itaque credimus eam ab originali in utero matris, quae purgatio potuit altero duorum modorum fuisse: uno videlicet, ut ipsa vere haberet originale peccatum aliquandiu post infusionem animae rationalis, ante ortum tamen ex utero matris, operatione Spiritus Sancti, purgata et sanctificata fuisset; alio autem modo ut in ipsa infusione rationalis animae esset mundata et sanctificata et hoc modo esset purgatio, non a peccato quod aliquando inluit, sed quod in-fuisset nisi in ipsa infusione rationalis animae sanctificata fuisset."

<sup>237</sup> *Expositio super Cantica Canticorum in Laudem Gloriosae et Perpetuae*

upheld the prerogative in his sermon, on the Conception of the Blessed Virgin. Finally he cites the words of St. Augustine,<sup>239</sup> who, he says, does not want to introduce the question of sin when speaking of the Blessed Virgin; a quotation that has been variously interpreted by theologians.

After several considerations regarding human capacity for the reception of grace, Ware affirms that Our Lady, in her initial sanctification, was endowed with as much grace as a pure creature, one which is not united hypostatically to a divine person, can encompass.<sup>240</sup> Such being the case, the feast of Our Lady's Conception ought to be celebrated.<sup>241</sup> And even if she had contracted original sin, Ware adds, the feast ought still to be observed, because of her intimate relationship with Christ: the Son of God assumed His human nature from the undefiled flesh of Mary.<sup>242</sup>

### How Was Mary Redeemed

Among the objections which Ware refutes, the most important comprises the universality of Redemption. The question is: If she had not contracted original sin, how was Mary redeemed by the passion and death of Christ? In answer to this dilemma, Ware employs the words of St. Anselm, who held that the purity of the Blessed Virgin was due entirely to her Son. The Blessed Mother stood in need of Redemption, certainly not because she was subject to original sin, but rather because she might have been, if her Son had not intervened in a special manner, and preserved her from the stain. Here we already have the doctrine of preventive Redemption, which looms very large in the Scotistic argument. There is, Ware concludes, a twofold *debitum*, as St. Augustine reminds us, the *debitum contractum*, and the *debitum contrahendum*.<sup>243</sup>

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*Virginis et Matris et de Mysterio Incarnationis Domini*, ed. A. Noyon, "Notes bibliographiques sur l'histoire de la théologie de l'Immaculée Conception," *Bulletin de lit. ecclés.*, 6 (1914), 213. Noyon claims that Neckam denied the Immaculate Conception, *ibid.*, 220. Cf. Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1040.

<sup>238</sup> Ware, *op. cit.*, 7. There, in footnote 2 the editors correct the reference of Ware. But cf. Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1061; 1028.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. note 89.

<sup>240</sup> *Op. cit.*, 7f.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, 8f.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

Considering Ware's treatment of the whole problem, one is justified in concluding that he manifests a rather primitive approach, reflecting perhaps the influence of such earlier champions of the feast as Eadmer and Osbert of Clare, the followers of St. Anselm. There exist two other points of similarity between him and his two compatriots: their consideration of the object of the feast; and the purity of conception, scrutinized in its very beginning.<sup>244</sup>

In spite of his shortcomings, William of Ware shows some progress in advancing the cause of Our Lady, though not in the same degree as Duns Scotus, who more than anyone else, constructed a synthesis of convincing proportions which led eventually to the triumph of the Immaculate Conception. In accepting a *debitum contractum* and *debitum contrahendum*, Ware emphasizes the fact that Our Lady needed Redemption, and that she was in fact redeemed, though in a very special manner, in that she was preserved from the infection of original sin. For all these contributions, Ware fails to solve the major problems which forced such eminent theologians as St. Bonaventure and St. Thomas to reject the Marian prerogative. It was Duns Scotus, and not Ware, who first gave the controversy a decisive turn, in dissolving the chief theological difficulties, thus rendering the thesis acceptable to all.

### Scotus & Ware

This brings us to the concluding portion of this inquiry. It was said in the foregoing paragraphs that because William of Ware is traditionally hailed (and not without good reasons, of course) as the master of Scotus,<sup>245</sup> there is a strong temptation to conclude summarily that Scotus, in his solution of the problem, shows perceptible doctrinal dependence on Ware. Such a conclusion is not borne out by this necessarily limited examination.

The first criterion by which we can ascertain the doctrinal independence of Scotus rests upon the difference of appraisal regarding the very notion of conception. On the one hand Scotus speaks of consummated passive conception, in both the Oxford <sup>246</sup>

<sup>244</sup> Le Bachelet, *op. cit.*, 1062.

<sup>245</sup> See note 213.

<sup>246</sup> Scotus, *Opus Oxoniense*, *Liber III*, *Dist. iii*, *Quaest. 1*; ed. C. Balić,

and Paris<sup>247</sup> lectures. Ware on the other hand is concerned almost exclusively with active and inchoative passive conception, speaking as he does of the purification of the flesh, the *mundatio carnis*, which is the keystone in the edifice of his demonstration. Scotus does not regard this argument as convincing, for he dismisses it with the brief statement, *non arguit secundum viam Anselmi de peccato originali*.<sup>248</sup>

It is furthermore in Scotus, rather than in Ware, that we discover a certain continuity in the doctrine of the early Franciscan school. William seems oblivious of the position of the early friars at Paris; he gives one the impression that he is totally unaware of the problems which seemed insoluble to St. Bonaventure, and he never once refers to the arguments raised, and the penetrating appraisal of the real problem which Bonaventure advances in his negative answer to the crucial question whether the soul of the Blessed Virgin was sanctified before contracting original sin. Had Ware been familiar with this tradition, he might have been stronger in his conclusions, and more convincing in his arguments. Since he is said to have been regent master at the University of Paris from 1296-1299, according to the more recent chronology, such a lacuna is inexplicable. Scotus however refutes the arguments of the early Franciscans. He affirms that Our Lady was indeed first the daughter of Adam by reason of the flesh, and afterwards the daughter of Adam by reason of grace, but only if we understand a priority, not of time, but of order or of nature.<sup>249</sup> It is Scotus also who skilfully employs the nuances allied to the crucial question as presented by Bonaventure, who touched the very heart of the matter.

The objection might be raised at this time, that doctrinal dependence of Scotus on Ware finds corroboration in their mutual reference to the legendary apparition of St. Bernard after death, who it is said appeared to a monk of Clairvaux and retracted his unfavorable attitude toward the sinless Conception of Our Lady.<sup>250</sup> This narrative is found neither in the Oxford nor in the Paris work of Scotus; but

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*Joannis Duns Scoti Theologiae Marianae Elementa* (Sibenici: Typog. Kacic, 1933), 17 ff. This is the edition cited here.

<sup>247</sup> Scotus, *Opus Parisiense, Liber III, Dist. iii, Quaest. 1*; Balić, 44 ff.

<sup>248</sup> *Op. Oxon.*; Balić, 27.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*; Balić, 36 ff.

<sup>250</sup> Ware, *op. cit.*, 9.



it is a part of his *Lectura Completa*.<sup>251</sup> Did Scotus borrow this from Ware? Or is it more reasonable to suppose that the legend was known among the students at the universities?<sup>252</sup> But a single swallow hardly makes a summer. It is hard to believe that Scotus would accept the chaff found in the treatise of Ware, and discard the wheat.<sup>253</sup>

Another factor which might shed light on the problem of whether Scotus is dependent upon Ware is found in the often quoted *Potuit* argument. Scotus, more so than William, offered the more acceptable interpretation of it, for through him it obtained a special significance, which found its way substantially into the decree of 1854. This does not mean that Scotus recognized in the conclusion a decisive and positive proof. To this end, he employs another axiom, one which never occurred either to William or anyone else, namely: *si auctoritati ecclesiae vel auctoritati Scripturae non repugnet, videtur probabile, quod excellentius est attribuire Mariae*.<sup>254</sup>

Another proof furthermore rests upon the difference of approach

<sup>251</sup> Balić, *op. cit.*, 233.

<sup>252</sup> This legend is found already in *Epistola 172 Petri Cellensis*, Migne *PL*, 202, 623.

<sup>253</sup> The precise nature and chronology of the *Lectura Completa* has opened a Pandora's box of many difficulties. The precise sequence of this work in the chronology of the works of Scotus has not yet been established. Apparently there is a closer relationship between the *Opus Oxon.* and the *Lectura Completa* than between the latter and the *Reportatio Parisiensis* (cf. Balić, *Les commentaires de Jean Duns Scot*, 152). The long note at the end of the *Lectura Completa*, given in the *Reportatio Cracoviensis* (cf. Balić, *Theologiae Marianae Elementa*, 369; 235), on the opinion of Henry of Ghent suggests the possibility that Scotus could have added this after returning from Paris; for some scholars claim that it was written during his exile from Paris (1303). It could actually have been written before he went to Paris. One must not however conclude that the *Lectura Completa* represents solely the Oxford lectures. Balić is of the opinion that it is a distillation, or *summa*, of the lectures of Scotus (cf. Balić, *ibid.*, p. xciv-xcv, the footnote; *idem*, *Les commentaires*, p. 152 f and note 2). It may even be that William of Ware shows some dependence upon Scotus on this question. Cf. Allan Wolter, "The Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in the Early Franciscan School" (Paper read at the Franciscan National Marian Congress, Santa Barbara, California, May 5, 1954), 38ff. (Typewritten) We are happy to acknowledge our indebtedness to Father Allan Wolter, O.F.M., brilliant scholar of the Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, for his unstinting kindness and generosity in reading and criticizing our manuscript, for his valuable suggestions, and for the use of his own manuscript which served as the basis for many of the propositions advanced here.

<sup>254</sup> *Op. Oxon.*, Balić, 31.

of Scotus and Ware to the problem of the nature of original sin and the mode of its transmission. Ware subscribes to the old physical theory of concupiscence infecting the flesh and so transmitting original sin. But Scotus on the other hand shifts the emphasis from a carnal to a spiritual plane. It is Scotus, and not Ware, who recognizes the predominantly spiritual character of original sin and it is Scotus too who advances a moral cause for its existence as a fault in Adam's children, thus affirming the law of moral solidarity of the human race. For Scotus propagation is not a necessary cause of original sin; it is merely a sufficient cause.<sup>255</sup>

While William of Ware, moreover, treats the question of Our Lady's Conception from a practical point of view, Scotus approaches it from a dogmatic perspective. In answer to the question, whether the feast of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin ought to be celebrated, Ware responds in the affirmative. And his answer is the same, he asserts, even if she did contract original sin. To Scotus, rather than to Ware, belongs the honor and merit of adequately developing the doctrine of Our Lady's preservation from original sin in consideration of the merits of Christ. Ware alludes to this merely once at the end of his discussion; while Scotus insists upon this time and again. In fact this proposition is interwoven in the warp and woof of his whole treatise. Our Lady's Redemption, says Scotus, consisted in the form of a preservation from the stain, a most perfect mode of Redemption, one which the honor of the Redeemer as such required. For if Christ did not show Himself to His Mother as the perfect Redeemer He would do so to no one else.<sup>256</sup>

Among the criteria arguing against any doctrinal dependence of Scotus on Ware, the most cogent, it seems, is their treatment of the pertinent remarks of Henry of Ghent. In his first approach to the problem at Oxford, Scotus seems to be wholly unaware of the view of Ghent, since he does not so much as allude to it.<sup>257</sup> William of Ware however speaks of it at the outset. If it is true that Scotus heard the lectures of Ware at Oxford, it is hard to explain why Scotus did not even mention the opinion of Ghent. This is all the more remarkable in view of the fact in his Paris lectures Scotus

<sup>255</sup> See the texts given in ed. Balić, 34f.; 51; 203.

<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, 22ff.; 50ff.; 225ff.

<sup>257</sup> The *Op. Oxon.* does not mention Henry of Ghent's opinion; cf. *ibid.*, 17ff.

introduces the Ghentian's<sup>258</sup> viewpoint at the very beginning, as does Ware in his treatise. Now, Scotus not only goes into considerable detail regarding Henry's opinion, but he also seeks to integrate it into his own system, in explaining Henry's thesis in an acceptable sense.<sup>259</sup> Nowhere does he utilize William's argument *ad hominem* against Ghent. Scotus even devotes particular attention to Henry's first example of the tiny bean resisting the descending mill-stone. How can we explain this? Perhaps the theory of Ghent first came to the attention of Scotus, or took on any importance in his eyes only after he had finished lecturing at Oxford, the treatise of Ware having been one of the factors bringing it to his notice. All things considered, however, this is hardly the sole or even the most plausible reason one might suggest to explain why Scotus is so much concerned with the opinion of Henry of Ghent.

### Conclusion

Let us end this very lengthy discussion with a brief reappraisal of the contribution of the early Franciscans to the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. In the evolution of this dogma there is a dual force in operation, the enthusiastic piety of the faithful populace, and the learning of the theologians, both guided by the inerrant Holy Ghost. The piety of the people kept the feast alive, in spite of the bitter criticism and vigorous opposition of such influential men as St. Bernard and the Norman bishops who attempted to suppress it. But piety needs the indispensable support of Catholic dogma if, on the turbulent waters of life, it is to steer clear of the Scylla of heresy and the Charybdis of excess.

In both areas of activity, the vivification of the piety of the people, and the clarifying of the issues inextricably intertwined with the dogma, the Franciscans played a major role. In Anthony we have a very eloquent preacher and a great saint, who through the

<sup>258</sup> *Op. Paris.*, Balić, 45: "Dicit unus Doctor quod in eodem instanti fuit in peccato et in gratia; sed in priori signo naturae fuit in peccato et in posteriori in gratia. Exemplum ad hoc: si faba proiciatur contra molarem, etc."

<sup>259</sup> *Reportatio Valentiniensis*, Balić, 194: "Et si Gandavus sic intellexit—verum dicit." *Reportatio Barcinonensis*, Balić, 207: "Hic dicitur a quodam Doctore qui male et melius potest intelligi." *Lectura Completa*, Balić, 230: "Et si sic intelligit Gandavus, tunc est opinio bona." Cf. also *Reportatio Cracoviensis*, Balić, 369.

medium of his inspiring sermons kept alive in the hearts of Catholics indomitable faith in the singular holiness of Our Lady, thus preparing the way for the acceptance of the Marian doctrine. The historical circumstances of his theological training and the milieu in which he wrote and preached were hardly such as to place him among those who defended the prerogative. It seems Anthony was not in the tradition of the scholastics.

The contribution of the early Franciscan school is possessed of monumental proportions. Alexander and his disciples were successful in shifting the emphasis in the vexing discussions of original sin and its propagation from a carnal to a spiritual level. Their manifest disenchantment with the Augustinian theory led these doctors to introduce the Anselmian notion and happily effect a union, of the two thus recognizing the predominantly spiritual character of original sin. The explanation of the manner in which our wills were contained in that of Adam can be regarded as the basis of the more modern concept of the law of moral solidarity.

It was Alexander's treatise on sanctification in general, moreover, that stimulated a long process of speculation, the result of which was eventually the introduction of the question into the halls of the University of Paris. His very talented disciple, John of Rupella, devoted a special treatise on the sanctification of Our Lady. The early Franciscans furthermore began a series of profound studies on the various phases of conception and animation, until William of Melitona raises the crucial question whether the Blessed Virgin was sanctified at the precise instant of animation. Although he rejects this possibility unhesitatingly, it is his brilliant successor, St. Bonaventure, who rephrased the problem and in introducing the notion of an Immaculate Conception as a probable opinion, ranks this pious view among the serious theological opinions which will hold the attention of future scholars. Harassed by his seemingly ambivalent attitudes Bonaventure rejected the pious view as less probable and thus adversely influenced for many years, those who followed in his footsteps.

In Spain we discover a Franciscan tertiary, Blessed Raymond Lull, a man of letters and an indefatigable missionary, who reaches the heights of mystic intuition of the Marian prerogative. In several works he speaks explicitly of Our Lady's sinless conception, but for



all the richness of his Mariology and his great love for the Blessed Virgin, his explanation is quite primitive, often naive, leaving some of the difficult problems still unsolved. His contribution consisted by and large in revivifying the tradition of such men as Eadmer and Osbert of Clare.

It was quite natural that from England, where the celebration of the Feast of Our Lady's Conception was successfully kept alive in spite of frequent opposition, should come the two Franciscan schoolmen, William of Ware and Duns Scotus, to defend the Immaculate Conception at the great universities. Because Ware's interpretation of the prerogative is quite primitive, displaying perhaps the immediate influence of the tradition of the earlier promoters of the feast in England, he must be placed outside the traditions of Paris. Notwithstanding the opinion of many scholars that Scotus' defense of the Immaculate Conception is very much dependent upon that of William of Ware, impartial investigation of the question has led us to conclude that Scotus is very much independent of such influence. Whatever might be said finally about the relationship that existed between Scotus and Ware, it is John's defense of the possibility of the prerogative which is more properly the doctrinal heritage of the early Franciscan school in Paris. It is John Duns Scotus, who, because he first solved all the difficulties and rendered the doctrine theologically acceptable to all, should in all justice be called the Doctor of the Immaculate Conception. For even if William of Ware or Raymond Lull had never written a word, or even existed, Scotus would still have appeared, in the divine plans, as the champion of the Immaculate Conception.

#### DISCUSSION

IGNATIUS BRADY, O.F.M.:—In the history of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception the period preceding the fourteenth century and the work of William of Ware, Duns Scotus, Peter Aureoli, Petrus Thomae, and their school, is at once very interesting and very disappointing. It is interesting in that it provides the background against which to judge the positive stand taken by many Franciscans and an increasing number of other Scholastics after 1300. It appears very disappointing to the extent that it furnishes few positive results for the doctrine. At the same time, however, it is a very important period for the development of the teaching, since in many ways it cleared the ground for the acceptance of the Marian doctrine by later theologians. One has only to think of the great change introduced on the notion of original sin: a swing away from the purely Augustinian position which identifies original sin and concupiscence, to a doctrine that incorporates the Ansel-

mian teaching that original sin specifically consists in the lack of due original justice and yet does not altogether deny the position of Saint Augustine. This alone, introduced by the Franciscan Scholastics of Paris (Alexander of Hales, John de la Rochelle, etc.), marks a great positive addition to the background of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>1</sup>

Father Ernest makes a very important point when he shows and emphasizes the need of a *critical approach* to the history of the dogma. One must not let enthusiasm rule and construct history for us. Else we can end up claiming that Saint Francis himself held to the Immaculate Conception—when I don't suppose he knew it was even a debatable question. In like manner one must proceed very cautiously and according to sound historical research in delineating our Order's glorious tradition of devotion to Our Lady. Only gradually did that devotion, which goes back to Porziuncola and the first days of the Order, center more closely and specifically on the Immaculate Conception.<sup>2</sup>

More particularly, the acute analysis which the paper gives of the position of Saint Anthony of Padua is an excellent instance of such a careful approach. There have been those who with more love and zeal than historical prudence have endeavored to show that the Doctor Evangelicus asserted the doctrine.<sup>3</sup> The texts adduced, examined in some detail by Father Ernest, do not allow such a conclusion. Besides, the historical circumstances of the theological training of Saint Anthony and the milieu in which he wrote and preached were not such as to make him a defender—or an opponent either—of the doctrine. One may at least suspect that the doctrine was not argued in the schools in which he absorbed theology. To all appearances, Saint Anthony was not in the tradition of the Scholastics, but belongs rather to the tradition, the Biblical tradition, of the Fathers. He should not be expected, therefore, to be familiar with the questions asked at the University of Paris. Furthermore, the arguments sometimes advanced to force him into the history of the doctrine and to construe him as its defender are at most very dubious and specious.<sup>4</sup> The same arguments could be adduced from the sermons of Saint Bonaventure to prove that the Seraphic Doctor held to the doctrine, whereas we have proof positive that he did not accept it.

Lastly, one finds a similar sad lack of unhistorical theology in those who

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dom O. Lottin, O.S.B., "Les théories sur le péché originel de Saint Anselme à Saint Thomas d'Aquin," in his *Psychologie et morale aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, tom. IV-3, part 1 (Louvain, 1954), pp. 11-280; and I. C. Brady, O.F.M., "The Relation between Sin and Death according to Mediaeval Theologians," *Studia Mariana*, VII (First Fran. National Marian Congress, 1952), pp. 50-80.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Brlek, O. F. M., "Legislatio Ordinis Fratrum Minorum de Immaculata Conceptione B. M. V.," *Antonianum*, XXIX (1954), 3-44. A very uncritical history of the Order's defence of the doctrine is that of P. Pauwels, O.F.M., *Les franciscains et l'Immaculée Conception* (Malines, 1904).

<sup>3</sup> See the survey of Fr. Raphael Huber, O.F.M.Conv., "The Mariology of St. Anthony of Padua," *Studia Mariana*, VII, pp. 215-225.

<sup>4</sup> R. Huber, *art. cit.*, p. 222. For a complete study, see L. di Fonzo, O. F. M. Conv., "La Mariologia de San Antonio," in *S. Antonio, Dottore della Chiesa* (Vatican, 1947); and G. Cantini, O.F.M., "Il pensiero di San Antonio di Padova sul dogma dell' Immacolata Concezione di Maria," *Studi Francescani*, 1931, pp. 3-28.

make the Doctor Angelicus a protagonist, if not the only champion, of the Immaculate Conception as defined by the Church. It is surprising how moderns can find in Saint Thomas what earlier exponents of equal calibre completely failed to discover. One has only to recall the curious affair of John of Montesono in the late fourteenth century. On "the authority of Saint Thomas" this truculent Friar Preacher boldly and arrogantly asserted before the University of Paris that it was against the faith and therefore heretical to teach that Our Lady was conceived without original sin. When the wrath of the theological faculty, of the University and finally of the Bishop of Paris descended upon him, the whole Order in chapter general assembled undertook to defend him and the "slander" committed against Saint Thomas by the theologians of Paris. Or again, the strong opposition of Torquemada and others of the same Order at the Council of Basel when in legitimate session the question of the Immaculate Conception was raised. Or several curious events preceding the *Ineffabilis Deus* of Pope Pius IX.

*Non eget mendaciis nostris*, an opponent of the doctrine declared against the Friars Minor in the fourteenth century; we too may well turn this phrase: Our Lady does not need a history constructed according to our fancies or our desires.

JOSEPH MONTALVERNE, O.F.M.:—In the brief history of the feast of the Immaculate Conception before the 13th century, it seems convenient to note that neither in the East (Texts collected by Fr. Yugie, A.A., edited by Fr. Balic in *Bibliotheca Immaculatae Conceptionis*, Romae, 1952) nor in the West (South Italy and Great Britain) was the feast celebrated with the proper object of the dogma now defined. Especially in Great Britain it seems sure that they considered the Immaculate Conception as a sanctification of the Bl. Virgin in St. Ann's womb, because Mary contracted original sin in her flesh and was only delivered from it after animation. Notwithstanding the arguments adduced by Fr. Francis Mildner, O.S.M. ("The Immaculate Conception in England up to the time of John Duns Scotus," in *Marianum* 1 (1939) 86-99, 200-221) and repeated by others, the comparison that the writers of that time institute, between Mary's Immaculate Conception and St. John the Baptist's sanctification on the occasion of the Visitation, bear witness that the truth of the Immaculate Conception was understood as a sanctification after contracting original sin. The same must be said even for Eadmer of Canterbury and Nicolas of St. Albans. The arguments of Fr. Francis Mildner ("The Immaculate Conception in the Writings of Nicolas of St. Albans," in *Marianum*, 2 (1940), 173-193) do not prove more than the sanctification after animation.

Lately Fr. Di Fonzo, O.F.M.Conv., has suggested that the *Commentary on the Psalms*, traditionally attributed to St. Anthony and now attributed to his secretary, Bl. Lucas Belludi, represent the private and last thought of St. Anthony, whose unachieved writings, besides the sermons published in his lifetime, were published only after his death, by Luke Belludi but under the inscription of St. Anthony. In this case, St. Anthony would have defended the Immaculate Conception (Cf. Fr. Candide Romeri, O.F.M., *Dissertatio ad lauream*, St. Anthony's in Rome, later published).

It is not reasonable to say that St. Anthony "was no scholastic, but had the mentality of the Fathers." He had the mentality of the School of St. Victor,

kept in honor at Coimbra where he studied. He had the mentality of a pre-scholastic.

It seems that the expression "St. Bonaventure gives a beautiful synthesis, that gave the direction to Pius X" contradicts the historical truth. St. Bonaventure (Sent., III, d.1, a.2 . . . ?) expressly says that "he never heard anyone teach the opinion that Mary did not incur original sin." (He certainly means "any learned man.") He never resolved the great objections against the Immaculate Conception: Augustinian theory of seminal transmission of original sin considered as concupiscence; universal redemption; that according to St. Paul all, except Jesus, sinned in Adam, etc. How could he as a theologian admit the possibility of the Immaculate Conception if he knew it was against the authority of St. Bernard and the Doctors of his time! He did not even refute St. Augustine's theory of original sin, what St. Thomas probably did, showing that "original sin" was essentially "absence of original justice" in the soul.

But St. Bonaventure's ignorance of the solution of the problem of the Immaculate Conception is a proof that in England before Duns Scotus the solution of the question was unknown. St. Bonaventure who studied in England since he was nine years old, who was appointed Archbishop of York when he was named Cardinal, was certainly well acquainted with the disputes about the Immaculate Conception in England; and yet he assures that no theologian (that he knows) had taught such a thing.

I do not think that Duns Scotus depends on William of Ware. Until now, even for the quotations of Ware noted by Waurillon and Wadding, in the editions of Duns Scotus' Commentaries on the Sentences, we never found any dependence of Duns Scotus regarding Ware. Scotus presents the argument of the perfect Redeemer (the decisive argument for the Immaculate Conception) as his own. If it were his Master's argument, he would have quoted him.



**DUNS SCOTUS—  
DEFENDER OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION**

BERNARD VOGT, O.F.M.

It is a historical fact that popular Catholic tradition for centuries inclined towards belief in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. This is evident from the introduction of a special feast of the Immaculate Conception into the liturgy of the Church and from the gradual spread of the feast throughout Christendom. But the theologians and Doctors of the Church hesitated to ascribe this beautiful privilege to Mary because they found it impossible to solve certain inherent difficulties, until Scotus appeared upon the scene and offered an acceptable solution which prepared the way, and ultimately was incorporated into the solemn dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception.

The Subtle Doctor's defense of the Immaculate Conception is found in his Oxford and Paris Commentaries on the third book of the Sentences of Peter Lombard. The problem is there posed: "Utrum Beata Virgo concepta fuerit in peccato originali?"—"Was the Blessed Virgin conceived in original sin?"

Scotus begins his answer to the question with a brief enumeration of authorities opposed to the Immaculate Conception, and a restatement of the main difficulty which had influenced the Fathers and Doctors to deny the privilege to Mary. This central difficulty was the Pauline teaching concerning the need of universal redemption; found in the Epistle to the Romans: "Through one man sin entered the world, and through sin death; and thus death passed into all men, because all have sinned."<sup>1</sup>

**Pre-Redemption**

Two important contributions were made by Duns Scotus to the controversy. Admitting that Mary as a descendant of Adam stood in need of redemption because of the sin of Adam, he offered a novel solution to the subtle difficulties which had for so long baffled the-

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<sup>1</sup> *Romans*, 5:12.

ologians, by introducing the idea of pre-redemption, and a distinction of order of nature and order of time into the solution of the problem of the Immaculate Conception.

Realizing that the weight of traditional authority, both in number of defendants and in accumulated argument, was on the side of his opponents, Scotus chose a courteous polemical rather than a direct didactic approach. He is intent upon fully answering the arguments of his opponents before establishing his own thesis in direct exposition. With fine feeling for psychological procedure he clears the ground by removing the arguments of his opponents, and only then offers his own solid and luminous appeal on behalf of Mary's great prerogative of the Immaculate Conception.

Among the reasons advanced by his opponents, the leading one was the dignity of Christ as Universal Redeemer and Mediator. This was irreconcilable, they asserted, with Mary's exemption from original sin. Scotus restates the objection as follows: "One reason is the excellence of her Son who as Universal Redeemer opened the gate of heaven to all. But if the Blessed Virgin had not contracted original sin, she would not have needed a Redeemer. Nor would He have opened the gate of heaven to her, because it would not have been closed to her. For it is not closed except on account of sin, and more especially original sin."<sup>2</sup>

The Paris Commentary repeats the objection in these words: "The Son of God was the Universal Redeemer. He was then, the Redeemer of everyone besides Himself. Therefore, the Blessed Virgin was in sin, since only a person who has been in sin can be redeemed. For else she would not have been redeemed. Ennobling the mother in the way suggested, would imply dishonoring the Son. Again, Christ by His death opened the gate of heaven to all. But if the Blessed Virgin had not contracted original sin, the gate would never have been closed to her, and then Christ did not open it to her. But redemption has for its special purpose to take away original sin."<sup>3</sup>

Turning their attention to Mary, the opponents of Scotus further

<sup>2</sup> Balic, 21:5; *Oxon.*, L III, d.3, V.I; n.3; XIV, 160. The Balic quotation refers to the critical edition of the Oxford and Paris Commentaries published on the Immaculate Conception, in his *Theologicae Marianae Elementa*, (Sibrenici, 1933).

<sup>3</sup> Balic, 47:10 *Rep.*, L III,d.3; q.I; n.4; XXIII, 262.

objected: "The Blessed Virgin was born according to common law and therefore her body was propagated and formed from infected seed. There was, then, the same reason for infection in her body as in the body of anyone else thus propagated. And since from an infected body the soul is infected, there was the same reason for infection in her soul as was found in the souls of others thus commonly propagated."<sup>4</sup>

### Penalties of Sin

"Moreover," they continued, "Mary had the common sufferings of human nature such as thirst, hunger and those penalties which are inflicted upon us on account of original sin. These penalties were not voluntarily assumed by her, because she was not our Reparatrix or Redemptrix, for then her Son would not have been the Universal Redeemer of all. Therefore, they were inflicted upon her by God. Nor were they unjustly inflicted; consequently, on account of original sin. In other words, she was not innocent."<sup>5</sup>

Such was the maculist position. It advanced four leading reasons against the Immaculate Conception: 1) The dignity of Christ according to which He is the Redeemer of all mankind. 2) Christ would not have opened the gate of heaven to all, because it would not have been closed to a sinless Mary. 3) The propagation of Mary as a descendant of Adam from an infected seed. 4) Mary's subjection to the common sufferings of mankind which were inflicted on account of original sin.

Scotus declined to accept these reasons as conclusive. He rejected the argument that Mary's privilege of the Immaculate Conception would derogate from the dignity of Christ as Universal Redeemer.

### Preventing Offense

On the contrary, he asserted that in defending Mary's Immaculate Conception he was in fact attributing a more exalted and perfect role of Redeemer to Christ. In his own words: "The very opposite conclusion would seem to follow from the reasons as proposed. For from the fact that the Son of God was the Universal

<sup>4</sup> Balic, 47:10; *Oxon.*, L. III,d.3; q.I; n.3; XIV, 160.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

Redeemer it follows that He was a most perfect Redeemer. As such He employed the most perfect degree of mediation possible in regard to the person most esteemed by Him. But the most perfect act of mediation preserves from all sin, in as much as no one intervenes perfectly on behalf of another, unless he prevents offense if he is able. Now, if guilt were found at any time, Christ as mediator would not have intervened as perfectly as would be the case, had He prevented all offense. For He who prevents lest one offend, is a more perfect mediator than he who merely reconciles after the offense."<sup>6</sup>

Scotus tells us here that redeeming grace which preserves from original sin is greater than that which merely purifies from sin incurred, and therefore Christ was Mary's Redeemer and Mediator more perfectly by preservative redemption. By preserving Mary from original sin, in view of the foreseen merits of his sacrifice on Calvary, Christ not merely redeemed her, but pre-redeemed her. This implies far greater grace and a far greater excellency of redemption.

The Subtle Doctor expresses this sentiment as follows: "Mary had the greatest need of Christ as Redeemer, for she would have contracted original sin by reason of her descent, unless this had been prevented by the grace of a Mediator. As others needed Christ that through His merit sin already contracted might be remitted to them, she needed even more a Mediator preventing this, that she might not at any time be under debt of contracting it, and that she be preserved from actually contracting it."<sup>7</sup>

In this way did Scotus lay to rest the centuries-old objection derived from the Pauline Doctrine concerning the need of Universal Redemption. Rightly understood, he explained, this doctrine will not offer any difficulty preventing Mary's noble prerogative. The need of incurring original sin, and equally the need of Universal Redemption by Christ was not denied by Scotus. Nor did he claim that Mary as a daughter of Adam escaped this universal law.

Mary was a daughter of Adam, he explained, before she became an adopted daughter of God. Therefore, she was subject to original sin and in need of redemption. As a child of Adam she would, in

<sup>6</sup> Balic, 48:I; *Rep.* L. III; d.3; q.I; n.5; XXIII, 263.

<sup>7</sup> Balic, 35:10 *Oxon.*, L.III; d.3; n.14; XIV, 171.



the ordinary course of events and according to the ordinary course of nature, have incurred Adam's debt like other men. But in the order of time God could give her sanctifying grace at the very moment of her conception. In this way, Mary, though a child of Adam in the order of nature, would be made a child of God by the infusion of grace before original sin could take effect in her soul.

Pursuing the argument further, the Subtle Doctor continues: "One may argue that she was by priority of nature a daughter of Adam before she had grace, since she was a person before she could receive grace. In that prior state she was a debtor to original justice as a natural daughter of Adam, and did not have this justice, and therefore in this prior state she contracted original sin."<sup>8</sup>

In as much as generation precedes sanctification, concedes Scotus, Mary was a daughter of Adam before she became an adopted daughter of God; therefore, she must have been in need of redemption, because subject to original sin. But though in the order of our ideas our thoughts may dwell on Mary—conceived first as a daughter of Adam and then as sanctified as a daughter of God, this does not imply a priority of time which would demand in the soul of Mary two successive states, one of sin and the other of grace. There is only in her at the first moment of her existence a twofold relation, that of a daughter of Adam for which she is indebted to her human generation, subject to the common law and establishing the debt of sin; and the other, that of a daughter of God, which she owes to the privileged sanctification which protected her from the consequences of the common law, and extinguished in her the debt of sin by a special application of the foreseen merits of the Saviour.

Scotus concludes: "Mary, then, needed redemption more than anyone else. She needed redemption so much the more, the greater the good conferred upon her. Since perfect innocent is a greater good than remission of sin after a fall, a greater good was conferred upon her by preserving her from original sin, than if she had been purified afterwards. Neither was it necessary on that account that Christ should have first suffered, because Abraham was purified from original sin which was in his person, by virtue of the foreseen

<sup>8</sup> Balic, 36:5 *Oxon.*; *ibid.*, n.15.

passion of Christ. Thus could original sin have been prevented in Mary which would, otherwise have been in her.”<sup>9</sup>

Turning to the arguments of the opponents referring peculiarly to Mary, Scotus refutes these in turn. As to the argument concerning the opening of the gate of heaven, Scotus replies: “It is evident that the gate was opened to her through the merit of the passion of Christ, foreseen and especially accepted with regard to this person (Mary). So that on account of this passion, sin would never be found in her, and thus nothing on account of which the gate would be closed; although, because of her birth and origin, the gate would be closed to her as to others.”<sup>10</sup>

### Other Objections

Again, his adversaries claimed that a stainless conception was in flagrant contradiction with the human nature of Mary. How could it be that her soul was not soiled by its contact and union with a sinful flesh. Such was the objection. It must have seemed unanswerable to those theologians of the period who did not plainly distinguish original sin from concupiscence, and who looked upon the latter as a defective quality tarnishing primarily the flesh and through it reaching the soul.

The Subtle Doctor first clears the ground of these assumptions. Appealing to the authority of St. Anselm and to sound reason he denies that concupiscence is a real infection of the flesh, or a positive vice. He explains how original sin does not consist in any corruption or infection of our human nature, but in the privation of original justice due. Moreover, he insists, in as much as sin is a moral deordination, the flesh cannot serve as a physical cause in the transmission of original sin. The argument taken from the common descent does not then, conclude against Mary’s Immaculate Conception.

There remained a final objection. If the Blessed Virgin did not contract original sin, why did she incur its penalties? Why did she have to suffer? There were some of these penalties which might have been advantageous to Mary and others which could not have been, replied Scotus. What purpose would there have been in the

<sup>9</sup> Balic, 50:15 *Rep.*; *Ibid.*, n.8;

<sup>10</sup> Balic, 41:5 *Oxon.*, L.III; d.3; q.I; n.8; XIV, 173.

stain of original sin? It is quite another thing with the afflictions and sufferings of this life, as they are sources of merit. Christ could therefore fulfill His office of Redeemer in Mary's regard and yet leave her these kinds of penalties. We have here a pregnant thought of Scotus, if we correlate the idea with the role of Mary as "*Socia Christi Redemptoris*," or "*Co-Redemptrix*," so much stressed by theologians today. As the new Eve, Mary had to be close to Jesus the new Adam, to share His atoning destiny.

In Scotus' own words: "The argument taken from the sufferings of Mary is inconclusive, because a mediator can reconcile someone in such a way that the penalties which are not useful to him are taken away, but the useful punishments are left. Now original guilt would not have been useful to Mary, whereas the temporal sufferings were useful because she merited by them."<sup>11</sup>

Having thus removed all the objections brought forward by his opponents against the Immaculate Conception, and having firmly established the possibility of this noble privilege of Mary, Scotus sums up his own position in this modest and reserved form: "To the question proposed I answer: God could have arranged that Mary was never in original sin; He could also have allowed her to be in sin for a single moment; and He could have permitted her to be in sin for a while and purified her ultimately."<sup>12</sup>

"Which of these three possibilities actually took place, God knows. But if it be not against the authority of the Church and of Holy Scripture it would seem probable to attribute to Mary that which is the more perfect."<sup>13</sup>

### Conclusion

The historic defense of the Immaculate Conception by Duns Scotus, here briefly outlined, continued to exercise an enduring powerful influence on the development and eventual dogmatic proclamation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Its luminous distinction and definitions, e.g., his pre-redemption theory and his suggestion of a distinction between the order of nature and

<sup>11</sup> Balic, 28:5 *Oxon.*; *Ibid.*, n.8; XIV, 162.

<sup>12</sup> Balic, *Ibid.*; *Oxon.*; *Ibid.*, n.9; XIV, 164.

<sup>13</sup> Balic, 31:5 *Oxon.*; *Ibid.*, n.10; XIV, 165.

the order of time, cleared the dogmatic ground and greatly contributed to a final victorious solution. Cardinal Merry del Val in a letter to Fr. Powels, O.F.M., of July 4th, 1904, says of Scotus that he carried the torch of Mary's non-forfeiture of grace as on the crest of a wave to its ultimate triumph.

#### DISCUSSION

JOSEPH MONTALVERNE, O.F.M.:—I do not agree with Fr. Lynch wishing Fr. Vogt to complete his paper with an historical research presenting the right position of Scotus in the history of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. That has been done by Le Bachelet, Longpre, Balic, and so many others, although there is not yet a complete historical dissertation on the subject. One may perhaps suggest to Fr. Vogt to put a footnote or to say two words in the introduction about Duns Scotus' historical position, but the character of Fr. Vogt's speculative exposition must be maintained.

I am not sure of having understood well Fr. Vogt's position about the "debt" in his paper. I just stated that Duns Scotus never discussed the problem of "debt of contracting original sin" in Mary Immaculate as theologians do nowadays.

I think, with Fr. Balic and many Franciscan and non-Franciscan Mariologist, that Scotus not only never spoke of the "debt," but that he would not even admit our notion of remote debt, commonly admitted now by most Franciscan Mariologists. The reason is that, admitting Mary's absolute predestination with Christ (before all creation) in God's eternal plan, Mary could not be included in Adam's will of sin. On account of her special predestination, Adam was not her head in our juridical and moral order of solidarity. Besides that, the theory of the perfect Redeemer, according to Scotus, excludes contracting any stain of sin (proximate debt), and the remote debt is nothing more than an hypothesis, or condition according to some, but no real debt.



## THE POSITION OF THE BLESSED MOTHER IN THE FRANCISCAN THEOLOGICAL SYNTHESIS

CYRIL SHIRCEL, O.F.M.

The title of this paper indicates that two points are to be developed: firstly, the Franciscan theological synthesis; secondly, the position of our Blessed Mother in this synthesis.

The reasons which prompt a consideration of our Blessed Mother are several and obvious. There are merits which are intrinsic to any such consideration by the very nature of the subject matter. Furthermore, the Marian Year makes such a consideration very appropriate.

The reasons which prompt a consideration of the Franciscan theological synthesis are also several and, perhaps, less obvious. As a matter of fact, these are the reasons which primarily motivated the writing of this paper.

Firstly, there is current considerable discussion upon the content and method of the theology to be taught to the layman. This discussion is of particular significance in reference to the teaching of religion or theology in our colleges and universities. Lines have formed to the right and to the left, and a controversy of no mean proportions has emerged. One group insists that the same theology be taught to our layman as is taught in our seminaries for the professional theologian, that is, a logical treatment of theology in as far as its subject matter centers around God as its formal object. This theology would be theocentric in nature. The textbook suggested is either the *Summa Theologica* of St. Thomas or any commendable commentary upon it. The other group insists that the theology of the seminarian in no way satisfies the needs of the layman, is too speculative for him, should be radically reorganized and adapted to his milieu, having Christ as its center. This theology would be Christocentric in nature. No textbook has as yet been suggested by this group since no such textbook is available.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> At the present moment, the Rev. John J. Fernan, S.J., is compiling such a work: *Theology, A Course for College Students* (New York, Georgian Press Inc.). Two volumes, of the projected four, have been completed to date.

## Theology for Laymen

On the occasion of a workshop at Catholic University in Washington, D. C., a few years ago, which discussed theology, philosophy and history as integrating disciplines, the members of the board went on record—quite arbitrarily, I think—as favoring the theocentric and scientific treatment of theology for our lay students, although several of the papers read disagreed rather emphatically with this decision.<sup>2</sup> At the eighteenth annual meeting of the *Mid-west College and University Department of the National Catholic Educational Association*, the same problem reached the floor with representatives of both groups holding their own.<sup>3</sup> In a well-documented treatise which appeared in the *Theological Studies* in 1944, Rev. John Courtney Murray, S.J., came to grips with this problem and solved it on the following basis. Theology, he says, exists for the life of the Church, for the building up of her Body. One studies theology in order to employ that knowledge in his service to the Church. Now, the service to be rendered to the Church by the priest is different from that to be rendered by the layman. Therefore, theology's content, proportions, emphases, and method will accordingly be distinct. In other words, the theology for the professional theologian is not identical with the theology for the layman.<sup>4</sup>

A Franciscan theologian could hardly voice a protest to the reasoning of Fr. Murray. It is the opinion of this writer that if we Franciscans had entered this fray over a lay theology en masse with our Franciscan theology, we could have saved many theological and educational circles the consumption of much time and energy. You are cognizant, I am sure, of the Franciscan solution to this problem. The primacy of the will, as elaborated by Duns Scotus, means simply that the intellect is ordered towards the will.<sup>5</sup> Paraphrased, this means that knowledge must be ordered to action or activity. Now, if the activity of the layman in the Catholic

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<sup>2</sup> June 13–24, 1952.

<sup>3</sup> March 24, 1953, Chicago.

<sup>4</sup> "Toward a Theology for the Layman," *Theological Studies*, V (1944), 47.

<sup>5</sup> Confer *Oxon.*, 2, d. 49, q. 2. Confer also Konstantin Koser, O.F.M., "Basic Significance of Knowledge for Christian Perfection According to Duns Scotus" in *Franciscan Studies*, VIII (1948), pp. 153–172.

Church is different from that of the priest, it follows necessarily that the content and method of the theology for the one will be distinct from that of the other. The theology for the layman, therefore, will be one specifically suited to his needs. Over and above that, our Franciscan theology is ideally suited to adapt itself to the needs of the layman as described by Fr. Murray. Among its many features in this respect I might mention the doctrines of the Primacy of Christ and the exalted position of our Blessed Mother.

### Theology for Sisters

The second reason which prompts a consideration of the Franciscan theological synthesis is the need of our Franciscan Sisterhoods for an appropriate course in theology. Theological institutes for Sisters are mushrooming the country over. The explicitly stated objectives of these institutes are twofold: to aid Sisters as religious and as Christian educators—very commendable objectives indeed. But what kind of theology shall they be taught? What will be its content? Where will be the emphases? Again, it will not be the course of the seminarian. Applying the principles we used above in reference to a theology for the layman, I might suggest that the theology to be taught to the Sister will be one dictated by the service she renders to the Church. Furthermore, it will be a theology which will be suitable to a Sister not only as a religious, but as a Franciscan religious, a Dominican religious, a Benedictine religious. Thus, for example, a Franciscan Sister is entitled to a theological program which will contain the contributions of the great Franciscan masters, especially in the fields of Christology, Mariology, and Spiritual Theology, and which will be integrated with the bond of the Franciscan theological synthesis.

The final reason for a consideration of the Franciscan theological synthesis affects us all somewhat more personally. It has to do with the condition of our theological courses in our own seminaries. I am sure that it is not necessary for me to remind anyone here present of Art. 238, No. 6, of our *Constitutions*: “. . . *lectores scholae franciscanae ex animo inhaerere studeant . . .*” Moreover, there has been generally a consistently increasing chorus of complaints and complaints over certain aspects of our current theological courses. There

is an unbalanced stress on speculation in theology, it is said. Theology has lost its contact with vital life. Theology has fallen short of its goal, namely, to awaken life and love and to serve them. "Theology," as Karl Adam expresses it, "lured by the Aristotelian concept of knowledge, went all too far on the fragile ice of abstract concepts and has lost sympathy with everyday life."<sup>6</sup> And Raoul Plus adds this provoking thought:

It is a sad fact that a person can study "*de Verbo Incarnato*" a whole semester without even once becoming astounded or excited, without even once experiencing within himself feelings of admiration and love. All that one seems to hit upon is the cold, bare armour of concepts. . . . Woe to the science that does not lead to love.<sup>7</sup>

Fr. Murray insinuates as much when he says

. . . the main value that the professional theologian would find in theorizing about the nature of a lay theology lies in the illumination he might thus receive on the nature of theology as such. It is no secret that theologians the world over are uncomfortable about the pass—perhaps even the impasse—to which scientific theology has come in certain aspects of its practice, precisely because it lacks a fully satisfactory theory about itself and its functions. . . . Hardly knowing what theology itself is, it is difficult to know what a theology for the laity should be. In this remarkable situation, my suggestion is that we might possibly clarify the answer to the first question by attempting to answer the second. By deciding what we want to do for the sheep, we might find out what needs to be done for the shepherds.<sup>8</sup>

Without question, these are remarkable and disturbing statements. But what is more remarkable and more disturbing is the fact that while John Duns Scotus anticipated this problem and solved it, we don't seem to be too aware of it today.

You will grant, in the light of these reasons, that a discussion of the Franciscan theological synthesis is timely and necessary. Our Franciscan masters have made tremendous contributions to the world of thought and action in the past. It remains for us to revitalize their contributions and to adapt them to the contemporary situation. While the statement of Fr. Longpre, to the effect that the authentic thought of Duns Scotus is more and more inspiring

<sup>6</sup> *Christus und der Geist des Abendlandes* (Luenchen, 1928), 32.

<sup>7</sup> *In Christus Jesus*. Transl. by M. Schwarz (Regensburg, 1927), pp. 115-116.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 375-376.



contemporary theology,<sup>9</sup> may be true abroad, there seems to be mighty little evidence of it here in the States.

## I. THE FRANCISCAN THEOLOGY SYNTHESIS

What is the Franciscan theological synthesis? You will observe that we use the adjective "Franciscan" and not "Scotistic" in our title. We do this designedly. We have no intention of detracting from the magnificent contributions of John Duns Scotus who excogitated and taught this synthesis formally. Rather, we wish to indicate thereby that in spirit this synthesis originates with St. Francis himself; that it is the property and rich heritage of all Franciscans; that as a living, vibrant element of Franciscanism, it belongs not only to the past, but to the present and future as well wherein this synthesis may be more generously elaborated, more sharply defined, more cogently presented, and more particularly applied.

The cardinal concept upon which are hinged one's general view of the universe and one's philosophy of life is unquestionably that of God. Each distinctive notion of God gives rise to a correspondingly distinctive view of the universe and philosophy of life. St. Francis had a distinctive notion of God. Its predominant perspective is Divine Goodness and Love. Thus, in his *Praise of God*, he wrote: "Thou art good, all good, highest good, Lord God, living and true. Thou art charity, love."<sup>10</sup> These thoughts St. Francis expresses over and over again as even a brief perusal of his writings reveals. He perceives the reality of God as the reality of Love, so the dominant notes to which his spirit of prayer is attuned are love and praise. Father Felder describes the nature of the prayer of St. Francis as follows:

. . . love is the secret of the Saint's life of prayer; love is the strain that ever quivers through all his practices of prayer; and if we are to designate his spirit of prayer as affective and direct contemplation, it is again

<sup>9</sup> *The Kingship of Christ*, Transl. by D. J. Barry, O.F.M. (Paterson, N.J., St. Anthony Guild Press, 1944), 22.

<sup>10</sup> Leon Lemmens, *Opuscula S. Patris Francisci Assisiensis* (Ad Claras Aquas, Quaracchi, 1904), 198.

thereby expressed that the dominant note of his piety is above all things a burning and overwhelming love of God.<sup>11</sup>

This perspective of God colors his entire view of the universe, his philosophy of life. Here we find the source of his extraordinary, perennial, and universal appeal. He is of interest and admiration not only to the Catholic world, but to the world at large.

As time brought forth the theologians of the Order, this pre-dominant perspective was destined to play another role. It is recorded succinctly by the Most Rev. Pacific Perantoni, O.F.M., in his encyclical letter on *Franciscan Spirituality*:

The Divine Goodness is indeed the polar idea, so to call it, on which our great Scholastic doctors from Alexander of Hales to Bonaventure and Scotus have built up their theological contentions, and they admirably reflect the sentiments and intuition of our Seraphic Father St. Francis. For in his remarkable prayers Francis seems to anticipate the terms of Scholastic Theology when he calls God the sovereign Good, Goodness, Love . . .<sup>12</sup>

It was to be expected, therefore, that a Catholic theology with a new perspective appear on the scene. Today that theology is familiarly known as *The Theology of Love*.

### Theology of Love

This *Theology of Love* or *Theology of Charity* has been the subject of several scholarly studies of our confreres. I am referring especially to the contributions made by Fathers Richard Deffrennes,<sup>13</sup> Marion Mueller,<sup>14</sup> Eucharius Schmitt<sup>15</sup> who based his study upon that of Ephrem Longpre, and J. F. Bonnefoy.<sup>16</sup> As to the

<sup>11</sup> *The Ideals of St. Francis*. Transl. by B. Bittle (New York, Benziger Brothers Inc., 1925), pp. 407-408.

<sup>12</sup> *Acta O.F.M.*, II (1950). Transl. offprint (Chicago, Franciscan Herald Press), 12.

<sup>13</sup> "Essai de la theologie dans la charite," *La France Franciscaine*, XVI (1933), pp. 133-161.

<sup>14</sup> "Die theologische Gesamtsynthese des Duns Skotus," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, I (1934), pp. 110-140.

<sup>15</sup> "Das seraphische Weltbild des Duns Skotus," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit*, II (1935), pp. 70-88.

<sup>16</sup> "La Primaute absolue et universelle de N. S. Jesus-Christ et de la Tres Sainte Vierge," extract from *Bulletin de la Societe Francaise d'Etudes Mariales* (Paris, 1938), pp. 83-94. Also by the same author, *L'Assomption de*

essentials of a Franciscan synthesis, all four agree. Each, however, develops the synthesis according to his own amount of detail, his own shift of emphasis, and, perhaps, according to his own interpretation on some minor points. For their possible value to the theologian to whom these articles are not too readily available, and for their general value as a bird's-eye view of the Franciscan synthesis, outlines of three of these syntheses follow:

**Synthesis A—*Fr. Eucharius Schmitt*<sup>17</sup>**

**I. Love in the Source:**

1. Reality of God—Love
2. Motive of Divine Activity—Love
3. Absolute Predestination of Christ—  
Prompted by Love
4. Predestination of Creatures—Prompted  
by Love
5. Motive and End of Revelation—Love
6. Acceptance of Good Works by God—  
Because of Love

**II. Love in the Return:**

1. Love, Principle of Return to God through  
Christ's Redemption
2. Love, as Grace, Principle of Return in  
Process of Justification
3. Defense of this Teaching
4. Return to God through Life of Love

**III. Love in Union with God.**

**Synthesis B—*Fr. Richard Deffrennes*<sup>18</sup>**

- I. God, One and Triune  
Internal Life of Blessed Trinity—Love

**II. Works of God *ad extra*:**

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*la T. S. Vierge et sa predestination, in Vers de Dogme de l'Assomption* (Montreal, 1948).

<sup>17</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup> *Op. cit.*

1. Predestination of Christ
2. Predestination of Mary:
  - Mary, Mother of God
  - Mary, Mother of Men
3. Our Predestination in Christ:
  - Doctrine:
    - Mystical Body
    - Headship of Christ
    - The Members
    - Holy Spirit, Life-Giver
    - Mary, Heart of Mystical Body
  - Consequences of Our Incorporation:
    - Dogmatic
    - Moral
    - Mystical
    - Social
4. Grace and Divine Life
5. Obstacles to Divine Plan:
  - Sin: Among Angels; Among Men
  - Reparation:
    - Evangelical Economy of Grace—
    - Sacraments
    - Our Cooperation with Grace—Moral,
    - Ascetical, Mystical
6. Consummation: the Last Things

### Synthesis C—*Fr. Marion Mueller*<sup>19</sup>

- I. St. Francis' Concept of God
- II. Duns Scotus' Concept of God
  1. The Person of the Father
  2. The Generation of the Son
  3. The Procession of the Holy Spirit
  4. Relations of Divine Persons
  5. Divine Essence as *Centrum Caritatis*
- III. Love as the Motive and Principle of Order

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<sup>19</sup> *Op. cit.*



## IV. Predestination and Fóreknowledge of God

## V. Order and Sequence of Predestination:

1. Christ's Primacy in Creation
2. Mary's Position
3. Angels and Men
4. Revelation and Grace
  - Christ, Head of Angels and Men
  - Message of *Logos* and Theology
  - Meaning of Theology
5. Visible Creation
6. Adam's Fall and Redemption

Even a casual reading of these outlines reveals that the golden thread which is woven throughout this theological fabric, which gives meaning and purposiveness to this fabric, is love. Let us pursue further this love which functions as the integrating factor of the Franciscan theological synthesis.

We contended above that each distinctive notion of God gives rise to a correspondingly distinctive notion of the universe and philosophy of life. It is here, then, in the notion of God, that we discover the point of departure for a theological system.

The burden of the tract *De Deo uno et trino* is a discussion of the existence and nature of God and a description of the Most Blessed Trinity within the confines of revelation and the limits of human reason. Within this area, Duns Scotus and the Franciscan School, without minimizing or detracting from the other divine attributes, are especially concerned, in accordance with the spirit of the Seraphic Father, with the following truths: God as Goodness and Love; His absolute independence, selflessness, and generosity. With His intellect and will, God knows and loves and is supremely happy. What does He love? What is the source of His happiness? It is not any of His formal perfections; much less is it any creature. It is the divine Essence.<sup>20</sup> The love of this Essence is the source of His happiness. It is a selfless and disinterested love. It is an absolutely independent love—even within the realm of the Blessed Trinity. Speaking of the Person of the Father, Duns Scotus says:

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<sup>20</sup> *Ox.*, 1, d. 13, q. un., n. 23 (IX, 907a).

The Father precedes the Son and the begetting of the Son by a priority of origin. He is happy in this existence in Himself and not solely in consequence of begetting the Son. He is happy even before the begetting of the Son. But He is happy in knowing and loving His own Essence; hence He wills and desires His Essence already before He wills and desires the generation of His Son.<sup>21</sup>

In spite of the perfection that is His, the Father did not content Himself with a blissful repose in the enjoyment of His Essence. He has an exhaustive knowledge of His Essence and wills it in every respect. Logically, this means the communication of the Essence to the Son.<sup>22</sup> The Father's knowledge and willing of the divine Essence becomes productive decreeing. Hence the begetting of the Son is nothing else than the communication of the divine Essence by the Father to the Son by way of the intellect.<sup>23</sup> Thus the *intelligere* of the Father is realized in the *dicere*, and the Word so spoken is the Divine Word, the eternally begotten Son of God. The Father has freely and selflessly given over to the Son His whole being.<sup>24</sup> The divine Essence, however, is not only destined to be realized in the Son, but upon this *dicere* the *spirare* also follows. As the *intelligere* of the Father resolves itself into the *dicere* and the begetting of the Son, so the *diligere* between the Father and the Son resolves itself into the personal *spirare* and the Holy Spirit, the Third Person of the Most Blessed Trinity.<sup>25</sup> Scotus reminds us, at this point, that the Holy Spirit does not issue from the mutual love of the Father and the Son as Persons, but from that love with which both as one *principium spirativum* love that divine Essence.<sup>26</sup> Thus the divine Essence of the Father is communicated to the Son and Holy Spirit with complete selflessness and independence since it involves no acquisition nor any loss of perfection.<sup>27</sup> Each divine Person is perfect and happy in the possession and enjoyment of their divine Essence.

God knows and wills His Essence and thereby communicates His being. His Essence is the *ratio*, the motive, of all His activity. It

<sup>21</sup> *Repor. Par.*, 1, d. 6, q. 2, n. 5 (XXII, 142).

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> *Ox.*, 1, d. 6, q. un., n. 5, additio (IX, 510a).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> *Ox.*, 1, d. 12, q. 1, n. 17 (IX, 869a). Cf. *ibid.*, n. 7 (858ab).

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, d. 1, q. 2, n. 6 (VIII, 321b-322a).

sets God in motion by its very nature. Why? Because His Essence is formal Goodness, infinite Goodness, and it is the property of goodness lovingly to communicate itself. It is, then, the property of infinite Goodness to communicate itself infinitely. As Scotus would word it, "*summe activum est summe diffusivum sui*."<sup>28</sup> And it is thus that the Father communicates Himself to the Son, and the Father and Son to the Holy Spirit.

### God is Love

Distinctively Franciscan is the next notion of Duns Scotus, that the essence of the Godhead is love: "*Deus est formaliter dilectio et formaliter caritas*."<sup>29</sup> God communicates Himself, not to supply any possible lack in His own perfection, nor to add to His own happiness, but simply to share His perfection and happiness with others. He wills to give—just to give!<sup>30</sup> A selfless giving, indeed! In communicating Himself, God is governed by His Essence which is formally love. Love is the motivating force in the Godhead. It is the final reason, the ultimate explanation, of all divine activity.

But if God is formally love, then His Essence is the ultimate reason and foundation of all love; then, too, right order demands that this Essence, as the highest possible Value, be the final goal of all love. Accordingly, God loves Himself first.<sup>31</sup> However, every perfect, generous, and unselfish love desires co-lovers—*condiligentes*.<sup>32</sup> And when that perfect, generous, and unselfish love is infinite, it desires to be loved infinitely. So the Father associates Himself with the Son and Holy Spirit, perfect, infinite co-lovers. Furthermore, He wills the elect as co-lovers that they might love

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, d. 2, q. 7, n. 8 (VIII, 528).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, d. 17, q. 3, n. 31 (X, 93a); *Repor. Par.*, 2, d. 27, q. un., n. 3 (XXIII, 135ab): Deus est formaliter caritas.

<sup>30</sup> *Ox.*, 1, d. 2, q. 7, n. 4 (VIII, 513a): Dico quod in omni ordine agentium, praecipue ubi principium activum de se non est imperfectum, est status ad aliquod principium activum simpliciter perfectum quod scilicet agens agit ex plenitudine perfectionis, et dicitur agens ex liberalitate . . . Nullum autem agens agit liberaliter propter hoc quod ex actione sua expectat perfici; sicut enim in actibus humanis liberalis est ille, qui agit non expectans redditionem, ita simpliciter agens dicitur liberale, eo quod nullo modo perficitur a productione vel producto.

<sup>31</sup> *Repor. Par.*, 3, d. 7, q. 4, n. 5 (XXIII, 303).

<sup>32</sup> *Ox.*, 3, d. 28, q. un., n. 2 (XV, 378a).

with Him the same divine Essence.<sup>33</sup> He wills these beings so that they shall join Him in loving—and herein lies the final *ratio* of all predestination.<sup>34</sup> Predestination is explained in terms of infinite love which desires to give Itself graciously and selflessly.<sup>35</sup>

Right order, therefore, demands that God's Essence be the primary reason, the final goal, for His intrinsic willing and for His love in Himself and beyond, and for all love. But right order goes further. It also demands that in His supremely ordered and rational will, God wills other beings in the very order in which they may correspond to His primary purpose of love.<sup>36</sup> In other words, divine love seeks to attain the objects of predestination in the most orderly and rational manner, and this because the divine rational will always follows the most reasonable course possible. Expressed in Scotus' own words, this principle reads: *Omne rationabiliter volens primo vult finem et secundo immediate illud quod attingit finem et tertio alia quae sunt remotius ordinata ad attingendum finem.*<sup>37</sup> The purpose of divine activity, both within and without the Blessed Trinity, is the glorification of the divine Essence through love. Consequently, the greater the creature's contribution to this pur-

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, d. 32, q. un., n. 6 (XV, 433a).

<sup>34</sup> *Repor. Par.*, 3, d. 32, q. un., n. 10 (XXIII, 508a): Vult enim Deus ex caritate primo bene esse sibi tamquam fini omnium; secundo vult alium velle sibi bonum esse. In isto instanti potest poni praedestinatio. Ex eodem enim habitu potest velle mihi omnia necessaria ad diligendum se, et ex consequenti illa efficere in me.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, d. 17, q. 2, n. 17 (XXII, 211a).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 2, d. 20, q. 2, n. 2 (XXIII, 98a).

<sup>37</sup> The full passage, *Ox.*, 3, d. 32, q. un., n. 6 (XV, 433), as quoted by Fr. Longpre, *op. cit.*, footnote 111, from Ms. 137, fol. 174b of the Library of Assisi, read as follows: Nam omnis rationabiliter volens primo vult finem et secundo immediate illud quod attingit finem et tertio alia quae sunt remotius ordinata ad attingendum finem; sic etiam Deus rationabilissime, licet vero non diversis actibus, unico tantum actu, in quantum ille diversimode tendit in objecta ordinata vel super objecta ordinata,—primo vult finem et in hoc est actus suus perfectus et intellectus ejus perfectus et voluntas ejus beata; secundario vult illa quae immediate ordinantur in ipsum, praedestinando scilicet electos qui scilicet immediate attingunt Eum, et hoc quasi reflectando, volendo alios condiligere idem objectum secum, sicut prius dictum fuit de caritate . . . Quare enim primo se amat ordinate et per consequens non inordinate, zelando vel invidendo, secundo vult alios habere condiligentes, et hoc est velle alios habere huiusmodi bonum finaliter et hoc est praedestinare eos, si velit eos habere huiusmodi bonum finaliter et aeternaliter; tertio autem vult alia quae sunt necessaria ad attingendum hunc finem, scilicet bona gratiae . . .



pose, that is, the more perfect its glorification of God through love, the more closely will it stand in its relationship to this purpose, the more preferred will it be by God,—and its predestination will follow precisely to that degree and in that order.

This all-important Scotistic principle, that anyone who wills in an orderly fashion wills, first of all, the purpose or end, and then wills others accordingly as they approximate that purpose or end, cannot be over-emphasized. For Duns Scotus it was the key that resolved many a theological difficulty. Applied further and logically, it reveals the divine decrees which concern Christ, Mary, the predestination of the elect, the elevation to the supernatural order, and creation. These decrees arise from the infinite and perfect love which God owes Himself.

Over and above the Persons in the Blessed Trinity, God, in His overflowing and superabundant love, wills out of love and for the sake of love to draw yet other beings into the ambit of His love: *Vult alios habere condiligentes*. He desires to communicate Himself infinitely to at least one being outside the Godhead, a creature which would be the *summum opus Dei*<sup>38</sup> at the very apex of the hierarchy of being and which would adore the Blessed Trinity most perfectly: *Deus . . . vult se diligere ab eo qui potest eum summe diligere, loquendo de amore alicujus extrinseci*.<sup>39</sup> This creature, predestined before all else, first in the divine decrees, first in the order of creation, is Christ.<sup>40</sup> He, in the Incarnation, is predestined absolutely, out of the purest divine liberality. His predestination is not occasioned by sin; it is not decreed merely to put the "finishing touch" to the universe; it is not determined for any other incidental reason. This doctrine, which is popularly known today as the "Primacy of Christ," stands as one of the many great theological contributions of John Duns Scotus.

### Primacy of Christ

There are two specific passages in Scotus on the Primacy of Christ which were singled out by the Most Rev. Leonard M. Bello,

<sup>38</sup> *Repor. Par.*, 3, d. 7, q. 4, n. 4 (XXIII, 303b).

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 5.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

O.F.M., in his encyclical letter *The Universal Primacy of Christ*<sup>41</sup> and which should be familiar to every Franciscan. The first of these reads as follows:

Anyone who wills in an orderly way first wills the purpose and then, closer at hand, those things which are more immediately connected with that purpose. And since God surely wills in the *most* orderly way, this is the way He wills. God first wills Himself and then, at least as regards all God's outward actions, comes the Soul of Christ. Thus after willing what is internal to the Godhead, He willed Christ's glory and foresaw accordingly, before He ever foresaw any merit or demerit, that Christ would be united to Himself through a Hypostatic union.<sup>42</sup>

The second reads:

And therefore I say this: first, God loves *Himself*: secondly, He loves Himself *in others*, and this is a chaste love; thirdly, He wills *to be loved* by that one among external beings which can love Him in the highest degree; and fourth, *He foresees His union* with this nature which must love Him best, even though no one had ever sinned.<sup>43</sup>

These are two very significant passages in Duns Scotus. Very lucidly and with extreme subtlety they lay the foundation for a Franciscan Christology. Accordingly, Fr. Bello insists that "the doctrine of Blessed Duns Scotus on the Absolute Primacy of Christ shall be properly and conscientiously held by everyone in our Order, but especially by our lectors, writers and preachers."<sup>44</sup>

Further, Fr. Bello even outlines, for the convenience of the theologian, Scotus' doctrine on the Incarnate Word in the following order:

1. In the divine decree which established the actual order of creation, prior to and before everything else, the Word Incarnate was foreseen and predestined
  - a) as He Who by reason of the inexpressible love of His Sacred Heart was to give supreme glory and honor to the Trinity;
  - b) as the complete reason for being, final cause strictly so-called and exemplar for the entire supernatural economy and all the outward actions of God;

<sup>41</sup> "De Universali Christi Primatu atque Regalitate," *Acta O.F.M.*, LII (1933), pp. 293-306. Quotations of this encyclical letter are taken from *Priestly Studies* (Franciscan Clerics, Santa Barbara, California), XXI (1952), pp. 5-11, (1953), pp. 107-120, pp. 155-163.

<sup>42</sup> *Repor. Par.*, 3, d. 7, q. 4, n. 4.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 5 (XXIII, 303).

<sup>44</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

- c) as the Universal Mediator and Mystical Head of every man and angel destined for heaven, because He it was Who would gain for them and distribute to them all sanctifying grace.
2. And by reason of this Primacy and absolute Predestination, Christ acquires Supreme Kingship and Supreme and Eternal Priesthood, and *He holds the Primacy in all things*.<sup>45</sup>

*Vult alios habere condiligentes*—He wills to have other co-lovers. God desires yet other beneficiaries of His liberality. Moreover, it is fitting that the God-man have a retinue of created beings, partakers of the priceless glory of His community of grace. Among these created beings, the creature that follows Christ immediately and stands nearest to Him, the creature that is predestined next in degree and in order, the creature that will render—next to Christ—the greatest glorification to the Blessed Trinity, is Mary.<sup>46</sup> She ranks above Adam and Eve and takes her place at the side of Christ. Here, again, we find some characteristically Scotistic thinking. “In praising Christ,” says the Subtle Doctor, “I would rather overdo than be lacking in the praise that perchance is due Him.”<sup>47</sup> He assumes the same attitude in reference to Mary: “To assert of Mary that which contributes more to her honor is the more certain course, provided it does not contradict the authority of the Church and Scriptures.”<sup>48</sup> This attitude paved the way for a new Mariology. But we shall hear more on this point in the second part of this paper.

*Vult alios habere condiligentes*. God's love is not exhausted. His overflowing goodness and liberality now decree the creation of angel and man. And, again, they are decreed out of love and for the sake of love: *Quidquid Deus causat extra, causat . . . ex maxima caritate*.<sup>49</sup> God has given angel and man being and goodness that with Him they might love the divine Essence and be happy in that love. We have been created, therefore, out of love, for the sake of love, and the purpose of our being is love. Angel and man, then, are destined, too, to glorify the Godhead through love. To facilitate our attainment of this end, the liberal God endows us with grace and

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>46</sup> *Op. cit.*

<sup>47</sup> *Ox.*, 3, d. 13, q. 4, n. 9 (XIV, 463b).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, d. 3, q. 1, n. 10 (XIV, 165b).

<sup>49</sup> *Repor. Par.*, 2, d. 37, q. un., n. 1 (XXIII, 191a).

other supernatural gifts.<sup>50</sup> As a further aid, we are incorporated into the Mystical Body whose Head is the God-Man, Christ, in Whom all grace is contained<sup>51</sup> and from Whom we receive His grace as a participation in His life. And, to stimulate man to love even more, God decrees that everything else, namely, the visible universe, which is farther removed from His Essence than man, should serve man as an end.<sup>52</sup> Thus, even the universe serves the cause of love.

Finally, God foresees the sin of man.<sup>53</sup> In strict justice, He could have damned the entire human race for all eternity.<sup>54</sup> Here, again, divine love comes to the fore. God decrees that Christ shall come as a suffering Redeemer.<sup>55</sup> If there had been no sin, Christ would have appeared as a glorified and impassible King from the very first moment of His Incarnation.<sup>56</sup> Factually, He appeared as a suffering Redeemer, and this fact sheds new splendor on the divine love for man.

Thus the curtain falls on the divine drama of love. The God of love creates for love; creatures are destined to return that love. Love is at the basis of all reality. Without it, God, the Blessed Trinity, angel, man, and the universe remain an enigma.

## II. POSITION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY IN THE FRANCISCAN THEOLOGICAL SYNTHESIS

Let us return to Mary. What precisely is her position in the Franciscan theological synthesis? We have already indicated above that Mary's position is next to that of Christ. This contention is based on the Scotistic principle that a perfect being wills in a most orderly way, willing objects according to their proximity to the end which such a perfect being has in mind. It is also based on the general Scotistic attitude that the safer course in describing Mary lies in predicating of her the more honorable attributes, as long

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 3, d. 32, q. un., n. 11 (XXIII, 508a).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 4, d. 8, q. 1, n. 9 (XXIV, 13a); *Ox.*, 3, d. 13, q. 4, n. 8 (XIV, 461b).

<sup>52</sup> *Ox.*, 3, d. 32, q. un., n. 6 (XV, 433ab); *Repor. Par.*, 3, d. 32, q. un., n. 11 (XXIII, 508a).

<sup>53</sup> *Ox.*, 3, d. 19, q. un., n. 6 (XIV, 714a).

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, d. 41, q. un., n. 4 (X, 692b).

<sup>55</sup> *Repor. Par.*, 3, d. 7, q. 4, n. 4 (XXIII, 303a).

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 5.



as they do not contradict the authority of the Church and Scriptures. This explanation of Mary's position is deceptively simple, and requires further clarification and elaboration.

Obviously, the pivotal point in this discussion is precisely the nature of Mary's predestination. To avoid any misunderstanding on this subject, we might consider, firstly, the view of Duns Scotus on the problem, and, secondly, the view of others in the Franciscan School of thought.

In determining the view of Duns Scotus, we could hardly improve upon the scholarly work of Fr. Carol Balic, O.F.M., *De debito peccati originalis in B. Virgine Maria*.<sup>57</sup> This study has added authority since Fr. Balic resorts to the best available manuscripts in the reading of the *Oxonienae* and *Reportata Parisiensia*.<sup>58</sup> And, finally, Fr. Balic rigorously restricts himself to an interpretation of the text and context, rather than to allow himself the luxury of a logical and psychological interpretation.

### Scotus' View of Mary's Predestination

Scotus describes predestination as the foreordaining of some good being to glory and to those goods which are disposed toward that glory.<sup>59</sup> He distinguishes between a predestination which is absolute, that is, one which is not contingent upon any condition or merit and demerit, for example, the fall of man,<sup>60</sup> and a predestination which is conditioned, occasioned (*occasionatum*), or dependent, that is, a predestination which would be based upon the fall of man.<sup>61</sup>

As we saw above, the Subtle Doctor postulates an absolute predestination for Christ. What is his doctrine on the predestination of Mary? After scrutinizing all the available sources, Fr. Balic concludes that not once has Scotus spoken of the absolute predestination of Mary.<sup>62</sup> On the contrary, he insists over and over again that Mary was preserved from original sin only in virtue of the

<sup>57</sup> Romae, 1941. This work originally appeared in *Antonianum*, XVI (1941), pp. 205-252, 317-372.

<sup>58</sup> Carol Balic, *Joannis Duns Scoti Doctoris Mariani Theologiae Marianae Elementa*, (Sibenik, 1933).

<sup>59</sup> I *Repor. Val.*, 3, d. 6, q. 5 (as quoted in *Elementa*, p. 176).

<sup>60</sup> *Ox.*, 3, d. 7, q. 3 (*Elementa*, p. 5).

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *De debito*, etc., p. 91.

merits of Christ.<sup>63</sup> As a matter of fact, she needs the Redeemer—in order to be preserved from original sin—more so than others.<sup>64</sup>

In view of these teachings, Fr. Balic seems inclined to believe that we cannot attribute the doctrine of the absolute predestination of Mary to Scotus.<sup>65</sup> She is preserved from original sin through the merits of the passion of Christ. Hence her predestination seems to be contingent upon the sin of man.

Others, however, in the footsteps of Duns Scotus, did not pause to admire, idolize, and stereotype this doctrine. After all, while Scotus does not speak of the absolute predestination of Mary, neither does he absolutely deny it; nor is he too clear on certain aspects of this problem. In the true Franciscan spirit, therefore, these thinkers attacked the problem anew, made some appropriate distinctions, and presented a still more coherent synthesis of Franciscan thought. Their interpretation is a logical and psychological one: it is logical since it follows from the principles of Duns Scotus; it is psychological since it is an interpretation of his mind, rather than the letter of his writings. On the whole, such an interpretation will not contradict his teachings.

Thus, it should not be surprising if such scholars as Fathers Marion Mueller, Ephrem Longpre, Eucharius Schmitt, J. F. Bonnefoy, and Richard Deffrennes, among others, should insist that while Mary's predestination is not of the same kind as that of Christ, nevertheless it is not contingent upon the fall of man.

And Fr. Bello, in his encyclical letter on *The Primacy of Christ*, reflects the true tradition of the Order when he says

All that is said of Christ is duly attributed (in her own order of course, that is, under Christ and through Christ) to His glorious Mother. In a special way, as Bernardine of Siena and Lawrence of Brindisi point out so admirably, the Blessed Virgin is "predestined before all creatures together with Christ, the *First-born of every creature*." God willed to create all beings not only for Christ's sake, but also unto the praise of the Blessed Virgin Mary. She is like a secondary end for whose sake both men and angels enjoy existence, and therefore "as many creatures as serve the Trinity serve also the glorious Virgin Mary.

Previous to and independently of any foreknowledge of sin, moreover, the Blessed Virgin was predestined with Christ *in one and the same decree*,

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 88.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

as His Mother and the Queen of the world. In fact, Mary is thereby constituted the universal Mediatrix of the entire Mystical Body . . .

There is no theologian, lastly, who does not realize that from the Primacy of Christ and His Blessed Mother is legitimately deduced her Immaculate Conception and her exemption from any necessity, at least proximate and personal, to incur original sin. After all, if the Blessed Virgin was predestined as the Mother of Christ and the Queen of the world antecedent to and independent of any regard to the Fall, and if she is under Christ and through Christ the spiritual mother and moral head of all mankind, there is no basis at all by which she could have fallen or sinned in Adam.<sup>66</sup>

The contradiction between Scotus and his followers on this question is only seeming or apparent. Scotus maintains that the predestination of Mary is not precisely of the same nature as that of Christ. With this his followers will unquestionably agree. On the other hand, his followers insist that Mary is predestined independently of man's fall, even though her grace is received *intuitu meritorum Christi*. And this Scotus does not explicitly deny. As a matter of fact, he reiterates the latter part of this opinion repeatedly.

The question is largely one of understanding the expressions, "absolute predestination" and "dependent predestination." As Father Bonnefoy points out, if by "absolute predestination" we mean one which is identical with that of Christ, then it must be denied, since hers is *dependent* upon that of Christ as upon its meritorious, exemplary, and final cause. This no theologian will deny. If, however, by "absolute predestination" we mean one which is independent of the predestination of inferior creatures, then it may be admitted. In virtue of her primacy under Christ, she must be, with Him and in dependence upon Him, the meritorious, exemplary, and final cause of all that is beneath her. Mary's predestination, then, cannot be contingent upon inferior creatures for the simple reason that no cause depends upon its effects.<sup>67</sup> Briefly, her predestination is "absolute" in reference to inferior creatures; it is "dependent" in reference to Christ. She is the first beneficiary of Christ: she receives from Him, specifically as the Savior, *ex morte praevisa*, His grace and liberalities.

Without question, this sort of predestination attributes to Mary a unique honor. She is no longer the creature subject to the fall of

<sup>66</sup> *Priestly Studies*, pp. 157-158.

<sup>67</sup> Bonnefoy, *op. cit.*

man. She is no longer the occasioned, conditioned, dependent creature if man is that occasion, condition, or the cause of that dependence. Her position is unique, and it is found in the Franciscan theological synthesis.

It is interesting to note that this predestination of Mary readily lends itself to the solution of other Mariological problems and, at the same time, gives greater and more profound significance to other Marian prerogatives. While this subject is somewhat afield from the scope of this paper, a brief word perhaps will not be out of order.

### Basic Principle of Mariology

There is current a controversy on the basic principles of Mariology.<sup>68</sup> The question is: What is the basic principle of Mariology? Is it Mary's maternal dignity? Is it grace? Scotus tells us that "anyone who wills in an orderly way first wills the purpose and then, closer at hand, those things which are more immediately connected with that purpose."<sup>69</sup> If this be true and if God wills firstly the purpose or end and then those things ordained to that end, then it must likewise be true that God wills her *glory* firstly, and *then* the graces and merits ordained to her eternal glory, among which would be the grace and the merits of her divine maternity. Hence according to this synthesis it would seem that the basic principle of Mariology would be Mary's predestination to glory.<sup>70</sup>

This synthesis likewise adds luster to such Marian titles as Mediatrix, Queen of Angels and Men, Mother of God and Mother of Men, Immaculate Conception, etc. Unquestionably, it would be profitable to investigate, in the light of this synthesis, the relationship between Mary and the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity. St. Francis titled Mary: "Spouse of the Holy Spirit."<sup>71</sup> A writer tells us that this title "was the mystic treasure-trove of the Poverello."<sup>72</sup> This relationship was, too, the general tone of the address

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Alois Müller, "The Basic Principles of Mariology," *Theology Digest*, I (1953), pp. 139-144.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. footnote 42.

<sup>70</sup> Bonnefoy, *op. cit.*

<sup>71</sup> Christian Eugene, *Our Lady* (Chicago, Franciscan Herald Press, 1954), p. 14.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*



delivered by Bishop McGucken during Mary's Hour of the *Marian Congress* at the Los Angeles Memorial Coliseum.<sup>73</sup>

We have seen, in a very schematic way, the structure of a Franciscan theological synthesis and the position of the Blessed Virgin Mary within that synthesis. If we are to adhere to the spirit of the Franciscan School, as our *Constitutions* suggest, the question arises—and it may be one very profitable for open discussion on the floor—how can this synthesis be adapted for a systematic four-year theology course in our seminaries? How can it be adapted for a theology course for our Franciscan Sisters? How can it be adapted for a theology course for the laity? If you recall the remarks in the introduction to this paper, you will realize the significance, the timeliness, the urgency of an answer to these questions.

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<sup>73</sup> May 2, 1954.

## DUNS SCOTUS: BEATIFICATION, CANONIZATION AND DOCTORSHIP

MAURICE GRAJEWSKI, O.F.M.

To all Franciscan lovers of Mary and her glorious prerogatives, the name of John Duns Scotus, the Marian Doctor, evokes sentiments of warm love and pardonable pride. For six and a half centuries his name was intimately associated with the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. After his memorable defense of the doctrine at the Sorbonne in 1307 it was only a question of awaiting the appropriate moment for its solemn definition by the Holy See.

In the person of Scotus we have not only a staunch defender of Mary Immaculate but also a profound philosopher and theologian whose deep learning and mental acumen were matched with a truly Franciscan love of God and the virtues. Recognized already as a learned and saintly scholar during his lifetime, the Subtle Doctor's memory was kept alive after his untimely death by an ever increasing cult and by the rise and development of a School which looked upon him as Master.

It is the purpose of this paper to indicate the possibility and convenience of the beatification and canonization of John Duns Scotus on the basis of the opinions of his contemporaries and the testimony of history, the processes which have been inaugurated in the past, and the present-day status of the cult found in various parts of the world. Secondly, we will present a justification of the traditional appellation of "Doctor" in reference to Scotus' role as philosopher and theologian and the possibility of the eventual conferring of the Doctorship of the Church which he merits by the excellence of his doctrine and the approval of his teaching by ecclesiastical authorities.

### I. BEATIFICATION AND CANONIZATION

#### A. Scotus in the Opinion of His Contemporaries

Duns Scotus died in Cologne on November 8, 1308, in his early forties at the height of his academic career.<sup>1</sup> Without indulging in

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<sup>1</sup> A. G. Little, "Chronological Notes on the Life of Duns Scotus" in the

the unfounded legends that have circulated about the manner of his death,<sup>2</sup> we may safely and justly say that he died a pious death, lamented by his brethren and the faithful of all countries who have come in contact with his teaching and his fame. As Wadding puts it "consummatus in brevi explevit tempora multa."<sup>3</sup> He was buried in the Friar's Church at the entrance to the sacristy near the altar of the Three Kings. The epitaph placed there immediately after burial attests to his learning and sanctity:

Clauditur hic rivus, fons Ecclesiae, via, vivus  
 Doctor justitiae, studii flos, arca sophiae.  
 Ingenio scandens, scripturae abdita pandens  
 In teneris annis fuit; ergo memento Joannis  
 Hunc Duns ornatum, fac coelitus esse beatum,  
 Pro patre translato, modulemur pectore grato.  
 Dux fuit hic cleri, claustrum lux, et tuba veri.<sup>4</sup>

The highest superiors of the Franciscan Order early recognized the scholastic worth of the brilliant mind and exemplary life of Duns Scotus. As early as November 18, 1304, we have the authentic testimony of Gonsalvus of Valboa, Minister General of the Friars Minor, who recommended Duns Scotus for a Master's degree at the University of Paris. Writing to the Guardian at Paris, the Minister General speaks in glowing terms of Scotus "de cujus vita laudabili, scientia excellenti, ingenioque subtilissimo, aliisque

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*English Historical Review*, 47 (1932), 568-852; Maurice Grajewski, O.F.M., "Duns Scotus in the Light of Modern Research" in the *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association*, 18 (1942), 168-185. Until fairly recent times this date was considered to be one of the best authenticated among all Scotistic biographical data. However, with the discovery of the *Quaestio Cancellarii* which refers to a dispute Scotus had with Henry Harclay, the Chancellor at the University of Oxford, it would seem that he was still alive between 1312 and 1316. This seeming discrepancy of dates is hitherto unsolved.

<sup>2</sup> K. J. Heilig, "Zum Tode des Johannes Duns Scotus" in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 49 (1929), 641-645 is one of the moderns who perpetuates the legend that Duns Scotus was buried alive while in ecstasy. Bzovius was the first who gave rise to this legend. Sbaralea in his *Supplementum ad Scriptores* (p. 63) claims that this is founded upon an epigram which reads as follows:

"Tempora post Christi propria dulcedine lethum venit atrox raptim carere composito."

<sup>3</sup> Lucas Wadding, O.F.M., *Annales Minorum* (Ad Claras Aquas, Florentiae, 1931), VI, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

insignibus conditionibus suis, partim experientia longa, partim fama, quae ubique divulgata est, informatum sum ad plenum, dilectioni vestrae assigno.”<sup>5</sup>

Another indication of the exceptional spread of the cult of Duns Scotus is the first exhumation and translation of the body of Scotus which took place a short time after his burial, probably in 1320.<sup>6</sup> Due to the unusual spread of his fame it was deemed advisable to transfer his body to a more imposing tomb in a more accessible place. Hence, a new sepulchre was erected in the middle of the choir underneath the church bell, encased in a stone coffin over which an ornate tombstone was placed with an appropriate epitaph.

For the sake of brevity we omit listing here the innumerable allusions to the Subtle Doctor in the works of his disciples and contemporaries. The frequent references to the “doctor noster” and the “doctor subtilis” are indicative of the great esteem in which he was held among his brethren, disciples and even opponents. Antonius Andreas synthesizes this prevalent contemporary opinion when he states unequivocally and without oratorical hedging: “ejus famam et memoriam in benedictione esse.”<sup>7</sup>

### B. Exhumations and Translations of Scotus' Body

Besides the exhumation of the body of Duns Scotus to which we have already alluded, in the course of centuries other exhumations were found desirable or even necessary. Like the exhumation of 1320, the second exhumation<sup>8</sup> which took place on August 30, 1509, was the result of a renewed and increased interest in the Marian Doctor and his brilliant defense of the glorious doctrine of Mary's immaculate conception.<sup>9</sup> At this time a magnificent sarcophagus was

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>6</sup> Marianus Fernandez Garcia, O.F.M., *De Vita, Scriptis et Doctrina B. Joannis Duns Scoti* (Quaracchi, 1910), p. 37. However, Sbaralea in his *Supplementum et Castigatio ad Scriptores Trium Ordinum S. Francisci*, Pars II, Romae, 1921, p. 63, is of the opinion that the first exhumation took place in 1387.

<sup>7</sup> Wadding, *op. cit.*, III, p. 140.

<sup>8</sup> Ferchius in his *Vita B. Joannis Duns Scoti* (Bologna, 1622) mentions an exhumation towards the end of the year 1476 under the pontificate of Sixtus IV. Wadding confirms this in his *Annales Minorum* (VI, pp. 135-136). However, no authentic document describing this exhumation has been found.

<sup>9</sup> Garcia, *op. cit.*, p. 37.



erected in front of the high altar, adorned with gold leaf and the figures of the great Doctors of the Franciscan Order, namely, William Ockam, Hugh of Castronovo, Francis Mayronis, Richard of Middleton, Alexander Hales, Nicholas of Lyra, Peter Aureolus, Roger Bacon, Alexander of Alexandria and William of Ware. Also included in the bas-reliefs were the three Franciscan Popes, Alexander V, Nicholas IV and Sixtus IV, together with Cardinal Bonaventure and Cardinal Bertrand.<sup>10</sup>

The third exhumation took place on January 13, 1619, by order of James Montanari of Bagnacavallo, the Minister General of the Conventuals.<sup>11</sup> This translation was accompanied by great pomp and the presence of very many illustrious personages. We have preserved for us an eye-witness description by the celebrated Matthew Ferchius, biographer of Scotus. Hock, an outstanding painter of the Flemish School, captured the solemnity of the occasion on canvas.<sup>12</sup>

When some laborers working on the remodeling of the Church accidentally damaged the tomb of Duns Scotus in 1641, Cardinal Chigi, who later became Pope Alexander VII, ordered the exhumation of the body and the construction of a new tomb on July 16, 1643.<sup>13</sup> The fifth exhumation took place in 1706 when the Ordinary Tribunal initiated the process of beatification of the Subtle Doctor.<sup>14</sup> At this time the Apostolic Nuntio to Cologne affixed his seal to the tomb. The remains were again formally re-examined and re-authenticated on Sept. 23, 1858, and July 12, 1870.<sup>15</sup>

In our day an inspection of the relics of Duns Scotus was necessitated by the vicissitudes of World War II. In 1942, the Minoritenkirche was destroyed in an Allied bombing raid on Cologne and the tomb of the Subtle Doctor, though only slightly damaged, was covered by a great deal of rubble. On April 14, 1947, an investigation was conducted by medical and ecclesiastical

<sup>10</sup> Egidio Giusto, O.F.M., *Vita del B. Giovanni Duns Scoto* (Assisi, 1921), pp. 169-170. Cf. also Ferchius, *op. cit.*, p. 63. Wadding in his *Annales Minorum* (Vi, p. 136) gives a transcription of the original document.

<sup>11</sup> Garcia, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

<sup>12</sup> Giusto, *op. cit.*, p. 73. The painting is reproduced in the same work facing p. 166.

<sup>13</sup> Garcia, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. also Giusto, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

<sup>15</sup> Garcia, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41.

authorities with the result that the relics were authenticated and placed in the Cathedral at Cologne.<sup>16</sup> The most recent re-authentication took place in July of this year (1954) when it was decided to remove the relics of the Subtle Doctor to the newly reconstructed Minoritenkirche on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1954.

These frequent exhumations of the remains of Duns Scotus are not without a sufficient cause. Authorities in question have been motivated by the renown the Subtle Doctor enjoys among the faithful who, cherishing the memory and the teaching of the Marian Doctor, desire to preserve his relics for posterity.

### C. Canonization Processes

Soon after his death, Duns Scotus was beatified in the hearts of the faithful. As the cult of the learned and saintly friar spread throughout Europe, testimonies to this effect appeared frequently in historical and theological literature. Under the old Church law, it was taken for granted that the Marian Doctor would be beatified on the basis of a *cultus immemorabilis*. In 1706, an official canonical process to secure the beatification of Duns Scotus was instituted in the diocese of Cologne. However, lacking organization and having met with some difficulties which at the time proved to be insurmountable, the process was never terminated. Unfortunately, likewise, no documents or records of the proceedings are now extant, or at least, have not been found to this day.<sup>17</sup>

The most ambitious effort up to the beginning of the twentieth century to secure the beatification and subsequent canonization of Duns Scotus was made in the diocese of Nola as early as 1710. In this diocese the Office and Mass of Blessed John Duns Scotus have been celebrated annually for many centuries on November 8, the anniversary day of his holy death. This immemorable custom received the express approval of Pope Pius X. Not much difficulty was experienced in concluding the Ordinary Process successfully in view of such a long-established tradition and the enthusiastic testimonies

<sup>16</sup> Bonaventure Brown, O.F.M., "A News Report on the Relics of John Duns Scotus" in the *Franciscan Studies*, 8 (1948), 77.

<sup>17</sup> Diomede Scaramuzzi, O.F.M., *Duns Scoto Summula* (Firenze, 1932), p. xiv.

of lay people, scholars and church dignitaries. Upon completion, the documents of the Nolana were transferred to the Holy Congregation at Rome, where the cause was held up due to accusations levelled against some Scotistic doctrines which the Postulator General was unable to refute satisfactorily.<sup>18</sup>

With the approaching sixth centenary of the Subtle Doctor's death, the Franciscan Order renewed its promotion of the beatification cause. In 1904, Pope Pius X approved the inauguration of the cause.<sup>19</sup> On July 28, 1905, the process was officially re-opened in the Diocese of Nola near Naples, with Father Cyrus a Pisauro acting as Postulator General. The Ordinary Process lasted from November 20, 1905, to December 22, 1906, and, having brought to light much new evidence and an exhaustive list of testimonies, was again brought to a successful conclusion. On January 11, 1907, with Father Francis Paolini acting as Postulator General, the process was opened at the Holy See.<sup>20</sup> Unexpected difficulties arose in 1912 concerning beatification procedures in general and thus the process became long-drawn out. With the breaking out of World War I new interruptions were encountered of an economic and social nature so

<sup>18</sup> Cyro a Pisauro, O.F.M., *Nolana seu Ordinis Minorum articuli exhibiti ad processum additionalem instituendum pro confirmatione cultus ab immemorabili tempore praestiti Ven. Servo Dei Joanni Duns Scoto* (Romae, 1905), 110 pp. Cf. also Alexandre Bertoni, O.F.M., *Le Bienheureux Jean Duns Scot* (Levanto, 1917), pp. 104-105.

<sup>19</sup> *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, 24 (1905), 253, 257, 296, 322, 324, 352, 406; 25 (1906), 92, 125, 272, 424.

<sup>20</sup> Franciscus Paolini, O.F.M. produced a series of works promoting the beatification cause of Duns Scotus. Among the more notable contributions are: *A Sua Santità Pio X gloriosamente regnante. Memoriale che il Postulatore Generale dell' Ordine dei Frati Minori umilmente presenta a nome delle Serafiche Famiglie per difendere la dottrina del loro B. Giov. Duns Scoto e per dimostrare l'antichità, prescrizione e perennità del pubblico ed ecclesiastico culto alui prestato fin'a noi senza nessuna interruzione* (Roma, 1908), pp. 23; *Di una illustre testimonianza sopra la divina missione del B. Giovanni Duns Scoto per insegnare e difendere la dottrina dell' Immacolata Concezione in Parigi* (Roma, 1905), pp. 11; *Monumenta cultus immemorabilis publici et ecclesiastici antiquissimi quibus fulcitur causa Servi Dei I.D. Scoti Beati et Sancti ab omni tempore nuncupati* (Romae, 1907), pp. 55; *Pro Causa et Centenario Beati Joannis Duns Scoti* (Romae, 1909), pp. 27; *Vita B. I. Duns Scoti . . . a Mariano Floriano conscripta circa an. 1480* (Genuae, 1904) pp. 28; *De Vita B. I. Duns Scoti. . . ab omni tempore Sancti et Beati titulo nuncupati necom de eius cultu immemorabili antiquissimo et extensissimo, per documenta chronologice ordine disposita usque in praesentem diem probato* (Romae, 1905), pp. 110.

much so that the entire canonical proceedings were postponed indefinitely.

After this abortive attempt to promote the cause of Duns Scotus no concerted effort was made until the early thirties of this century. During the generalate of the Most Rev. Leonardo Bello a more scientific approach was begun with the establishment of the Scotistic Commission at Rome for the critical edition of the *Opera Omnia Scoti* and the compilation of a definitive biography of the Marian Doctor.<sup>21</sup> The Minister General himself published a brilliant monograph on the absolute sovereignty of Christ according to the beautiful doctrine of the Subtle Doctor and thus gave an impetus for the appearance of numerous studies and monographs treating of all phases of Scotistic philosophy and theology.<sup>22</sup> At the same time beautiful prayers were prescribed for the three Orders of St. Francis under his jurisdiction to be recited daily for the successful termination of the beatification process.

From the various processes that have been duly and canonically conducted until their time of prorogation, it has been established to the complete satisfaction of the examining tribunals that:

1. Scotus led a saintly life, excelling in the virtues of obedience, poverty, humility, modesty and patience. The facts and the legends in his biographies attest to his extraordinary love and devotion to the Mother of God and her Immaculate Conception.<sup>23</sup>

2. Immediately after his death and within a few decades after his death, the general consensus of opinion was that his brilliant learning was exceeded by his exemplary and holy personal life. The Franciscan motto "in doctrina et sanctitate" found its perfect embodiment in the Marian Doctor.

3. A study of the iconography of Duns Scotus reveals that he was very frequently depicted with the halo of sainthood around his head or with other indicia of holiness, such as being grouped with other saints, being placed upon special altars for veneration etc. Over twenty such paintings date back to the pre-Urban age, fifty

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<sup>21</sup> Carolus Balić, O.F.M., *Ratio Criticae Editionis Operum Omnium I. Duns Scoti*, I, (Romae, 1939. Cf. especially vol. II, pp. 2-13).

<sup>22</sup> Leonardus Bello, O.F.M., *Litterae encyclicae de universali Christi primatu et regalitate* in *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, 52 (1933), 293-311.

<sup>23</sup> Giusto, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-210; Garcia, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-18.



from the time of Urban VIII and more than one hundred and fifty since that time.<sup>24</sup>

4. The titles of Venerable, Servant of God, Blessed and Saint have been conferred upon Duns Scotus by the faithful of all centuries, by persons of all states of life throughout Europe. At the last beatification process over six hundred such testimonies have been gathered from among the more notable personages of history and presented to the Sacred Congregation in Rome.<sup>25</sup>

#### D. Present Status of Scotus' Beatification

In our day the beatification cause of Duns Scotus is being considered with increasing interest and a greater possibility of success than ever before. Mistakes made in the past have been corrected, objections overruled and difficulties solved. However, much remains to be done before the completion of the cause is realized. In the following points we have enumerated the principal objectives and prerequisites which must obtain prior to an expected favorable decision by the Sacred Congregation.

1. There is little possibility of the beatification of Duns Scotus prior to a critical, definitive edition of all his authentic works. It is true that such a theoretical condition has not been posited by the Holy See, but in practice, the nature of the objections raised demands their refutation on the basis of the genuine scotistic doctrine as found in the Subtle Doctor's works. To obtain this end an edition must be produced that will equal and surpass the monumental Quaracchi edition of the works of St. Bonaventure. This task is capably and lovingly undertaken by the Scotistic Commission which has thus far produced three remarkable volumes of the *Ordinatio Scoti*.

2. A critical, definitive biography of the Marian Doctor still

<sup>24</sup> Donatus von Adrichem, O.F.M., "Iconographia B. Joannis Duns Scoti" in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 26 (1933), 249-251; Willibrordus Lampen, O.F.M., "De conventu Fratrum Minorum in Ueberlingen et de imaginibus B. Joannis Duns Scoti in ipsorum ecclesia" in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 24 (1931), 131-134; B. Bagatti, O.F.M., "Un Quadro inedito del Giovanni Duns Scoto" in *Miscellanea Francescana*, 36 (1936), 192-195. Cf. also *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, 23 (1904), 356-357.

<sup>25</sup> Paolini, *De Vita B. I. Duns Scoti* . . . (Romae, 1905) contains a complete detailed listing of these testimonies.

remains an unconditional desideratum. As with the life stories of all great men, a great number of legends have grown about the personality and doctrine of Scotus. The kernels of history must be separated from the chaff of legend. In the last twenty-five years much has been accomplished by such men as Callebaut, Longpre, Balic and others, so much so, that with the appearance of the final volume of the *Opera Omnia Scoti*, the Scotistic Commission will likewise publish a critical biography of Scotus.

3. Literally hundreds of accusations against Scotus and his doctrines have been made in the last six centuries. Previous beatification processes were limited to the refutation of the more prominent accusations but when the cause is reopened we must be prepared to deal with an exhaustive list embracing even the minutest doubts and questions. It is safe to say that Scotus has been accused at one time or another of almost every false modern "ism" in existence. We have but to recall the cries of Nominalism, Kantianism, Voluntarism, Ontologism, Scepticism, Pantheism, Exaggerated Realism and Modernism that have been heard and silenced in the none too far distant past.<sup>26</sup> Besides legitimate honest difficulties we must also parry the thrusts of lies, perverted history and exaggerated conclusions. The *advocatus diaboli* will not be conquered until the last shred of objection against Scotus and his doctrine is vindicated.

4. Additional testimonies about the heroic virtues of the Subtle Doctor must be ferreted out in the forgotten tomes of our libraries. Favors granted through his intercession must be gathered and described as has been done several times in the official *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*. It is not so much a question of a lack of data as a lack of willing researchers. Everytime a canonical beatification process is reopened new evidence is expected to be presented.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> A repetition of stock objections against Duns Scotus is found in Paolo de Toth, *Errori e Pericoli dello Scotismo. Note attorno ad una Summula delle Principali Dottrine di G. Duns Scoti* edita dal P. Diomedeo Scaramuzzi, O.F.M. (Firenze, 1932), pp. 96.

<sup>27</sup> Father Nicolaus Gissen, who was the Prior of the Augustinians at Cologne, said at the beatification process of 1706: "Qui de Doctore Angelico scitissime dixit: tot fecit miracula, quot scripsit articulos, non invidet de Scoto verissime dici, tot fecit miracula, quot quaestiones altissimas subtilissime resolvit." Cf. Michael Hoyer, *Oratio Encomiastica de Sanctitate Vitae et Divina Sapientia Joannis Duns Scoti* (Romae, 1906), p. 10; Bertoni, *op. cit.*,

5. The wealth of Scotistic doctrine must be studied and expounded in scholarly and literary periodicals. Hundreds of articles have appeared since the beginning of the twentieth century, but thousands remain to be written. The scientific treatment adapts itself readily to dissertations and our young men should be encouraged to choose Scotistic topics for their magisterial and doctoral theses. Popular treatment, on the other hand, should find place in the many fine periodicals published by every Franciscan province in the United States. It is astounding that the initial volumes of the *Opera Omnia Scoti* have not produced a more abundant literature to date!

6. An effective means in promoting the cause of Duns Scotus and popularizing devotion to him is the distribution of prayer cards and leaflets, medals, holy pictures depicting, in particular, the Marian Doctor and the Immaculate Conception. Leaflets with brief biographical data of Duns Scotus are likewise conducive to the instilling of a love and devotion to him in accordance with the old scholastic axiom *nil amatum nisi cognitum*. It is true that Duns Scotus has a unique appeal to the student and scholar, the philosopher and theologian, nevertheless, there are many dramatic elements in his life, associated with his person or his teaching, which actually have an immense appeal to the popular mind and hence should be popularized for the general public. I have in mind particularly the Actus Sorbonicus, the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception, the sovereignty of Christ and the primacy of the Holy See. All of this coupled with the fact that his name and subtlety have already found a place in popular speech, should make it comparatively easy for a good publicist to seize the minds and imagination of the faithful.

7. Above all, let us not neglect fervent prayer. It has come to our attention that the beautiful prayer prescribed by the Most Rev. Leonardo Bello, Minister General, has fallen in desuetude in many convents. On special feasts, like that of Christ the King or the Immaculate Conception, a special public devotion or prayer could take place in conjunction with the liturgical functions of the day. Our preachers, retreat masters and missionaries should refer to

Scotus, his doctrines and his cause, as often as possible in their sermons and conferences. The faithful will not be slow in attesting their appreciation and devotion to him who distinguished himself so gloriously in promoting the honor of Christ and his Blessed Mother.

## II. DOCTORSHIP FOR SCOTUS

Duns Scotus was honored by his disciples and contemporaries with the titles: *Doctor subtilis* and *Doctor marianus*. This verdict of history is found in all monographs dealing ex professo with honorary medieval titles and nomenclature which unanimously ascribe this manner of acknowledgement of mental brilliance to Duns Scotus.<sup>28</sup> The unanimity of opinion is somewhat marred only by the well-known Jesuit medievalist, Father Pelster, who changed his original position and now tries to make a case for Robert Cowton, O.F.M. as being the first and foremost theologian to enjoy the title of Subtle Doctor.<sup>29</sup>

Of the many indications of early use of this title for Duns Scotus which have been gathered by scholars in the past, we may cite the following as typical:

William of Alnwick refers many times to his master Duns Scotus in his works in the following pet phrase: "tunc argumentum illius, scilicet doctoris subtilis."

Peter Aureolus in the early fourteenth century refers to Duns Scotus as being "Doctor ordinis, doctor subtilis."

A Vatican ms. of a work of Aufred Gonteri, O.F.M. dating back to 1325 has marginal notes referring to the Subtle Doctor when speaking of Duns Scotus.

Landulphus Caracciolo referred to him as such prior to 1331.

Even William of Ockam who so frequently and bitterly opposed Duns Scotus on doctrinal questions, did not hesitate to acknowledge his subtlety in the words: "doctor noster, doctor subtilis."

<sup>28</sup> Franz Ehrle, S.J., "Die Ehrentitel der scholastischen Lehrer des Mittelalters" in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayr. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, München, 1919, pp. 11ff. and 37ff.; P. Lehmann, "Mittelalterliche Beinamen und Ehrentitel" in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 49 (1929), 228ff.; Carolus Balić, O.f.m., *Les Commentaires de Jean Duns Scot sur les quatre livres des Sentences* (Louvain, 1927), pp. 191-192.

<sup>29</sup> P. Pelster, "Die Ehrentitel der scholastischen Lehrer des Mittelalters. Ein Beitrag und ein Ergänzung" in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 103 (1922), 37-56.



Similar clear usage of the title is found in the writings of Joannes de Janduno, Robert Holkot, O.P., John Bacon, O. Carm., William of Rubio, Francis Mayronis, Peter of Aquila and Antonius Andreas.<sup>30</sup>

Further extrinsic evidence in favor of the excellence of Scotistic teaching is contained in the laudatory remarks from the pen of numerous Popes throughout the centuries. Sixtus IV and V as well as Alexander V were unstinting in their praise of Duns Scotus even before they were elected to the See of Peter. Alexander VI, Clement VII, Pius V, Urban VIII, Innocent X, Benedict XIII and XIV, Pius VII, Leo XIII, Pius X and XI frequently had occasion to speak or write well of the Marian Doctor's philosophy and theology.<sup>31</sup> Of frequent occurrence is their ready acceptance of dedications of works by leading scotistic scholars<sup>32</sup> and the paternal approval of the different redactions of the general constitutions of the Franciscan Order in which the friars are urged not to neglect the teaching of the Scotistic School.<sup>33</sup>

In considering the excellence of Scotistic theology we must not fail to signal out four beloved doctrines of the Subtle Doctor which are intimately connected with the life of every Catholic. The first of these, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception is most directly associated with the Marian Doctor's name since his magnificent and unparalleled defence of Our Lady at the famous *Actus Sorbonicus*. Secondly, the glowing pages of Scotus' works devoted to the absolute sovereignty of Christ are now officially crystallized in the recently instituted feast of Christ the King. Thirdly, Duns Scotus was a staunch advocate, in theory and in practice, of the primacy and the power of the Pope. Lastly, the Council of Trent incorporated in its entirety the benign scotistic teaching on the sacrament of Penance. Without fear of founded contradiction, we can say that time and time again, Holy Mother the Church has looked to Scotus for a clear statement of the traditional beliefs of our religion.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Balić, *op. cit.*, p. 191; also Sbaralea, *op. cit.*, III, p. 63.

<sup>31</sup> Scaramuzzi, *op. cit.*, pp. xl-xli; Garcia, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-76.

<sup>32</sup> Best example in modern times is the dedication of the *Opera Omnia Scoti* to Pope Pius XII.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XX, p. 221; XX, p. 313; XXVI, p. 315; *Studi Francescani*, I, (1914), 501-4; *Regula et Constitutiones Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* (Romae, 1953), n. 238.

<sup>34</sup> Willibrordus Lampen, O.F.M., *B. Joannes Duns Scotus et Sancta Sedes* (Quaracchi, 1929), pp. 11-28.

The basic soundness of Scotistic philosophy and theology was recognized not only by the Catholic church but also by many of the heretics. In the last year of his life spent at Cologne, Duns Scotus brought his great talent and energy to bear in combating the erroneous tenets of the Behards and the Beguines.<sup>35</sup> His doctrines in the able hands of the Scotists at the time of Henry VIII's defection from the Holy See gained him the enviable title of *malleus hereticorum* and the *hercules papistarum*.<sup>36</sup> King Edward in exasperation decreed the *funus scoti et scotistarum*.<sup>37</sup> Even Luther admitted that Scotism was a prickly thorn in his side.

Not only did recognition of Scotism come from the Vatican and the masses of the faithful but also from the academic circles of Europe. Nearly all the great universities, from Oxford to Cracow and from Cologne to Naples, established chairs of Scotistic philosophy and theology, sought out outstanding Scotists for appointment as Masters, and encouraged the publication of Scotistic works. In the centuries from the Subtle Doctor's death until the French Revolution, the Scotistic School was greater in numbers than any other. It did not belong exclusively to the Franciscan Order but was the permanent heritage of scholars, lay and religious, throughout the Western world.

Undoubtedly, in comparison to the productivity and excellence of teaching of those who have already been honored by the Church with the Doctorate, Duns Scotus ranks highly. However, as Father Antonelli points out repeatedly, it is useless for us to push the cause of Doctorship for the Subtle Doctor prior to the publishing of a critical edition of his works and especially before securing his canonical beatification and canonization. Once he is raised upon the altars, the eventual granting of the ecclesiastical doctorate is presumably but a matter of time. May we during our lifetime have the privilege and the honor of fervently intoning the invocation:

"Sancte Joannes Duns Scotus, Doctor Ecclesiae, ora pro nobis!"

<sup>35</sup> Bertoni, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-60; Willibrodus Lampen, O.F.M., "B. Joannes Duns Scotus, Lector Coloniensis" in *Collectanea Franciscana Neerlandica*, 11 (1931), 291-305.

<sup>36</sup> L. Siekaniec, O.F.M., "Duns Scotus and the English Reformation" in *Franciscan Studies*, 23 (1942), p. 141.

<sup>37</sup> Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., *Franciscans and the Protestant Revolution in England* (Chicago, 1920), p. 187.

## ST. LAWRENCE OF BRINDISI: MARIAN SAINT AND SCHOLAR

SEBASTIAN FALCONE, O.F.M.Cap.

### Introduction

For Francis of Assisi, to live was to love. For that reason seraphic love characterized his every act. In fact two loves, which basically are one, wielded a tender tyranny over him: devotion to Christ and devotion, with and because of Christ, to Mary.

To Mary, under Christ, Francis pledged his entire being with chivalric ardor and abandon. For her, the Mother of God, there was nothing too good, nothing too great in his sight. Joy thrilled his soul whenever he saw her honored or heard her praised. Because he loved with a love that was more than love, he sought every occasion to exalt and extoll Mary.<sup>1</sup>

The Marian exercises of his daily piety, the effusive Marian salutations in his writings, and his strong attraction for Our Lady of the Angels underscore the fervor of St. Francis' love for the Mother of the Redeemer. Through his Order, Francis became a prominent influence in the newly awakened cult of Mary in the 13th century. He was, in large measure, the medium through which the Blessed Virgin was once more enshrined in the hearts and memories of men. A loving son could hope for no more for his loving mother. She was his idol, she was his ideal.

An attachment so profound and penetrating could not but have been self-communicative. Like seeds lavishly scattered about, these spontaneous manifestations of child-like fondness for Mary on the part of Francis have blossomed unto consummate loveliness in his spiritual children. Love for Mary in the Franciscan Order is thus at once a cherished heritage and an accepted challenge, because this devotion, so dear to the heart of its Founder, has engendered in his numerous progeny a spirit of filial gratitude and an incentive to imitation.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thomas of Celano, *S. Francisci Assisiensis Vita et Miracula*, ed. by Fr. Edoard of Alencon (Rome, 1906), p. 318 (Leg. II, pars II, cap. CL).

The Franciscans, needless to add, have been leaders in Marian devotion and doctrine in every century since their foundation. From the very consecration of the Order to the Mother of God by Francis himself right to our own day, this vast assemblage of brown-robed friars has ever fought in the front lines, far ahead of the rest, in behalf of their Queen and Patroness.

To demonstrate how prominently and permanently Mary enters into the Franciscan pattern of things we need only focus passing attention, among others, upon the efforts of John of Parma, who enjoined upon the friars in 1249 the recitation of the Marian anthems after the Divine Office; Bartholomew of Pisa, who penned six volumes on *The Life and Glories of the Virgin*; Anthony of Padua, who championed and expounded the doctrine of the Assumption with vibrant enthusiasm; Jacopone da Todi, the jongleur of Mary, who authored the incomparable *Stabat Mater*; Bonaventure, who decreed at the Chapter of Pisa (1263) a form of Marian devotion out of which the *Angelus* evolved, and instituted the cherished Franciscan custom of singing, every Saturday, a Mass in honor of Mary; Scotus, the herald of the Immaculate, whose keenly analytic defence in behalf of the Virgin's Immaculate Conception was the more valiant because in outspoken defiance of the accepted thought of his day; Bernardine of Siena, whose extraordinary knowledge of Mariology was matched only by his uncommon love for the Blessed Virgin.

So engrained in the spirit of the Order did this Mariological factor become that it constituted and still constitutes an integral element of the Franciscan message to the world. In a word, this abounding and abiding Marian achievement within the Franciscan Order, manifesting itself continually in the lives, devotional practices, and teachings of the friars, could not but provide a vast background for Lawrence of Brindisi. Like a mighty river swollen throughout its course by new tributaries, that glorious Mariological tradition reflects the life through which it flows, taking color from its banks; the shores modify its direction, and its volume and power increase as it moves along, but there at its very source stands the emaciated figure of the Poverello.

St. Lawrence of Brindisi is not unaware of this rich spiritual and intellectual legacy to which he became a deserving heir. He writes:



Many of the Fathers excelled in devotion to the Mother of God; they seemed to have felt they could never honor, praise, and invoke her sufficiently. Such were, for example, the very devout Bernard, Anselm, Bonaventure, Bernardine of Siena, and countless others, who proved themselves incomparably ardent and zealous devotees of the Virgin.<sup>2</sup>

### Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to reveal, first, the distinctively Marian facts and factors in the life of St. Lawrence of Brindisi and, then, to focus attention on the abundance and depth of the Capuchin's Mariological doctrine. In this way the dynamic piety which served as the inspiration for the saint's scholarly writings and the remarkable erudition which gave fulfillment to the scholar's pious inclination will be highlighted in their basic affinity. The first part is fairly comprehensive in extent. As for the second, it can only attain at best that small measure of suggestiveness that every survey heroically strives—but too often fails—to achieve.

### I. Marian Saint

Lawrence of Brindisi was, in every respect, a Marian-minded saint in the Franciscan tradition. Devotion to the Mother of God was unquestionably the most recurrent, if not the most outstanding, factor in his life. Throughout the whole of his glorious earthly career, which began at Brindisi on July 22, 1559, and drew to a close at Lisbon on July 22, 1619, a filial affection for Mary was "the joy and happiness of his heart."<sup>3</sup> It was as a chain of love which linked his heart and soul inseparably to heaven.

Having learned in infancy that no intercessory power compares with that of the Virgin Mary, our saint consecrated himself early in youth to the All-Pure by observing every Saturday of the year in her honor a very rigorous fast. Because of a near-fatal sickness during his novitiate, he was obliged to forego this act of dedication. When, however, he had sufficiently rallied in health to be admitted to the profession of solemn vows on March 24, 1576 (a date which

<sup>2</sup> St. Lawrence of Brindisi, O.F.M. Cap., *Opera Omni*, vol. I, *Mariale* (Patavii, 1928), p. 253. (Henceforth this work will be referred to simply as *M.*)

<sup>3</sup> Erardo da Radkerspurgo, O.F.M. Cap., *Vita del Beato Lorenzo da Brindisi* (Roma, 1784), pp. 181-2. Cf. Lorenzo d'Aosta, O.F.M. Cap., *Vita del di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi* (Roma, 1881), p. 106.

caused him no little joy, since it marked the vigil of the Annunciation to Mary), he resumed this meritorious practice of his childhood days and made of it thereafter a life-long act of homage.<sup>4</sup>

His vast learning and particularly his extraordinary knowledge of Hebrew, the many successes of his priestly career, the sum-total of his talents, in fact his very life which through her intercession was spared on several occasions—he attributed all, all to Mary. He made it a habit to study Sacred Scripture on his knees before her statue in an attitude of prayer. And if such a manner of action appears somewhat bizarre to the skeptical, even a cursory glance through the writings of this accomplished scholar will dispel most doubts as to its efficacy.

So fully and faithfully did Lawrence place his confidence in Our Lady that he never ventured upon any undertaking of importance without first entrusting everything into her hands. He never set forth on a trip without recommending himself to her motherly solicitude.<sup>5</sup> In his extensive travels throughout Germany, France, Italy, and Spain, the saint would beguile the wearisome hours by engaging his traveling companions in friarly conversation, Mary being more often than not the subject of discussion. In this connection his biographer remarks:

Apart from the time set aside for the recitation of the divine office and meditation, Lawrence was accustomed to turn the thread of conversation upon his favorite topic: the dignity, the sweetness, the virtues, the intercession of the glorious Virgin Mary. His choice of words was always dignified, always full of unction, and modified by tenderness . . .<sup>6</sup>

At times the saint and his companions walked along to the singing of the *Stabat Mater* or Petrarch's song to Our Lady:

*Vergine bella, che di Sol vestita . . . ,*

both of which hymns had a special claim upon his affection.<sup>7</sup>

It might be mentioned here that on some occasions, not unlike Anthony of Padua, Lawrence of Brindisi would end a sermon on Mary by singing either of these hymns for the entertainment of his audience.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, *op. cit.*, p. 182; also d'Aosta, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 187-8; also *M.*, p. xvii.

<sup>6</sup> d'Aosta, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 222, 259, 266.

Just the mere thought of the Virgin Mary would at times carry our saint into such a transport of joy that he could hardly utter a word. When assigned to a friary cell throughout his travels, his first concern was to ascertain whether or not there was a picture or statue of Mary to greet his loving gaze. There usually was, since his tender love for the Queen of Heaven was common knowledge in the Order.<sup>8</sup>

The Virgin's name was forever on his lips; her memory, forever in his heart. Despite his countless activities and charges, he never let a day pass without reciting her office and telling her beads. His letters either began or ended with the holy names of Jesus and Mary. His habitual greeting was: "Praised be Jesus Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary!" Whenever anyone wished to gain admittance into his room, the request had to be made in the name of Mary.<sup>9</sup>

If called upon to impart some blessing, he would when feasible choose one which contained Mary's name. For instance, for the sick he would use the formula: "May Our Lord free you from your infirmity, in virtue of the holy names of Jesus and Mary!" In blessing the religious community at the end of grace after meals, he would say: "Nos cum prole pia benedicat Virgo Maria."<sup>10</sup> In times of trial, during severe attacks of bodily infirmity, on the occasion of a storm at sea, the name of Mary would rise spontaneously to his lips.<sup>11</sup>

Before going into the pulpit, Lawrence was always to be found at the feet of Mary, imploring her assistance. His sermons were never so eloquent as when the Mother of God was his theme. Almost every sermon, as a matter of principle, had to contain at least a brief eulogy of the Heavenly Handmaid or a plea for a more wholehearted devotion towards her.<sup>12</sup> On several occasions the saint was heard to lament that contemporary preaching was not turning to account the endless possibilities presented by the glories and intercessory power of Mary. In fact, Lawrence gave decisive proof of the vast homiletic resources in such a subject by preaching at least two entire Lenten

<sup>8</sup> da Radkerspurgo, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-4.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 182; also d'Aosta, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 185; also d'Aosta, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. d'Aosta, *op. cit.*, pp. 158, 236, 259.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *M.*, p. xvii.

courses upon the prerogatives of Mary, one at Verona and another at Naples.<sup>13</sup>

It should not, therefore, be a cause for surprise to discover that the saint from Brindisi, far from being complacent about his Marian devotion, constantly strove by more and different ways and means of honoring his Heavenly Patroness.

Immediately following the General Chapter which elected Fr. Sylvester of Assisi as his successor to the Capuchin Generalate, our saint requested and obtained permission to spend some time at Loreto, in order to give full scope to his piety. In all, he is known to have spent at least two complete Lenten seasons at that world-renowned sanctuary, where, after celebrating his own Mass, he would assist at most of the Masses offered at the little altar within the Casa Santa.<sup>14</sup> In keeping with the resolution made before leaving Rome to consecrate to Mary his entire stay at the Ancona shrine, he spoke of Mary to all who chanced to visit him there. If at times he had to interrupt this loving converse to offer some spiritual ministrations or other, he lost no time in returning to his self-imposed retreat.<sup>15</sup>

### Votive Masses

To intensify the ardor of his love, he petitioned and received from Popes Clement VIII and Paul V, both of whom were well acquainted with the strong Marian bent of his fervor, a special indult to celebrate the votive Mass of the Blessed Virgin, whenever liturgical dispositions permitted. With the exception of a few major solemnities, he made use of this privilege every day of the year. In addition, whenever possible, he would have a picture of Mary placed on the altar at which he was to celebrate Mass.<sup>16</sup>

Our saintly confrere never lost an opportunity to enkindle the fire of devotion to Mary in the souls of others. In fact, several miracles and many other favors were received through the power of his own dedication to her.

We instance two examples. While visiting Vicenza one day,

<sup>13</sup> Cf. d'Aosta, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 225, 133.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. da Radkerspurgo, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. d'Aosta, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-7.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. da Radkerspurgo, *op. cit.*, p. 183; also d'Aosta, *op. cit.*, pp. 126, 105.



Lawrence was led into a room where an eight-year-old girl, owing to the strength of the fever that assailed her, was on the verge of delirium. On seeing her, the Capuchin thaumaturge remarked: "If Magdalen will have full confidence in Mary, she will be freed from this malady." Then turning to the afflicted child he asked if she would promise to cultivate a special devotion to Mary. The reply was an enthusiastic "Yes!" In that very instant the girl was restored to perfect health by the health of the Sick and her devoted servant.

To a religious who was being besieged by violent temptations against chastity and had singled him out for counsel, Lawrence replied: "When beset by such evil inducements, trace the sign of the cross upon your heart and recite with sincerity: 'May God deliver me from the spirit of fornication through the virginity of Christ and His Blessed Mother Mary!'" The disconcerted religious did as he was told, and immediately he began to experience tranquillity of soul.

To quote once again from St. Lawrence's biographer:

In his private conversation, in his cell, in the cloister, in choir, he spoke ever of the Mother of God, exhorting, urging all those who came to him to praise, to venerate, to love Mary, to have recourse to her in every need. He spoke of Mary, also, to the doctors who came to attend him for his chronic ailments. On occasion he would show them a small painting of the Virgin which he had in his cell, saying: "Is not my Sovereign Lady beautiful?" The warm, spontaneous, and devout tone of voice in which the question would be asked, served to convince the friars more and more that he was the recipient of intermittent visits from the august Queen of Heaven.<sup>17</sup>

Nor were the suspicions of the friars without a foundation in reality. One evening while absorbed in prayer in a cell beneath the sacristy of the Capuchin friary in Munich, our saint was privileged with an apparition of the Blessed Virgin. She was described by the lay-brother who was an ocular witness to the phenomenon as wearing an immaculately white cloak embroidered with a variety of colors, the whole of the apparition being framed by the dazzling splendor of an uncommon light.<sup>18</sup>

In addition, during the lengthy investigations preliminary to Lawrence's canonization, it was learned that he had been privileged

<sup>17</sup> d'Aosta, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-6.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. da Radkerspurgo, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

with another apparition of Our Lady while celebrating Mass in a chapel beneath the choir of the Capuchin friary in Prague. A group of religious testified that an image of the Blessed Mother spoke to the saintly Capuchin in a voice loud enough to be heard, yet not distinct enough to be understood. It seems that the purpose of the mystical occurrence was to inform St. Lawrence of the forthcoming victory of Ferdinand II over the heretics, which took place in 1620, the year after our saint's death.<sup>19</sup>

Like a candle which suddenly flickers with added radiance in its final moments, St. Lawrence's Marian devotion increased in intensity during his last days in this vale of tears. In his last sickness, he was heard to whisper frequently and fervently in prayer: "Blessed be God. Praised be Jesus Christ. Blessed be Our Lady, the Mother of my Saviour, Mary."<sup>20</sup>

In his final hour he exhorted the confreres who gathered about his bed to pray for his soul. He asked them to address their prayers to the sympathetic ear of Mary "that my Sovereign Lady might assist me in this my final journey, and shield me from the snares of my merciless enemies."<sup>21</sup>

His last breath was a whispered prayer of the names of Jesus and Mary—the two realities he had treasured all his life with genuine piety.

In one of his sermons this great Capuchin wrote: "Oh, how happy is he who lives under the protection of the Virgin Mother of God."<sup>22</sup> No more fitting words can summarize Lawrence's own life.

## II. Marian Scholar

If Lawrence the saint was so Mariocentric, Lawrence the scholar was not less so. Of this the *Mariale* furnishes more than ample proof. This volume is the outpouring of a full heart and a fertile intellect; a grand votive tribute to the Mother of God. Almost every conceivable topic that might be dealt with in reference to Mary, St. Lawrence has treated here with rare theological scholarship, keen insight and sensitivity. Here are found the saint's sermon sketches

<sup>19</sup> Cf. d'Aosta, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 287.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 290.

<sup>22</sup> *M.*, p. 332; cf. p. 253.

on the joys and sorrows, prerogatives and feasts, virtues and glories, name and titles, figures and types, birth, life and death of Mary. Although not cast in the form of a tract, the *Mariale* has unity, clarity of exposition, and an admirable comprehensiveness. It would be a forbidding task to find a similar volume in which learning and love have blended so successfully.

A rapid survey of some of St. Lawrence's Mariological doctrines is in order at this point.

One thought and one thought alone underlies every page and paragraph of the *Mariale*: the sublime dignity of Mary in her Divine Motherhood.<sup>23</sup> As all Catholic theologians, our saint considers the Divine Maternity the fountainhead of all Mary's prerogatives:

This in relation to the other glories of Mary is as the sun to the other planets, as gold to the other metals, as man to the animals, as the tree of life to the other trees of Eden, as Christ to the saints, as the Virgin herself to the saints. Not only is this the highest, but also the cause, the very source and root of all her glories; if she is full of grace, if she is blessed among women, if she is the Queen of all the angels and saints, it is because she is the true Mother of God.<sup>24</sup>

To make us appreciate the surpassing grandeur of this motherhood, our writer tells us that the Incarnate Word resided in Mary ". . . by means of the most complete communication of His entire Divinity."<sup>25</sup> Awe-struck, he exclaims:

O infinite dignity of Mary! . . . God gave His Son to the Virgin Mary; an infinite gift, equal to Himself! Hail, full of grace! O Mary, temple of God! "The majesty of the Lord filled the temple." (2 Par. 7/1)<sup>26</sup>

If, in order to score his point, our Marian scholar frequently indulges in imagery such as:

The Most Blessed Virgin is the door through which Christ came into this world. She is the dwelling-place in which He lived for nine months . . . For us, she is the window of Heaven, because through her the eternal Light of Heaven has entered the world!<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Cf., e.g., pp. 19-20, 53, 133, 243-5, 442-3, 445-6, 479-80, 503, etc.

<sup>24</sup> *M.*, p. 232; cf. pp. 34, 133, 140, 145, 163, 235, 549, etc.

<sup>25</sup> *M.*, p. 149; cf. pp. 207, 213, 317-9.

<sup>26</sup> *M.*, pp. 481, 98.

<sup>27</sup> *M.*, pp. 490-1, 183.

he also can and does use theologically precise language:

The Virgin Mary is truly the temple of God, in which God abode not only by His nature, essence, presence and power, as in the world; not only by grace, faith, hope, and charity, as in the Church; not only by His glory, by the contemplation of the Sovereign Good, the fruition and everlasting possession of that infinite treasure, as in Heaven; but by a truly bodily indwelling. In Mary there "dwelleth all the fullness of the Godhead corporeally." (Col. 2/9) Hence with the Patriarch Jacob one may say: "Indeed the Lord is in this place . . . How terrible is this place! This is no other but the house of God and the gate of Heaven!" (Gen. 28/17) O Mary, thou tabernacle of God! <sup>28</sup>

Our saint qualifies Mary's motherhood as being "true," "natural," and "divine." Only because she is herself "a miracle of super-human, super-angelic, and truly divine virtue and holiness," has she been elevated

. . . not only to the first and supreme degree of grace and glory after Christ but to the very dignity of the motherhood of God, so that she is truly the Theotokos, the real parent and the natural Mother of the Only-Begotten Son of God, the true and supreme God . . . Can one think of anything more sublime, more glorious, more transcendent? <sup>29</sup>

To those who are partial to syllogistic reasoning, Lawrence offers the following:

Paradise is that place where God is contemplated;  
But in the womb of Mary the soul of Christ really and truly beheld God;  
Ergo, Mary was really and truly Paradise.<sup>30</sup>

But our confrere is not satisfied with speaking of the Divine Maternity in time. A daring thought, like a projected ray of light into space, induces him to reach out into eternity and try to fathom the infathomable designs of the Godhead regarding Mary. Aligning himself with the Scotistic position on the primacy of Christ and His Mother, the learned Capuchin argues that the Redemption of mankind could not have been the primary motive of the Incarnation. Hence, since the Hypostatic Union was destined by God from all eternity independently of the fall of mankind, and the Word could assume human nature only through the cooperation of a human

<sup>28</sup> *M.*, pp. 98-9.

<sup>29</sup> *M.*, pp. 13, 19.

<sup>30</sup> *M.*, p. 151; cf. pp. 100, 368.



mother, we are obliged to admit that Christ and Mary were inseparably united in the one and same eternal decree of absolute and supreme predestination. And if Mary was "preordained by one and the same decree with the Incarnation of Divine Wisdom,"<sup>31</sup> then she must share with Christ a primacy over all other creatures. The primacy of Christ and Mary, stemming from a single identical divine decree, must be similar with but one difference to be remarked: namely, that Mary's primacy is conditioned by and subordinated to that of her Son.

But let us make St. Lawrence express himself in his own words. As he ponders this mystery of the inseparability of Mary from Christ, he directs attention to the Mother of Christ

... as the one, who, together with Christ (*una cum Christo*) the first-born of every creature (Col. 1/15, 17), was predestined before every creature. Christ was, in fact, predestined to be the Son of Mary at the same time (*simul*) that Mary was predestined to be the Mother of Christ.<sup>32</sup>

And in his own thinking the saint ever kept Christ and Mary in the closest possible union:

Mary is indeed similar to Christ in all those things which bear reference to nature, grace, and glory: with respect to nature, she has the same nature as Christ; with respect to grace, she is also holy, full of grace and of the Holy Spirit (Luke 1/28,35); finally, with respect to glory, she is like unto Christ as the moon to the sun, as a queen to a king: "The queen stood on thy right hand." (Ps. 44/10) Moreover, Mary resembles Christ in her predestination, birth, life, death, resurrection, assumption, and glorification. I say she resembles Christ in her predestination, not as God but as man, namely, as the Son of Mary. Therefore, Mary was predestined together with Christ (*una cum Christo*).<sup>33</sup>

He explains his conception of Mary's predestination with characteristic clarity:

This divine predestination was like the blueprint (*ichnographia*), the first draft and exemplar, the original copy (*archetypus*) of the whole assembly of the Elect (*Ecclesiae Electorum Dei*). When God gave to Moses the plan of the sanctuary of the temple, He spoke first of all of the Ark of

<sup>31</sup> B. A. McKenna, *The Dogma of the Immaculate Conception* (Washington, 1929), p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> *M.*, p. 20.

<sup>33</sup> *M.*, p. 454.

the Testament (Ex. 25/1ff); in like manner, the Virgin Mary, the living Ark of the Divinity, was the first creature to be predestined.<sup>34</sup>

Now if Mary "in virtue of her divine predestination . . . from eternity . . . was ordained to the highest degree of grace under God, to the highest degree of glory, to the supreme dignity of the Divine Maternity," and enjoys a consequent primacy "above all the Elect, above all men as well as the Angels,"<sup>35</sup> it was eminently befitting that she should have been endowed with absolute sinlessness. Our Marian saint marshals the various premises of his reasoning in neat, cogent succession:

But what is predestination? It is merely a preparation for grace and glory, for sanctity and beatitude. Consequently, just as the Blessed Virgin was predestined to a superior degree of glory in Heaven, so also was she predestined to a superior degree of grace and sanctity in this world. Therefore, the sanctity of Mary in this world was much greater than the sanctity of the angels in Heaven. But the sanctity of the Angels is entirely unblemished, that is, without the least stain of sin; therefore Mary's sanctity is likewise absolutely immaculate,—in a word, without even the slightest suggestion of sin.<sup>36</sup>

Lawrence arrives at the same truth by a process of exclusion, this time falling back upon two accommodated Marian texts:

Mary is completely untouched by sin. The darkness of sin, which is opposed to the gleaming splendor of grace and its perfection, is of three types: the darkness of original sin, the darkness of actual mortal sin, and the darkness of venial sin. In order to show Mary's exclusion from all three, she is presented as being encircled by three symbols of radiant splendor: "Who is she that cometh forth as *the morning rising*, fair as the moon, bright as the sun?" (Cant. of Cant. 6/9); "A woman *clothed with the sun*, and *the moon under her feet* and on her head a crown of twelve stars" (Apoc. 12/1). By the light of the dawn is indicated grace in opposition to original sin; by the moon, grace in opposition to mortal sin; and by the sun, grace in opposition to venial sin.<sup>37</sup>

In another place he writes:

Mary neither partook of nor inherited the sin of Eve; furthermore, she was not liable to the curse set upon the first woman . . . because she never incurred even the slightest sin. She was at all times so pure and

<sup>34</sup> *M.*, p. 347.

<sup>35</sup> *M.*, pp. 55, 347.

<sup>36</sup> *M.*, p. 481.

<sup>37</sup> *M.*, p. 424; cf. pp. 22, 97, 106, 215, 424, 496, 581, etc.

holy even in thought, that she exceeded in purity even the angels, and surpassed them in sanctity.<sup>38</sup>

The absence of sin means the presence of grace. Reverting to the traditional, theological association of light and sanctity, our scholar thus describes the abundance of grace in Mary:

God, the Sun of Justice, focused the dazzling splendor of His light on Mary, thus forming in her an image of Himself, just as in the crystal-clear waters of a running fountain there is reflected the image of the sun, which instantly blinds the eyes of those who venture to look. Thus in sanctity and perfection of virtue, Mary was always a reflection of God.<sup>39</sup>

In order to give a tangible idea of the fullness of grace in Mary, Lawrence makes use of a well-chosen example. He says that in some games of chance the individual who wins, wins double the amount he has bet. Mary, our saint continues, always wagered everything she had in this game in which all the saints take part, for she loved God with her whole heart and soul.

Every day, in fact every hour and minute, she received a double increase of charity and grace. How great then must have been Mary's treasure of heavenly benefits and riches! <sup>40</sup>

### Mediatrix of Grace

Our Marian scholar also has much to say regarding the mediation of the Blessed Virgin. He chooses to view her office of mediatrix of all graces as deriving from and conditioned by her universal Queenship, which is implicitly contained in her absolute predestination. Thus, if this queenly dignity is to be something more than a mere title, Mary must exercise true influence and power in the realm of grace. This she does through her universal mediation. How otherwise could she deserve the title of Empress in the Kingdom of God? <sup>41</sup>

Our learned Mariologist attributes to the Virgin Mary a variety of titles which emphasize her mediatory power. He calls her, among other things, "Treasurer of God," "Our Advocate," "Ladder of

<sup>38</sup> *M.*, p. 170.

<sup>39</sup> *M.*, p. 460.

<sup>40</sup> *M.*, p. 229.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *M.*, p. 467.

Sinners," "Sea of graces and benignity," "Health of the just and sinners."<sup>42</sup> Following St. Bernard, he describes God as the fountain of living water; Christ as the stream which flows unfailingly from that source; while Mary is the aqueduct or channel through which those saving waters reach the entire Church.<sup>43</sup> St. Bernardine's striking metaphor which describes Mary in her mediatory role as "the neck of our Head, through which all spiritual gifts are communicated,"<sup>44</sup> St. Lawrence expands into a very elaborate and impressive image:

Mary is the neck of the Mystical Body of Mother Church, whose Head is Christ, since we all form but one body in Christ Jesus (Gal. 3/28). For just as the neck, being in a position superior to the other members, is directly joined to the head, so also Mary, being superior to all the saints, is united to Christ. Moreover, as the head can be bent only by means of the neck, so likewise it is through Mary that we obtain the mercy of God. Through the neck the vital activity of the head is communicated to the body and the humors of the body are transmitted to the head; in like manner, through Mary the prayers of the Church ascend to God and graces descend from God into the Church.<sup>45</sup>

The Capuchin's defence of Mary's Immaculate Conception is especially worthy of note.<sup>46</sup> Throughout the whole eleven Laurentian sermons on this prerogative, one can detect traces of a constant, concentrated effort towards one objective: universal acknowledgment of Mary's great privilege of grace. Besides a steadfast determination, we also find an eloquence and elegance of exposition that are more easily admired than described. All in all, St. Lawrence enters the lists armed with about fifty reasons for Mary's Im-

<sup>42</sup> *M.*, pp. 286, 588; 397, 403; 254; 191, 380, 36, 57.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 154-5.

<sup>44</sup> Bernardine of Siena, O.F.M., *Quadragesimale, De evangelio aeterno*, sermo 10, n. 3, cap. 3. Cf. Pius X, *Ad Diem Illum*.

<sup>45</sup> *M.*, p. 45.

<sup>46</sup> Although two subsequent papers in this symposium will consider in detail both the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption, it has been thought worthwhile to include some general remarks on St. Lawrence's development of these two prerogatives here. Three reasons suggest (or excuse, if you will) such a course of action: current Mariology gives both these Marian privileges unprecedented prominence; the general character of my observations may serve to introduce the more comprehensive analyses to follow; embodying such comments here should make the present investigation a bit more illustrative of the wide range, the underlying unity, and the typical definitiveness of Laurentian Mariology some 350 years ago.



maculate Conception: from arguments of appropriateness to those of analogy, from Scriptural accommodations to theological inferences, and even arguments *ad hominem*.

### The Immaculate Conception

St. Lawrence argues that the Immaculate Conception was eminently appropriate, because the honor of God, the honor of Christ, and the honor of Mary required it.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, the wisdom, the goodness, the omnipotence, the love of God demanded it.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, God's predilection for Christ as well as for Mary calls for such a privileged exemption from original sin.<sup>49</sup>

The basic principle of Franciscan Mariology, namely, that which is more excellent is to be attributed to Mary provided the authority of the Church and Sacred Scripture do not prohibit such,<sup>50</sup> is given full importance by our scholarly saint. For he tells us that the Immaculate Conception is not contradictory to Scripture,<sup>51</sup> while, on the other hand, the Church favors it.<sup>52</sup> If we remember that he was writing two and a half centuries before the solemn definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, we can hardly fail to appreciate the true theological progress, the clarity and explicitness which Lawrence's writings evince in this regard.

Throughout the *Mariale* we find frequent use of the battle-cry of the Scotistic school: *Potuit, Decuit, Ergo Fecit*.<sup>53</sup> Lawrence at times uses two other premises: *Voluit*,<sup>54</sup> and even *Debuit*.<sup>55</sup> But our saint does not overlook the technical argument developed by Scotus himself and centered around that irrefragable premise: Christ is the most excellent Redeemer.<sup>56</sup> As we page through Lawrence's stirring defence of Mary, we meet with argument after argument, each set

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 412-4; 442-3; 445, 455, 475, 480.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 444-6.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 402, 463, 480-1, 413-4, 444-5, 473-5.

<sup>50</sup> "We are to ascribe to Mary whatever is more excellent, provided that the teaching of Scripture and the authority of the Church are not impugned." Scotus, *Ox.* III, d. 3, q. 1, n. 10 (Opera, XIV), 165.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 414, 447, 498.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 410, 421, 477.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 411-2, 442, 455, 480, 499.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. *M.*, p. 442.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *M.*, p. 480.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 489-90.

in orderly array and one following upon the other with disarming rapidity.

If God was so careful in choosing for Himself a Mother who was the most pure of virgins in the flesh, was it not likewise becoming so to dispose matters that she should also be free from original sin, which is the spiritual fornication of the soul? <sup>57</sup>

God wishes His Son Christ to be endowed with the fullness of nobility "that He might be the first born among many brethren" (Rom. 8/29). But the nobility of an individual is conditioned by the excellence of both parents. Now if Christ was most noble on the part of His Father, why not also on that of His Mother? <sup>58</sup>

It is proper and just that we attribute this honor to the Mother of God, for the mysteries of grace wrought in her are not to be judged by the standard of ordinary laws but by the Divine Omnipotence: "Because He that is mighty hath done great things to me: and holy is His name" (Luke 1/49), as is quite evident in the virgin conception and birth. It is proper and just then that we attribute this to her, lest we deny to the Virgin a privilege of grace which was bestowed upon other creatures, since God created and constituted the angels and the protoparents of the human race in grace. <sup>59</sup>

St. Lawrence was also an enthusiastic exponent of the Assumption. As in the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, so with respect to the Assumption he follows a teaching of long-standing Franciscan tradition. In the Franciscan Order, the doctrine of the Assumption had been championed by such scholars as Anthony of Padua (d. 1231), Bonaventure (d. 1274), B. Amadeus (d. 1482), Francis Mayron (d. 1327), Nicholas of Lyra (d. 1341), Bernardine de Busti (d. 1500) and also John of Carthagenia (d. 1617).

Since there are no formal and direct texts in Scripture on the corporal Assumption of Mary, <sup>60</sup> the saint from Brindisi bases his defence of the doctrine on accommodated texts, which he confirms with arguments of appropriateness and theological deduction and induction. Nor does he omit to search for figures and types.

In his sermons on the Assumption, Lawrence, like Anthony of Padua, makes extensive use of Esther as a type and the ark as a figure of Mary.

With supreme joy and exultation, this most sacred ark of the Divinity is

<sup>57</sup> *M.*, p. 443.

<sup>58</sup> *M.*, pp. 474-5.

<sup>59</sup> *M.*, p. 417.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 590-1.

today transported into Heaven; being accompanied by Christ and all the angels and saints.<sup>61</sup>

As King Assuerus, who, because of her surpassing beauty and charm, took Esther as his wife, notwithstanding her lowliness of origin, and led her into the royal palace, crowned her queen and celebrated a solemn banquet (Esth. 2/15-18); so also God, who has adorned Mary because of her great sanctity and grace and espoused her, introducing her this day into the royal palace of Heaven and there crowning her queen, has rendered memorable with supreme solemnity this joy-filled day.<sup>62</sup>

But Lawrence does not limit himself to the use of striking comparisons and telling ways of expression. His three sermons on this prerogative are in effect a categorical assertion that "as Christ ascended into Heaven, so Mary His Mother was assumed body and soul into Heaven." He writes:

Mary glorified in body and soul was transported and assumed into Heaven, into the highest part of Heaven next to the throne of God, and is there set above all the choirs of the Angels and crowned the Empress of all the world, the Sovereign of the angels, and the Queen of all the saints.<sup>63</sup>

Though, on the one hand, he declares that the Assumption is an ineffable mystery,<sup>64</sup> yet on the other he points out various reasons why this great favor was granted to Mary. For instance, almost the entire first sermon on the Assumption is based on the theologically sound principle that the glory of the Elect in Heaven corresponds perfectly with the degree of sanctity they attained on earth. If therefore, Mary was, while on earth, the creature who transcended all others in the quantity and quality of grace, then in Heaven she must be the principal and highest object of the predilection of the Most High.<sup>65</sup>

The joys and sorrows of Our Blessed Mother also received extended consideration in the pages of the *Mariale*.

### Mary's Sorrow

Our Capuchin Mariologist is not slow to perceive that the very name Mary is a revelation of that life-long series of sorrows which

<sup>61</sup> *M.*, p. 573.

<sup>62</sup> *M.*, p. 587.

<sup>63</sup> *M.*, p. 576.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *M.*, p. 588.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 571, 573.

awaited Christ's Mother. Truly she was a bitter sea, a boundless ocean of sadness, of measureless sorrow, for the many afflictions of soul she underwent. Lawrence lists the events that rent the Virgin's heart with grief: the suspicion of Joseph regarding her fidelity, the taunts of the inhospitable Bethlehemites on Christmas eve, the wails of her Son at His circumcision, the prophecy of Simeon, the angelic revelation of Herod's hate-inspired decree, the aching loneliness that accompanied her Son's three-day loss. But these were but the prelude, the saint asserts, to her spiritual martyrdom on Calvary.<sup>66</sup> There Mary grieved more than did Jacob for the supposed death of Joseph; than David for Absalom; than Job for his children; than Adam and Eve for the innocent Abel.

St. Lawrence points out a twofold standard for measuring the intensity of one's sorrow. First, the amount of sorrow stands in direct proportion to the degree of love. Thus, since Mary surrounded her Son with an incomparable love, the martyrdom she underwent is to be reckoned as the greatest conceivable.<sup>67</sup> Second, the sorrow of privation is to be gauged by the perfection of the object lost. What then must have been the anguish of a mother who had lost a Son who was divine?

But, on the other hand, if neither death nor suffering could separate Jesus and Mary, shall triumph do so? Mary is the inseparable companion of Christ's greatness and glory: their two hearts are linked in joy and in sorrow. If the main role in the tragedy of the Crucifixion enacted by Christ was supported by Mary, it is only right and just that the principal role assumed by Christ in the pageant of the eternal triumph should have been likewise supported by Mary.

Or, to put it another way, He is the sun; she, the moon. Whereas in the hour of sorrow the sun is eclipsed and the moon thereby loses its brilliant luster; in the hour of triumph the sun shines forth in radiant splendor, and the moon heightens its glowing luster accordingly. Thus, if Mary was the inalienable companion of the suffering Christ, she is also the inalienable companion of the triumphant Savior.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 56, 180.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 586-7.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *M.*, p. 254.



Up to this point our survey has called attention to the intrinsic doctrinal element of the *Mariale*; we might here pass on to a brief consideration of some statistical data on this great work. Add to this some random remarks on several interesting incidentals, and we have done.

In all, the *Mariale* contains 84 sermons, which run to 595 pages of actual text, as follows:

*Part I: The Glories and Invocation of the Virgin Mother of God*

1. Seven sermons on the Vision of St. John (Apoc. 12/1-5)	pp. 1-74
2. Sixteen sermons on the Annunciation (Luke 1/26-38)	pp. 77-159
3. Ten sermons on the Angelic Salutation	pp. 163-254
4. Ten sermons on the Magnificat (Luke 1/46-55)	pp. 257-298
5. Five sermons on the text: "Blessed is the womb that bore thee"	pp. 301-332
6. Six sermons on the Marian Psalm 86	pp. 335-380
7. Six sermons on the Salve Regina	pp. 383-404

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*Part II: The Feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary*

1. Eleven sermons on the Immaculate Conception	pp. 405-504
2. Six sermons on the Feast of the Purification	pp. 505-546
3. Two sermons on the Visitation	pp. 547-557
4. Two sermons on the Feast of Our Lady of the Snows	pp. 559-568
5. Three sermons on the Assumption	pp. 569-595

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According to my own actual tabulation, there are 2,814 explicit Scriptural quotations, which means that our saint cites from Holy Writ on an average of slightly less than five times per page. Not very rare is the page which carries more than a dozen Biblical passages; at least two pages have over twenty texts. As for the

number of paraphrases of and allusions to specific Scriptural texts, that is anybody's guess.<sup>69</sup>

There are no less than 168 quotations from and references (explicit and implicit) to the works of the Church Fathers, theologians and heretics. A breakdown of this figure reveals that Lawrence attacks by explicit assertion twenty-three Mariological heretics and heresies, and substantiates his own teachings with knowledge incorporated from fifteen Doctors of the Church, five Church Councils, nineteen ecclesiastical writers and theologians. And it should be especially noted that, in addition to these quotations, there are other occasional references to some Biblical versions, the liturgy, ancient history, classical writers (e.g., Virgil, Pliny, Aeschylus), literary theory, mythology, and Roman law.

Last but not least, the saint intersperses his sermons and sketches with over eighty Marian types and figures, and ascribes to the Blessed Virgin over one hundred and ten names and epithets—a careful selection of which would result in a unique litany of the highest praise to the Mother of God.

Need we belabor the obvious—that St. Lawrence's masterpiece is a veritable treasure-house of Mariology, where the abundant learning of the scholar is tempered by the filial love of the saint?

And yet, for all its wisdom and devotional content, the *Mariale* remains an interesting, intriguing work which reflects the dynamic personality of its author. Even the most exacting scholar will not look askance upon those portions of the volume which reveal the charmingly human side of Lawrence. While our saint can excuse the theological conservatism of both St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bernard with respect to the Immaculate Conception,<sup>70</sup> he has no sympathy to spare for heresy or heretics. He calls the entire aggre-

<sup>69</sup> In the light of these statistics it is no wonder our confrere "himself declared that if the Bible were lost he would be able to dictate both the Old and the New Testament in their original Hebrew and Greek texts." (Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., *The Capuchins* (Longmans and Green, Vol. II, p. 286).

A word of wholehearted congratulations to the Capuchin friars of the Venice Province, editors of the *Opera Omnia* of St. Lawrence of Brindisi, is certainly never out of place or season. Their great edition, with its explanatory footnotes, authenticated references, textual emendations, marginal notes, introductions, variant Scripture readings, and analytico-synthetic indices, is at once a worthy tribute to the genius of their saintly and scholarly alumnus, and a lasting monument to their own painstaking, dedicated scholarship.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *M.*, pp. 476-7.

gation of Mariological heresies "a muddy and infernal torrent from the mouth of Satan"; <sup>71</sup> heretics, "the mouthpieces of Satan"; <sup>72</sup> Calvin, "the first-born of Satan." <sup>73</sup> At one point his patience is worn so thin that he asserts Calvin should have been taught grammar, so woefully erroneous is his interpretation of certain Scriptural texts. <sup>74</sup> He inveighs very strongly against Copronymus to whom he awards the unflattering ascription of "the dung-dealer." <sup>75</sup>

The Capuchin from Brindisi is not above using a colloquial expression here and there. Humility which draws forth honorable acknowledgment he labels "a rare bird." <sup>76</sup> He also uses the description: "a bad egg from an evil crow." <sup>77</sup>

At times, owing to the onrush of emotion which overpowers him, he breaks forth into a sudden exclamation. The following are typical instances:

Good God, what economy of words!  
 Good God, what a gift! what a giver! what a beneficiary!  
 Good God, what an abundance of grace in Mary! <sup>78</sup>

A comprehensive study of Laurentian Mariology would, of course, have to come to grips with the saint's treatment of the genealogy and virtues of Mary, her espousals to Joseph, devotion to and the imitation of Mary, Lawrence's knowledge and use of the Mariological tradition, his indebtedness to earlier Franciscan thought, not to mention a hundred and one other aspects of the *Mariale* which might lure the curiosity of the scholar. As a result, in offering this survey of some of Lawrence's Marian doctrines, we are painfully aware of having presented but a few chips of a grand and gorgeous mosaic; a truly artistic piece of work. Or perhaps we may say that we feel as if we have just made an exit from a vast garden in full bloom—countless flowers are on all sides, each attracting by its eye-catching beauty, each drawing us irresistibly

<sup>71</sup> *M.*, pp. 233-4.

<sup>72</sup> *M.*, p. 233.

<sup>73</sup> *M.*, pp. 172, 561.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. *M.*, p. 562.

<sup>75</sup> *M.*, p. 223.

<sup>76</sup> *M.*, p. 279.

<sup>77</sup> *M.*, p. 223.

<sup>78</sup> *M.*, pp. 262, 507, 229; cf. p. 117.

by its fragrance. In making this small bouquet from the luxuriant garden of the *Mariale*, we can only express the hope that we have gathered the best blossoms. So much is so good that selection of the very best is always a dangerous and difficult task.

### Conclusion

One final remark. If during his life of never-ceasing activity, Lawrence's great mind was turned towards Rome in brilliant defence of the Church against the onslaughts of the would-be reformers of his time; if his sandaled feet left their imprint on the ways and byways of the whole continent, while on his numerous missions of diplomatic and missionary activity; if the eloquence of his tongue was dedicated to the preaching of the word of God—in a word, if Lawrence of Brindisi gave generously of his outstanding intellectual qualities, placing them at the disposal of others, there is one part of him which he never permitted anyone to entice: his heart. For, like a votive gift, his heart was always to be found in loving homage and silent prayer before the shrine of Mary, Maiden, Mother, and Mediatrix. "For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." (Luke 12/34)



## ST. LAWRENCE OF BRINDISI AND THE ASSUMPTION OF MARY

RONALD JANSCH, O.F.M.Cap.

### Introduction

On November 1st, the feast of All Saints, in the great Jubilee year of 1950, Pope Pius the XII proclaimed Mary's corporeal Assumption a dogma of the Catholic Church. ". . . by the Authority of Our Lord Jesus Christ, of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and by Our own authority, We pronounce, We declare, and define it to be a divinely revealed dogma: That the Immaculate Mother of God, the ever Virgin Mary, having completed the course of her earthly life, was assumed body and soul into heavenly glory."<sup>1</sup>

The definition of the dogma comes as a climax of centuries of belief in Mary's corporeal Assumption. Pope Pius XII, in the Encyclical, marshals all the arguments for the definition. He links up the Assumption with Mary's other great privilege, the Immaculate Conception, that Mary was not subject to the law of corruption. Pope Pius also points out that "from the universal agreement of the Church's ordinary teaching authority we have a certain and firm proof, demonstrating that the Blessed Virgin Mary's bodily Assumption into heaven—which surely no faculty of the human mind could know by its own natural powers as far as the heavenly glorification of the virginal body of the reverend Mother of God is concerned—is a truth that has been revealed by God and consequently something that must be firmly believed by all children of the Church."<sup>2</sup>

Not only do we find Sacred Scripture and the common teaching of the Church extolling and preaching this dogma, historical evi-

<sup>1</sup> Pius XII, *Ency. Munificentissimus Deus* (Nov. 1, 1950), *Acta Apostolicis Sedes*, vol. XXXXII, no. 15 (Nov. 4, 1950), Polyglottis Vaticanis, p. 770. ". . . auctoritate Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac Nostra pronuntiamus, declaramus et definimus divinitus revelatum dogma esse: Immaculatam Deiparam semper Virginem Mariam, expleto terrestri vitae cursu, fuisse corpore et anima ad caelestem gloriam assumptam."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 757.

dence likewise proves it. Temples, cities, dioceses, and individual regions have placed themselves under the special guardianship and patronage of Mary, the Mother of God, assumed into Heaven. Furthermore, liturgical books testify to belief in this dogma. In the Byzantine liturgy, not only is the Virgin Mary's bodily Assumption connected, time and time again, with the dignity of the Mother of God, but also with the other privileges, and in particular with the virginal motherhood granted by a singular decree of God's providence. "God, the king of the universe, has granted these favors that surpass nature. As He kept thee a virgin in childbirth, thus He has kept thy body incorrupt in the tomb and has glorified it by a divine act of transferring it from the tomb."<sup>3</sup>

In regard to the liturgy Pope Pius next points out that this feast has been celebrated in the liturgical calendar for centuries. He cites Pope St. Sergius I who prescribed what is known as the litany, or the stational processions to be held on four Marian feasts. He then names the four feast days—the Nativity, the Annunciation, the Purification, and the Dormition of the Virgin Mary. Later on, Pope St. Leo the IV prescribed a vigil to be observed before this feast of the Dormition, and then ordered special prayers to be said on the octave day.<sup>4</sup>

Completing what we might call the liturgical argument for the Assumption, the Holy Father finally comes to the great theologians, who offer a more profound explanation, who bring out into a sharper light the fact that this feast shows, not only that the dead body of the Blessed Virgin remained incorrupt but that she gained a triumph out of death, her heavenly glorification after the example of her only begotten Son, Jesus Christ.<sup>5</sup>

Among the early doctors quoted in the encyclical is St. John Damascene. St. John shows Mary's Assumption is a fitting thing, because of Mary's motherhood, and her other special prerogatives. To this quotation and argumentation of St. John is appended the

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<sup>3</sup> cf. *ibid.*, pp. 758–59. "Tibi rex rerum omnium Deus ea, quae supra naturam sunt, tribuit; sicut enim in partu te virginem custodivit, sic et in sepulcro corpus tuum incorruptum servavit, et per divinam translationem conglorificavit."

<sup>4</sup> cf. *ibid.*, pp. 759–60.

<sup>5</sup> cf. *ibid.*, p. 760.

testimony of St. Germanus, who is in accord with the holy Doctor from Damascus.

Later on, the Scholastics endeavor to explain this mystery, and show that it is intimately connected with the other revealed truths found in Sacred Scripture. Many highlight the filial love of Christ Who willed that Mary be assumed. They base their arguments on the incomparable dignity of Mary's motherhood, and the prerogatives that flow from it; they also found their reasons on Mary's exalted holiness, which surpasses entirely the holiness both of angels and of men. Another reason brought to the forefront is Mary's intimate union with her Son; and the affection of the pre-eminent love which the Son has for His Mother. The Scholastics recognized the Assumption of Mary as something signified, not only in the various figures of the Old Testament, but also in the New Testament, especially the woman clothed with the sun. They likewise lay stress on the words: "Hail, full of grace, the Lord is with thee."

Among the galaxy of authorities listed in the Encyclical on the Assumption is the Evangelical Doctor, St. Anthony of Padua. St. Anthony bases his argument for the Assumption on Mary's maternity; St. Albert the Great stresses her fullness of grace, her exemption from the curse of Eve. St. Bonaventure reasons from Mary's complete beatitude. St. Bernardine of Siena, another Franciscan cited by the Holy Father, brings into bold relief the likeness of Mother and Son.<sup>6</sup>

Having studded the encyclical with the testimony of many shining lights of the scholastic era, the Holy Father then quotes from the later writers who reason not regarding the theological truth of the Assumption, but lay bare the fact that this doctrine of Mary's Assumption has been held for centuries. And he does not believe it is akin to the heretics. In this instance, St. Peter Canisius is called upon as a witness. In concluding the section on the writers who bear witness to the Assumption, Pope Pius the XII has this to say: "All these proofs and considerations of the Holy Fathers and the theologians are based upon the Sacred Writings as their ultimate foundation."<sup>7</sup>

Among the writers of the Church, who, however, is not cited in

<sup>6</sup> cf. *ibid.*, pp. 762-66.

<sup>7</sup> cf. *ibid.*, pp. 766-67. "Haec omnia Sanctorum Patrum ac theologorum

the Encyclical, as a proponent of the dogma of the Assumption is St. Lawrence of Brindisi, the Capuchin preacher of the late 16th and early 17th centuries. St. Lawrence, like the Scholastics listed in the encyclical, bases his arguments on Sacred Scripture almost exclusively. St. Lawrence can be numbered amongst those theologians who have argued, have held, have developed and preached this beautiful dogma. The Capuchin preacher, like his worthy predecessors gives us proofs from the Old Testament, from the New, from the practice of the Church, and from reason. Also like his forerunners, Lawrence did not put down his arguments in syllogistic form. His arguments are scattered throughout his Marian sermons, but especially are they found in his three sermons on the Assumption of Mary. To understand better St. Lawrence's treatment of the Corporeal Assumption is the object of this paper.

Our method of procedure will be as follows: we shall first of all outline the two shortest sermons; those are Lawrence's second and third sermon on the Assumption. After presenting the outline, we shall develop them at greater length. Following the detailed outline of the 2nd and 3rd sermons, we shall outline briefly the longest and best of his sermons, the First on the Assumption. This also will be followed by a detailed summary of the contents. The third step will deal with Lawrence's actual arguments for the Assumption,—from Scripture, from Tradition, and theological reasons. This latter section will in turn be followed by a comparison of St. Lawrence with St. Bonaventure, and the conclusion.

## I. The Second and Third Sermon of St. Lawrence On the Assumption

St. Lawrence's *Second* and *Third Sermons* on the Assumption are comparatively short. They do not contain the main body of his doctrine, but fill in parts which seem to be missing from the longer and more developed sermon. Both sermons are divided into four parts.

### *Outline of The Second Sermon*

#### I. In Sacred Scripture the Holy Spirit wishes to honor Mary by a

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argumenta considerationesque Sacris Litteris, tamquam ultimo fundamento, nituntur; . . ."



certain silence. And the reason given is because there is greater praise in silence.

II. Mary is similar to God in regard to this silence of Sacred Scripture.

III. Mary Magdalene and Martha exemplify the virtues of our Blessed Mother.

IV. Mary Magdalene and Martha mirror perfect sanctity, which is charity. Mary, the Mother of God has this charity in abundance and in an eminent degree.<sup>8</sup>

### *Outline of The Third Sermon*

I. Mary Magdalene and Martha are proposed as figures of Our Blessed Lady in regard to charity, in regard to diligence in ministering.

II. In loving God, Mary, our Mother is exalted over all.

III. Mary, the Mother of God, has been elevated over all, for the glory of God and for our usefulness.

IV. Because of her elevation, we ought to have recourse to her.<sup>9</sup>

The foregoing are but the basic ideas of the sermons; they form a thumbnail sketch of what the sermons on the Assumption contain.

Now let us examine the sermons themselves in further detail.

For his *Second Sermon* on the Assumption, Lawrence uses a different text than the *First* and *Third Sermons*. The *First* and *Third Sermons* are headed by Luke, 10:42. But in his *Second Sermon* Lawrence begins with the words: "Now it came to pass as they were on their journey, that He entered a certain village; and a woman named Martha welcomed Him to her house." (Luke, 10:38).<sup>10</sup>

Lawrence opens his first point with this revealing statement regarding the death and the Assumption of our Blessed Lady: "We read nothing expressly in Sacred Scripture about the death of the

<sup>8</sup> St. Lawrence of Brindisi O.F.M. Cap., *Opera Omnia*, (Patavii, 1928-44), vol. I, *Mariale*, pp. 590-92. In the future, we will refer to this first volume of the *Opera Omnia* of St. Lawrence, simply as the *Mariale*. For an English translation of this sermon, confer the *Round Table of Franciscan Research*, XVI, no. 1, Jan. 1951, pp. 28-9. The *Round Table of Franciscan Research* will be referred to hereafter, as merely RT.

<sup>9</sup> cf. *Mariale*, pp. 593-95; also RT, XVI, no. 1, p. 30-31.

<sup>10</sup> *Sermo secundus in Assumptionem*, *Mariale*, p. 590; RT, XVI, no. 1, p. 28.

Blessed Virgin, nor about her most glorious Assumption into heaven. Hence for today's Gospel Holy Mother Church chooses the passage about the holy women, Martha and Mary Magdalene, those most devoted hostesses of Christ."<sup>11</sup> Since the Gospel is about Mary Magdalene and Martha, Lawrence states that the Holy Spirit wishes to honor the Most Holy Virgin by a certain holy silence. In this light Lawrence compares Mary, the Mother of God, to the ark, which was hidden behind the veil in the sanctuary of the temple, lest it be seen. Although the ark was secluded, nevertheless the people venerated it highly. Silence is therefore often more golden and praiseworthy than words. Hence the Royal Prophet is quoted by Lawrence in the Hebrew version: "To Thee, O God, silence gives praise in Sion." (Ps., 64:2).

Preaching in a popular vein Lawrence uses for an illustration the sad death of Iphigenia, painted by Timanthes. Timanthes, as Lawrence describes the picture verbally, paints the relatives of the deceased with mournful faces, sad, and weeping. But Agamemnon, the girl's father, is painted by Timanthes merely with a dark veil covering his face and head. Timanthes thought he could picture the deep grief of the afflicted father better in that way. Skillfully Lawrence draws the comparison: "In like manner, the Holy Spirit acted toward the Virgin that he might liken her to God."<sup>12</sup> In other words, as Timanthes pictured grief by using a veil, so God or Sacred Scripture uses silence to praise Mary.

Having shown that there is a praiseworthiness about silence, Lawrence develops the theme one step further. He now deals with silence of Sacred Scripture regarding God Himself. Quoting Isaias in regard to the two Seraphim who cover the face and feet of God with their wings, leaving exposed only the middle part of the body, Lawrence explains what this means. The face and feet of God are hidden since the Old and the New Testament tell us nothing whatsoever of what events took place after its destruction. Head and feet signify the beginning and the end. The body of Sacred Scripture reveals the work of God—His Creation, Divine Providence, the Redemption, the glorification of the elect and the condemnation of

<sup>11</sup> *Idem.*

<sup>12</sup> *Sermo secundus in Assumptionem*, ad I, *Mariale*, p. 591; RT, XVI, no. 1, p. 28.

the reprobate. Having made his point clear as far as God is concerned, Lawrence applies it now to Mary. The Holy Spirit has remained silent as to events about the beginning and the end of the Blessed Virgin's life. In Sacred Scripture no mention is made of her nativity, or her death. Other events are recalled: that she was a virgin, full of grace; that she conceived and gave birth to the only-begotten Son of God, remaining a virgin throughout; that she educated Christ; that she stood at the foot of the cross during the last agony. But of her birth and death we are told nothing. Consequent to the above statements, Lawrence cites from the *Canticle of Canticles* (4:12-5), and comments upon it.

From the commentary, which reads like a poem, Lawrence jumps to his third point of the *Second Sermon*—that the Gospel for the Assumption portrays the virtues of Mary Magdalene and Martha, who in their turn reflect the virtues of our Blessed Mother. The sanctity of the former two women images Mary's sanctity. Lawrence, thereupon, weaves in a comparison of Christ and all the holy men of the Old Testament who are types of Christ. But Christ surpasses all in perfection. Similarly, Lawrence reasons, all the holy women are types of our Blessed Lady. The types show us the sanctity of Mary, but Mary surpasses them all. And from the eminence of her holiness and grace, we can deduce the greatness of her glory.<sup>13</sup>

In his fourth and last point, Lawrence continues the comparison. Martha and Mary Magdalene exemplify perfect holiness, which is charity. Lawrence now develops this love of God and neighbor, or charity. The Capuchin from Brindisi points out that St. Luke immediately after writing of the precepts of charity recounts the story of Mary Magdalene and Martha. Martha who was worried about much serving is the story of love of neighbor. Mary who seated herself at the Lord's feet and listened to His words pictures for us the meaning of love of God. Luke tells us that Mary has chosen the best part. But Mary, our Blessed Mother, as Lawrence says, reflects this twofold charity in all its perfection "for she practiced love of God and man in the most perfect manner."<sup>14</sup> With

<sup>13</sup> *Sermo secundus in Assumptionem*, ad III, *Mariale*, pp. 591-92; RT, XVI, no. 1, p. 29.

<sup>14</sup> *Sermo secundus in Assumptionem*, ad IV, *Mariale*, p. 592; RT, XVI, no. 1, p. 29.

that statement of Mary's perfection, Lawrence concludes his *Second Sermon*.

For his text introducing the *Third Sermon*, Lawrence uses the same one as for his *First Sermon* on the Assumption: "Mary has chosen the best part and it will not be taken from her" (Luke, 10:42). Immediately after quoting the Scriptures, the Capuchin preacher commences his sermon: "Today's Gospel actually treats not of the Virgin Mary, but of Mary Magdalene."<sup>15</sup> Then just as St. Paul applies to Christ what was said of Solomon, so Lawrence states that what is said of Mary Magdalene can be applied also to Mary, "but not in all things."<sup>16</sup> The second portion of this first point continues the comparison: Solomon represents Christ insofar as He was king of Israel, a son of David, but not regarding other things. "So Mary Magdalene represents the most Blessed Virgin in that act which is praised so highly by Christ in today's Gospel; that is insofar as she (Mary Magdalene) is a true image of profound virtue and lofty sanctity." Following up on this idea of sanctity of Mary Magdalene, Lawrence states: "Just as all the saints are living images of Christ . . . ; just as a man is more important than a painted image of himself; so all holy women in Sacred Scripture were really images of this most holy woman, who is blessed among women, . . . blessed above all women, because full of grace (Luke, 1,28) above all women." Lawrence then mentions that Mary Magdalene and Martha are images of our Blessed Lady. Martha images our Lady's diligence in serving; Mary Magdalene in her deep affection of heart, piety, devotion and charity by which she entirely depended on Christ.

### Example of Queen Esther

The second point of this *Third Sermon* develops the comparison of Martha and Mary Magdalene to the Blessed Mother still further. Martha and the Magdalene, according to Lawrence, were loved by Christ (cf. John, 11:5). No where do we read of any women who were praised more than these two. Lawrence then brings in Mary the Mother of God as the woman most praised, and "most worthy

<sup>15</sup> *Sermo tertius in Assumptionem*, ad I, *Mariale*, p. 593; RT, XVI, no. 1, p. 30.

<sup>16</sup> *Sermo tertius in Assumptionem*, ad I, *idem*; RT, *idem*.



of all praise, because she was most holy, most full of merit, and . . . more than can be said or conceived, therefore most of all, the most glorious of all in heaven." After outlining the comparison Lawrence exclaims enraptured: "for no greater glory under God can be conceived than the glory of the Most Blessed Virgin in heaven, because as Queen of the world she sits at the right hand of her Son reigning over all." Remaining in this regal view, Lawrence resorts to the example of Queen Esther, who received great things. But God gave such great glory to Mary that no greater glory can be conceived under God.<sup>17</sup>

Mary's glory in heaven is great as we have seen from the praise showered upon her. In his third point, Lawrence resorts to nature. He brings forth as examples the sun, the moon, and the stars—all of them found in Sacred Scripture. God placed them in the high parts of the heavens, to the perpetual glory of God and for the benefit of mankind. In like manner God has elevated Mary to the highest part of the heavens, for the good of the whole human race. Once again Lawrence reverts to Queen Esther as an example. The Capuchin preacher compares this glorious queen of the Old Testament to Mary, our Mother. Esther was providentially exalted for the salvation of her people. Esther did not fear to expose herself to the danger of death. Such was her charity to her people, and nation, joined with the highest authority. So Our Blessed Lady is exalted today, "for the common good of the whole human race especially the faithful." The greatest charity is within her, whence she is called FULL OF GRACE. So too, the greatest authority was given her today, "given with the greatest majesty; for she was declared and constituted the most high Queen of heaven and the Mistress of all creatures."<sup>18</sup>

In concluding his *Third Sermon*, Lawrence becomes practical and moralizes a little. Mary was given the greatest charity and authority. God enriched her above all creatures with divine blessings. But the reason God gave Mary these gifts was for the same reason that He gave heat and light to the sun, namely for the benefit of mankind. "To her, therefore, let us run in our necessities because,

<sup>17</sup> *Sermo tertius in Assumptionem*, ad II, *Mariale*, p. 594; RT, XVI, no. 1, p. 31.

<sup>18</sup> *Sermo tertius in Assumptionem*, ad III, *Mariale*, pp. 594-95; RT, XVI, no. 1, p. 31.

endowed with divine authority, she can and, in her divine charity, she will help us, knowing that because of us she was thus enriched." <sup>19</sup>

## II. The First Sermon on the Assumption

The heart of Lawrence's doctrine on the corporeal Assumption of our Blessed Lady is in his *First Sermon* for this great feast day.<sup>20</sup> In outline form, the sermon proceeds as follows:

I. Mary, the Mystical Ark of the Covenant, is carried to the heavenly Jerusalem. (ad I)

II. Mary's fullness of grace:

A) The proportion between glory and grace is the same as the proportion between reward and merit. (ad II)

B) The three parts of Solomon's temple reflect the three degrees of perfection, of which Mary has the highest. (ad III)

III. Lawrence's argument for the Assumption:

A) The Scriptural text regarding the triple transfer of the ark as a type of Mary. (ad IV)

B) Explanation and application of the triple transfer. (ad V)

IV. Reasons for Mary's Assumption:

A) not because of her Divine Maternity, (ad VI)

B) but because of her fullness of grace, (ad VII).

1) which is brought out by some comparisons of Mary as a cloud, the neck of the Mystical Body, and tower.

2) for which he is praised. (ad VIII)

3) which is exemplified by lack of vices and abundance of virtues. (ad IX)

V. Mary's glory in Paradise:

A) greatest and most excellent (ad X)

B) measured by greatness of her grace (ad XI)

<sup>19</sup> *Sermo tertius in Assumptionem*, ad IV, *Mariale*, p. 595; RT, XVI, no. 1, p. 31.

<sup>20</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, *Mariale*, pp. 569-89; RT, XVI, no. 2, April 1951, pp. 49-63. The numbers in the outline, for example, ad I or ad II, refer to the paragraph numbering in the sermon by Lawrence. In my own outline I have tried to reduce the sermon to a more logical grouping.

C) depends on the love of God, and the soul's love of suffering and humility. (ad XII)

VI. Mary's Assumption is for our benefit. (ad XIII)

### Mary and the Ark

Lawrence opens this his longest sermon on the Assumption with the text from Luke, 10:42: "But one thing is necessary. Mary has chosen the best part, which will not be taken away from her." Having opened with his text, Lawrence begins, "This sermon is delivered by us in praise of the most Holy Virgin, who is the Living Ark of the Divinity."<sup>21</sup> That sentence sounds the keynote; all the way through the sermon Lawrence continues his analogy between Mary and the Ark. "Today she stands in the Holy of Holies . . . Today, Mary the Virgin Mother of God, THEOTOCOS AND CHRIST-OTOCUS, is assumed into heaven . . ." Five times in this opening section the Capuchin preacher uses the word "*hodie*," as if to emphasize the great feast day. Lawrence carries on with a comparison: Solomon enthroning his Mother Bethsabée. Thereafter he cites Chapter 11, verse 19 of the Apocalypse of St. John regarding the ark; and then immediately quotes the opening verse of Chapter 12—"Behold a great sign, appeared in the heavens a woman clothed with the sun." Lawrence comments on this right away: "The Ark of the Covenant which John saw in heaven is Mary, the Most Holy Virgin and the ark of the Divinity."<sup>22</sup> Since Lawrence has made clear his comparison, his use of the scriptural figure, he then goes on to describe the ark, and draws the comparison still further.

Consequent to establishing his point, the preacher of Mary next

<sup>21</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem, Mariale*, p. 569; RT, XVI, no. 2, p. 49; cf. Fulgence Petrie, "St. Lawrence of Brindisi on the Corporeal Assumption," RT, XII, no. 3, April 1947, states that he often found it "difficult to follow his (Lawrence's) line of thought, and to know whether St. Lawrence intended his scriptural adaptations to have real argumentative value." The difficulty seems to arise from Fr. Petrie's failure to consider the possibility of a type and anti-type in the ark of the covenant and Mary. Once that is allowed, the sermon is clear and simple. In fact Lawrence seems to make it so simple, by stating immediately that Mary is the Living Ark of the Divinity. In his sermons on the *Purification*, *sermo primus*, ad VII, p. 513, and *Sermo secundus*, ad VI, p. 520, Lawrence refers to Mary as the Ark explicitly and develops the subject.

<sup>22</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem, Mariale*, p. 570; RT, XVI, no. 2, p. 49.

locates the ark. By elimination he removes two possibilities. The ark was not placed in the atrium of the temple; nor was it in the outer sanctuary. It was in the Holy of Holies. Here also, Lawrence mentions that Mary the ark of the Divinity was raised up above the choirs of angels to the kingdom of heaven. Following this point, Lawrence proclaims his topic sentence or theme which he develops time and again throughout this long sermon: "The proportion between glory and grace is the same as the proportion between reward and merit."<sup>23</sup> The Marian orator immediately applies his principle to Mary: Mary was full of grace, reaching the highest peak of grace in the Church Militant. Therefore she was elevated to the highest peak of glory in the Church Triumphant.

Concluding this point, Lawrence reverts to the three parts of the temple of Solomon: the atrium, the Holy place, and the Holy of Holies. These three parts of the temple represent the three degrees of perfection: beginners, the more advanced, and last of all the contemplatives, or perfect. Our Blessed Mother belongs to this last group. And even of these last Mary has attained the highest place and rank.

Another comparison is in place. Lawrence quotes the *Canticle of Canticles* (ch. 6, vv. 7-9). Then states that in this passage, the young maidens are the beginners; the concubines have a more honorable place, and therefore are more advanced. But the queens hold the highest place. They are the first ladies of the kingdom.

One soul has been set up by the Holy Spirit above all the elect, one soul who is like the sun among the rest of the heavenly bodies. "But one is my dove, my perfect one; she is the only one of her mother, the chosen of her that bore her." Lawrence interprets the Hebrew version of the Canticle thusly: "One is chosen as a mother; one is pure as a mother." All the other elect souls admire and praise her with one accord. Lawrence then concludes: "Mary is elevated above all the faithful souls in the Church Militant because of her fullness of grace. She is also elevated above all in the Church Triumphant. . . . Mary's throne in heaven is just one step lower than God's for she is the Mother of God."<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad II, *Mariale*, p. 571; RT, XVI, no. 2, p. 51.

<sup>24</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad III, *Mariale*, p. 573; RT, XVI, no. 2, p. 51-52.



The next two sections (ad IV and V) of the sermon deal with the Scriptural proof or Lawrence's argumentation for the Assumption. Lawrence begins this part by stating that the greatest feast the Jews ever celebrated was the day on which the ark of the covenant was borne to Jerusalem. To that effect he cites the *Third Book of Kings*, vv. 1-6. He reminds his hearers that the same account is found in 2 *Paralipomenon*, ch. 5. In the same manner in which the ark was borne to Jerusalem, so Lawrence draws the inference, Mary was borne into Heaven to Christ.

That is the opening step. Thereafter, Lawrence recalls that three times Sacred Scripture relates the transferal of the ark of the covenant. The first was when Josue had it borne across the Jordan from the desert into the promised Land. (*Josue*, 3, vv. 2-17). The second transfer took place when David had the ark carried from the town of Cariathiarim to Jerusalem and placed on Mount Sinai. (2 *Kings*, vv. 1-18; 1 *Paralipomenon*, 13, vv. 3-14). The last transferal was when Solomon had the ark taken from the city of David and placed in the temple of the Lord, and set in the Holy of Holies, which is its place and seat forever. (2 *Para.*, 5, vv. 2-17).

Making his point clear from Scripture, Lawrence now applies it: "So today the Church celebrates the triple passing of Mary, the Divine Ark. The first passing takes place in her holy death, when she passes from the desert of this world into the promised land, flowing with milk and honey. This is the passing of her most holy and grace-filled soul. The second is the transfer of her resurrection, when her body and soul are rejoined and glorified in a most holy and blessed union through the life-giving resurrection. The third is her assumption in both body and soul together into heaven."<sup>25</sup>

After making these statements, Lawrence develops each transferal in turn, and makes some interesting observations. Regarding the first transfer, Lawrence has this to say: "Mary was not obliged to undergo judgment. She received no reproof, for she had never contracted any debt . . . Mary's death was not bitter, not terrible. On the contrary, it was sweet and happy. . . . The death of Mary was absolutely without sorrow, without sadness, without any fear,

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<sup>25</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad IV, *Mariale*, p. 575; RT, XVI, no. 2, p. 52.

or affliction of soul or body. Rather she was filled with the most joyful and jubilant spirit, was called by Her Son, and made the trip to heaven surrounded by an exulting legion of saints and angels together with Christ."<sup>26</sup>

The second transfer, the Capuchin notes, was still more joyous than the first. "After regaining the life of her body through its resurrection she received life everlasting for that body thru its glorification."

In the third, and all important transfer, "Mary was borne with her glorified body and soul, and assumed into heaven, even into the most glorious part of heaven, near the throne of God. . . . John saw Our Lady in the heavenly temple of God, for today she was assumed and enthroned by Him."<sup>27</sup>

### Reasons for her Assumption

So far Lawrence has built up his Scriptural proof for the Assumption. He now delves into the reasons for Mary's Assumption. He returns to his text: "Mary has chosen the best part." Mary is full of grace. And as there is a proportion between glory and grace, reward and merit, Mary must have received the greatest glory. Why did Mary merit so great a reward? Lawrence preaches that Mary's Assumption is not due to her human affection, or because Christ took His flesh from her. On the contrary she was assumed into heaven because of her great virtue, her great holiness. She was full of grace on earth. "Let him," writes Lawrence, "who would first know the greatness of Mary's glory first learn the greatness of her grace."<sup>28</sup>

Lawrence continues his theme of Mary's fullness of grace. He draws the comparison of Mary rising to heaven like sweet-smelling clouds filled with aromatic spices. The saintly Capuchin calls her the "neck of the Mystical Body:" praises her as the tower of David, a tower of unconquerable strength. Again, he praises every member of her body, her temples, her eyes, her nose. . . . Sacred Scripture

<sup>26</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad V, *Mariale*, pp. 574-75; RT, XVI, no. 2, p. 53.

<sup>27</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad V, *Mariale*, p. 576; RT, XVI, no. 2, p. 54.

<sup>28</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad VI, *Mariale*, p. 577; RT, XVI, no. 2, p. 55.

tells us of many holy men and women, but the Holy Spirit chose Mary in preference to all the saints. In the *Canticle of Canticles* the Holy Spirit describes the excellence and the perfection of the grace and holiness of the Blessed Virgin in a long prayer. (ch. 3, vv. 7-10).

For sanctity, Lawrence continues, there must be a liberal supply of virtues, and the exclusion of all vices. Lawrence expatiates both these points in great detail. And this sanctity, this greatness of glory and grace depends entirely on God. In the corporeal world, the sun is the most excellent of the heavenly bodies; man is the most excellent among the animals, gold among metals, diamonds among stones. As in the corporeal world so in the spiritual realm, there is a gradation. And among the elect Mary is the most excellent, and first of all elected souls. Mary has chosen the best part.

In the closing portions of the sermon the sainted Capuchin asks his hearers to imagine the great and wonderful glory of Mary in heaven. Any soul in heaven is more brilliant than the sun itself. Among the saints there are some higher than others. "What is the glory of Mary who was raised today to the right hand of Christ and set above the choirs of angels?"<sup>29</sup> Lawrence answers the rhetorical question himself; "Her glory is such that the minds and tongues of the angels themselves can neither comprehend nor describe it. Mary is crowned in heaven with the greatest and almost infinite honor and glory, for she has the greatest merit."

Lawrence expands on the dependence of this greatness of glory and merit, and then states that it depends first of all on God's love for the soul. God's love towards us is great, but His love is absolutely irresistible toward Mary. The greatest glory arises from the greatest love; it rests upon one's grace and charity. Glory also follows from patience in suffering and martyrdom. For love is the measure of sorrow. The more one loves, the more one suffers. Furthermore, glory is given as a reward for humility. And Mary's glory in heaven is exactly as great as her humility on earth.

Lawrence finally comes to his conclusion: Mary was assumed into heaven and crowned the queen and ruler of the universe, that she might free the people of God from all dangers. God wills Mary to be full of grace, full of charity and love and desire for our salvation.

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<sup>29</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad XI, *Mariale*, p. 585; RT, XVI, no. 2, p. 61.

God also wills that she should be a loving mother to all of us. She was taken to heaven and set up as the depository of God's treasures.<sup>30</sup>

With that resounding note, that Mary is the Mother of us all, our treasure house, Lawrence concludes his beautiful sermon.

### III. The Doctrine of Mary's Corporeal Assumption In Lawrence's Sermons

The body of Lawrence's doctrine on the Assumption is contained in the *First Sermon*, which we have just outlined in some detail. Nevertheless, valuable additions occur in the *Second* and *Third Sermons*. Likewise, just as there are references to other Marian doctrines, e.g., the Immaculate Conception, Perpetual Virginity, Our Lady's Queenship, so throughout the *Mariale*, we find incidental, yet illuminating, striking arguments and references to the Assumption. Lawrence's doctrine dovetails throughout; and each segment of his teaching is inter-knit.

There are, however, certain difficulties for anyone who tries to extract the dogmatic content. In the first place, we are dealing with sermons, or sermon notes, not with a theology textbook.<sup>31</sup> The preacher from Brindisi aims not so much to be a teacher, but rather a fitting instrument board sounding out the word of God in a popular Franciscan way. His purpose is to stimulate devotion, to move his hearers to a better life, to a greater love of Our Lady. Some instruction is necessary, but it is subsidiary to the exigencies of the pulpit.

Another difficulty besides those given above, is that outside of a few insignificant exceptions, Lawrence's only source used is Sacred Scripture. In view of the general opinion that Sacred Scripture does not speak of the birth nor death, nor assumption of Mary, one may wonder how much probative value Lawrence intended for his Scriptural arguments. Lawrence admits openly, and outright, that

<sup>30</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad XIII, *Mariale*, pp. 587-88; RT, XVI, no. 2, p. 63.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Patres editores O.F.M. Cap., *St. Laurentius, Opera Omnia, Quadragesimale Primum*, pp. xvi-xviii; also Ronald Jansch O.F.M.Cap., "The Opera Omnia of St. Lawrence of Brindisi," RT, XV, no. 4, October 1950, pp. 149-59 for an evaluation, explanation of the method, and critique of the different volumes.



Sacred Scripture says nothing of Mary's death or assumption; and yet he does state that in a certain sense this mystery is contained in the written Word of God, but in a veiled manner.<sup>32</sup>

Lawrence bases his *First* and *Third Sermons* on the text for Luke, 10:42: "But one thing is necessary; Mary has chosen the best part, which will not be taken from her forever." His *Second Sermon* begins a few verses earlier (Luke, 10:38).

According to the Capuchin from Brindisi, the Holy Spirit spoke of the *triple transfer* of the ark of the Covenant. Countless theologians, including Lawrence, make reference to the ark in connection with Mary, the Ark of the New Law. Just as the ark of the old law contained the urn with the heavenly manna, so Mary held within her womb, within herself, the celestial Manna, Christ. In like manner, there are many preachers of today and of yester-years, including St. Lawrence, who have used the ark of the covenant to describe the admirable characteristics of the Mother of God. Lawrence does this in his first sermon on the Assumption.

Lawrence's argumentation from the triple transfer of the ark is unique. As far as the present writer has been able to determine, the earlier fathers, preachers, and theologians have not made use of this transfer of the ark as an argument for the Assumption. Lawrence's argumentation is his own. His topic sentence reads as follows:

Three times does Holy Scripture relate a transference of the Ark of the Covenant. The first was when Josue had it borne across the Jordan from the desert to the land of promise. The second took place when David had it carried from the town of Cariathiarim to Jerusalem, and placed on Mount Sinai. The last transference was when Solomon had it taken from the city of David and placed in the temple of the Lord, sent in the Holy of Holies, which is its place forever.

Today the Church celebrates the triple passing of Mary, the divine Ark. The first passing takes place in her holy death, when she passed from the desert of this world into the promised "land flowing with milk and honey." This is the passing of her most holy and grace-filled soul. The second is the transfer of her resurrection, when her body and soul are rejoined and glorified in a most holy and blessed union, through the life-giving resurrection. The third is the Assumption in both body and soul, together into Heaven.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>32</sup> *Sermo secundus in Assumptionem*, ad I, *Mariale*, p. 590; cf. also, *Sermo tertius Super: Fundamenta Ejus*, ad V, p. 360.

<sup>33</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad IV, *Mariale*, pp. 574-75; RT, XVI, no. 2, p. 52.

That in Lawrence's own words, is his argument for the assumption. Thereafter the topic is treated quite extensively. In doing so the Marian preacher draws from the entire Bible. Many interesting highlights are brought out. First of all, Mary truly died. This is prefigured by the first transference. "How admirable was her death! for if the death of His saints is precious in the eyes of God (Ps., 115:5), how much more precious must we think that the death of the Mother of the Savior was in the divine eyes!"<sup>34</sup> St. Paul desired to be dissolved with Christ, Mary, the chosen Ark, desired death even more. Mary experienced no sorrow, no fear, no affliction of soul, or body, in death. On the contrary it was fully joyous, and with complete happiness. Therefore, our mystic ark arrived across the Jordan, surrounded by the entire host of the heavenly Israel.<sup>35</sup> In another place, Lawrence provides the reason for Mary's death: that she be like Christ in all things.<sup>36</sup>

In connection with Mary's death, Lawrence makes an unusual statement. He says that Mary's assumption into heaven took place fifteen years after the Ascension of Our Lord. The holy Capuchin preacher gives no authority for his unique statement. All he presents is the unvarnished statement. It is noteworthy for that reason alone. For rarely does Lawrence allow himself such liberties, even though it be only an incidental remark.<sup>37</sup>

Conceived immaculately, and never having fallen into even the slightest sin, the state of incomparable grace with which Mary entered the world, and which she never ceased to increase would

<sup>34</sup> *Sermo primus in Visionem S. Joannis Evangelistae*, ad VII, *Mariale*, p. 14; Jerome of Paris O.F.M.Cap., *La Doctrine Mariale de S. Laurent de Brindes*, Paris, Librairie Saint Francois, 1933, p. 155. Hereafter, this work will be cited as *La Doctrine*. Also, Gabriele M. Roschini O.S.M., *La Mariologia S. di Lorenzo da Brindisi* (Padova, Gregoriana Editrice, 1951), pp. 183-89; this work will be cited as *La Mariologia*. Also by the same author is an article, "La Mariologia di S. Lorenzo Da Brindisi," in *Miscellanea Laurentiana*, I (Padova, Gregoriana Editrice, 1951), pp. 169-71. This seems to be a synopsis of the larger work.—Nathaniel Sonntag O.F.M.Cap., "The Assumption of Mary according to St. Lawrence of Brindisi," *First Franciscan National Marian Congress in Acclamation of the Dogma of the Assumption*, October 8-11, 1950, pp. 269-82.

<sup>35</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad V, *Mariale*, pp. 574-75; Jerome of Paris, *La Doctrine*, p. 156.

<sup>36</sup> *Sermo quintus in Conceptionem Immaculatam*, ad I, *Mariale*, p. 454.

<sup>37</sup> *Sermo primus in Visionem S. Joannis Evangelistae*, ad II, *Mariale*, p. 7; Jerome of Paris, *La Doctrine*, p. 159; Roschini, *La Mariologia*, p. 179.

not permit Mary, any more than her Divine Son, to know in her virginal flesh, the corruption of the grave.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, even more sweet than the most holy death was Mary's glorious resurrection. When Mary's holy body was brought back to life, it was aroused as from a light sleep.<sup>39</sup> Her body was vivified, and rendered glorious. With the reception of her body, Mary became the woman clothed with the sun. In the final resurrection, all the just will shine like the sun, however, Mary will outshine all the other saints, just as the sun outshines all the heavenly bodies.<sup>40</sup> Mary's body did not see the corruption of the grave, because God freed her from that eventuality expressed in Lawrence's Seventh Sermon on the Angelic Salutation.

Dominus Tecum! Yes, the Lord was with Mary: He was with her in the beginning, through the course, and at the end of her life. He was with her in the beginning, in her conception, making her come into existence immaculate, pure, holy, full of grace, as was fitting for the only and singularly privileged daughter of the Most High. He was with her during the course of her life, endowing her constantly with immense treasures of heavenly riches and with the merit of all the virtues. He was with her at the moment of her death, in order that, having delivered her and preserved her from corruption, he might elevate her to heaven, crown her with eternal glory and exalt her above all the choirs of angels.<sup>41</sup>

The third item of interest is that when it comes to the assumption itself, Lawrence is very explicit. "The third transfer is the Assumption in both body and soul, together into heaven." Mary was carried aloft by Christ, in the august presence of God, and enthroned at the right hand of the Son of God. She is just one degree lower than God Himself. The Assumption, of Mary's body and soul together, is the counterpart of Christ's ascension. Lawrence records that fact in a few places, and insists on it.

How long body and soul were separated is not discussed by St. Lawrence explicitly. He alludes to it, and implies that it was a short time, when he says that she was roused from death as from a slight sleep.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Jerome of Paris, *La Doctrine*, p. 156.

<sup>39</sup> *Sermo primus in Visionem S. Joannis Evangelistae*, ad VII, *Mariale*, p. 14.

<sup>40</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad V, *Mariale*, pp. 575-76.

<sup>41</sup> *Sermo septimus in Salutationem Angelicam*, ad VI, p. 215 ff.; Jerome of Paris, *La Doctrine*, p. 156; Roschini, *La Mariologia*, p. 187.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad VI, *Mariale*, p. 576; *aliud ex-*

Finally, it is of note that Lawrence does not terminate his sermon with Mary's arrival in heaven, but draws his sermon to its logical conclusion, namely Mary's enthronement and coronation in heaven. He speaks of her reception and exercise of universal jurisdiction over heaven and earth. Her rule is co-extensive with the rule of Christ. This is the vision which St. John the Evangelist sees in heaven—the Ark of the Covenant, Mary, placed very near the throne of God.<sup>43</sup>

The argument from the triple transfer is outstanding. But it is not Lawrence's only argument. As has been mentioned elsewhere Lawrence uses the Gospel of St. Luke, Chapter 10, vv 42,—that Mary has chosen the best part, which will not be taken away from her forever. Lawrence finds no difficulty showing that this text applies to the Blessed Virgin. In fact, the Church used this application, for it was this passage which she utilized as the Gospel of the Mass for the Assumption.<sup>44</sup>

### Tradition

As far as written tradition goes, this need not even be considered. Lawrence does not even mention it. In his sermon on the Assumption, Lawrence quotes only three of the earlier ecclesiastical writers—St. John Chrysostom, St. Bernard, and St. Thomas Aquinas. Of these only St. Bernard is cited as a reference to the point at issue.<sup>45</sup> Lawrence, therefore, makes no attempt whatever to adduce an argument from the Fathers, or from written tradition.

Fr. Jerome of Paris, O.F.M. Cap., has this to say: "Is it not the constant and unanimous witness of tradition, which leaves us no possibility of doubting the truth of the glorious assumption even

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*ordium*, p. 589; *Sermo tertius in Conceptionem Immaculatam*, ad IX, p. 447; Jerome of Paris, *La Doctrine*, p. 158.

<sup>43</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad V, p. 576; ad X, p. 583; *Sermo tertius in Assumptionem*, ad III, p. 595.

<sup>44</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad I, *Mariale*, p. 595.

<sup>45</sup> The reference to St. Bernard is on p. 588 (note one of the second introduction of the *Mariale*). The reference to St. Thomas is on page 583 (note 113) and also on page 585 (note 122); to St. John Chrysostom, on page 584 (note 118). The *patres editores* of St. Lawrence's works call our attention in Note 118, that modern critics attribute this work not to St. John Chrysostom, but to a certain Arianus.



which the Church celebrates on the 15th of August.”<sup>46</sup> There is an argument alluded to by St. Lawrence taken from tradition. But it is from the tradition of the believing Church. Putting it into syllogistic form we can argue in this wise: The Church is infallible and cannot err. *But* the teaching and believing Church celebrates the Feast of Mary’s bodily Assumption into heaven. Therefore, Mary must have been bodily assumed.<sup>47</sup>

Lawrence puts the same argument in this wise:

The Church of Christ is ruled by the Holy Spirit and therefore it cannot err, just as the synagogue in the desert was always directed by the angel of God in a column of cloud and fire, lest it go astray in that desolate solitude (Ex., 12:31; 14:19). The Church celebrates this feast, therefore, under the inspiration and guidance of the Holy Spirit, who is the spirit of truth and piety, the spirit of wisdom and understanding. This is the reason why the Church, inspired and guided by the Holy Spirit, is moved to celebrate the wonderful and glorious assumption of Mary’s body and soul into heaven.<sup>48</sup>

Lawrence draws a strong argument from theological reasoning, namely, when he stresses Mary’s likeness to Christ in all things. The syllogism might go something like this: Mary is like Christ in all things. But Christ was assumed bodily into heaven after his death. Therefore Mary also. The major premise runs constantly through Lawrence’s work. Mary is like Christ in all things. In his *Fifth Sermon* on the Immaculate Conception, Lawrence states: “Mary is like Christ in predestination, birth, life, death, resurrection, assumption, and glorification. In death, because she died without any guilt; in resurrection, because she arose gloriously and ascended into heaven where she sits in supreme glory at the right hand of Christ.”<sup>49</sup>

On what is this similarity based? This pertains to the minor premise of the syllogism. Lawrence bases the likeness of Christ and

<sup>46</sup> *La Doctrina*, p. 158.

<sup>47</sup> Irvin Udulutsch O.F.M.Cap., “Views and Comments,” RT, XII, no. 4, June 1947, p. 178.

<sup>48</sup> *Sermo undecimus in Conceptionem Immaculatam*, ad I, *Mariale*, p. 498; Roschini, *La Mariologia*, p. 183.

<sup>49</sup> Irvin Udulutsch, “Views and Comments,” RT, XII, no. 4, p. 178; *Sermo quintus in Conceptionem Immaculatam*, ad I, *Mariale*, p. 454; ad VI, p. 460, where Lawrence states that all the privileges were given to Mary that she might be like Christ; also *Sermo nonus in Conceptionem Immaculatam*, ad I, pp. 486–87.

Mary on Sacred Scripture: "Just as Adam is a type of Christ (according to Romans, 5:11), so it is clear Eve is a type of Mary."<sup>50</sup> "Mary is entirely like to Christ, as Eve was entirely like Adam (according to Genesis, 2:18)."<sup>51</sup> This argument of likeness occurs again and again, and seems to be more than a mere argument of fitness.

Fr. Roschini, O.S.M., sees two arguments or theological reasons for Mary's assumption in Lawrence's *exordium*, appended to the first sermon on the Assumption. The first reason is that Mary fought the good fight properly (*legitime*), hence she deserved the crown of glory which is hers; and secondly Mary was a companion of Christ in His passion. Since she was with her Son in His sufferings, she deserves to be with Him also in His consolations and in His kingdom.<sup>52</sup>

In a similar strain to the foregoing theological reasons is the argument that Mary was predestined with Christ, not merely in regard to one phase of her life activities, e.g., her suffering with Christ, but in regard to her whole career. Her human nature shares in this predestination. This is proposed by Lawrence as contributory evidence for the Assumption.<sup>53</sup> Lawrence bases this argument of Mary's predestination on the absolute primacy of Christ and Mary which is developed so beautifully in the *Opera Omnia*, in the *Mariale*, pp. 79-93; *Explanatio in Genesim*, pp. 198 ff. and 288 ff.; *Quadragesimale*, V, pars, 1a, pp. 432-42; p. 137 ff., p. 509 ff.; pars 2a, pp. 89-91.

What is the foundation stone, what is the rock on which Lawrence builds his doctrine of the Assumption? Was Mary assumed because of her dignity as the Mother of God? Was it because of her suffering? or her privilege of being near Christ? Lawrence is quite

<sup>50</sup> *Sermo primus in Conceptionem Immaculatam*, ad VII, *Mariale*, p. 416.

<sup>51</sup> *Sermo Primus in Conceptionem Immaculatam*, ad VII, *Mariale*, pp. 415-16; *Sermo quartus in Salutationem Angelicam*, ad I, p. 187; *Sermo septimus in Salutationem Angelicam*, ad IV, p. 212. In the last reference cited, the comparison that Lawrence makes is between God and Mary, and Adam and Eve.

<sup>52</sup> Roschini, *La Mariologia*, p. 171; *Sermo decimus in Salutationem Angelicam*, ad VII, *Mariale*, p. 254; "*aliud exordium*," p. 588.

<sup>53</sup> *Sermo quartus super: Missus est*, ad V, *Mariale*, pp. 97-8; *Sermo quintus super: Beator Venter*, *Mariale*, p. 330; *Sermo secundus super: Fundamenta ejus*, ad III, and also ad VI, p. 350; *Sermo octavus in Conceptionem Immaculatam*, ad II, pp. 480-81.

explicit in ruling out that Mary's Assumption is due to her being the Mother of God. It was not because of carnal affection, not because Christ received His Flesh from Mary, that Christ took her up to heaven. Christ, as Man, is not the donor of glory in heaven. It is because Mary has chosen the best part of grace and virtue in this life that she was rewarded with the best part of glory in the next life. Mary loved God, was beloved of God, given perfect fullness of grace, cooperated freely, yet fully with that grace, and by so doing, merited her assumption and coronation in heaven.<sup>54</sup> The Assumption therefore, is the reward of merit, of the fullness of Mary's grace, and does not flow from any external circumstances.<sup>55</sup>

Consequently Lawrence does not gather his reasons from the Immaculate Conception. In fact, nowhere in his Assumption sermons is Gen., 3:15, mentioned. He does hold to the complete enmity of Mary and Satan, that she achieved complete victory over satan, but Lawrence does not connect that with the Assumption. One place where there is a possible connection, but not explicitly is in the "*aliud exordium*" appended to the first sermon on the Assumption. There Lawrence states: "Assumptionem Deiparae Virginis hodie celebramus, quae cum legitime certaverit, coronam gloriae accipit."<sup>56</sup> There, because of her enmity, because of her opposition to Satan, is Mary worthy of her glorious Assumption.<sup>57</sup>

The refrain for the Capuchin Marian preacher throughout is: Mary has chosen the best part; she reached the highest peak of charity here on earth, and as a reward, was given the highest peak of glory in heaven.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad X—XII, *Mariale*, pp. 582–87.

<sup>55</sup> *Sermo primus in Assumptionem*, ad VI, *Mariale*, pp. 576–77; *Sermo quintus in Salutationem Angelicam*, ad III, pp. 196–97, where Lawrence states that Mary was full of grace "*usque ad extremum spiritum*."

<sup>56</sup> "*aliud exordium*," *Mariale*, p. 588.

<sup>57</sup> Irvin Udulutsch, "Views and Comments," RT, XII, no. 4, p. 178, writes that Lawrence argues from the Immaculate Conception to prove the Assumption; but in reading the sources cited, and other sources, the present writer fails to see any connection which Lawrence makes explicitly between the Assumption and the Immaculate Conception.

<sup>58</sup> This principle is stated at the beginning of section VI (given in the outline of the sermon, and in the *Mariale* on p. 576) and is developed in greater detail throughout the remainder of the sermon, and it is with that glorious thought that Lawrence summarizes his sermon before entering a very brief conclusion in section XIII (p. 587).—*Sermo tertius in Immaculatam*

## IV. St. Bonaventure and St. Lawrence

To say the least, comparisons are often odious. Yet comparisons and contrasts at times are helpful in understanding two objects, two persons, or two styles of writing. Like St. Lawrence, St. Bonaventure, the Seraphic Doctor, does not treat the Assumption in terse question and answer style. Bonaventure only treats of the Assumption in his sermons.<sup>59</sup>

In contrast to St. Lawrence, St. Bonaventure has six sermons on the Assumption, and Lawrence only three. And where Lawrence makes use of the same text, St. Bonaventure bases each sermon on a different one. (Is., 2:2; Wisdom, 7:29; III Kings, 2:19; Esther, 1:6; Canticle of canticles, 4:8; Apoc., 12:1). Like St. Lawrence, in the Bonaventuran sermons on the Assumption there is very little actually on the Assumption, as we consider it dogmatically, that is: lining up proof and reasons for Mary's corporeal Assumption. The later Franciscan, Lawrence, like his predecessor, Bonaventure, considers Mary already assumed. Both speak of her as Queen of Heaven. Their primary purpose is to render praise to Mary, to move their listeners. However, as with the Capuchin preacher, we too can deduce arguments from Sacred Scripture and reason.

Like St. Lawrence, the Seraphic Doctor makes use of the type and anti-type. Bonaventure's best scriptural argument is his explanation of III Kings, 2:19, found in his third sermon. "Then Bethsabee came to King Solomon . . . and the king arose to meet her, and bowed to her, and sat down upon his throne: and a throne was set for the king's mother, and she sat on his right hand." As is evident, the text refers to King Solomon and rising to meet Bethsa-

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*Conceptionem*, ad IX, p. 447, where Lawrence states that the assumption was a gift.

<sup>59</sup> St. Bonaventure, *Breviloquium*, pars VII, cap. 5, (*Opera Omnia*, Quaracchi, 1891, V) p. 286b. In the place just cited it shows that St. Bonaventure held the Assumption, but it is a mere statement, not a treatment of the Assumption.—Bonaventure Garguilo O.F.M.Cap., *La Corporea Assunzione di Maria al Cielo* (Napoli, A.E.S. Festa, 1902), pp. 27–30, and Antonius Jannotta, *Theses De Assumptione Corporea in Coelum B. Virginis Mariae* (Isola, Macioce, Pasani, 1928), p. 34, base St. Bonaventure's doctrine on quotations from the *Speculum Beatae Mariae Virginis*. But the best authorities hold that the *Speculum* is not St. Bonaventure's. cf. "Praefatio, Generalis," in *Opera Omnia S. Bonaventurae* (Quaracchi, 1882), I, p. xvi. Likewise, Gabriele Roschini O.S.M., *Mariologia* (3 vols.) (Brixiae, Ancora, 1941), I, p. 319.



bee, his mother. Yet Christ alone can properly fulfill these words: the King arose to meet his mother. Leaving His throne, Christ advanced to honor His Mother. The Assumption of Mary was therefore a more pompous and solemn affair than the Ascension of Christ, though His Ascension manifested more power and majesty. In explaining the text St. Bonaventure quotes St. Augustine's *City of God*: "The things which are said of Solomon can be applied only to Christ." St. Augustine seems to say that since what is said of Solomon can be applied to Christ, what is said of Bethsabee, the Mother of Solomon, can also be said of Mary, the Mother of Christ.

Certainly, if Solomon and his Mother are true types of Christ and Mary, then the text: "The king arose to meet her, and bowed to her, and a throne was set for the king's mother, and she sat at the king's right hand" is a scriptural proof for Mary's Assumption.<sup>60</sup>

Bonaventure's sermons, like Lawrence's, are replete with scriptural texts, but the one just mentioned is the only one which can be considered as a real proof for the Assumption. The other texts seem to be mere adaptations. To cite but one example.<sup>61</sup> Bonaventure's second sermon on the Assumption is a commentary on Wisdom, 7:29; "For she is more beautiful than the sun, and above all the order of the stars; being compared with the light she is found before it." The entire sermon is a song of praise of Mary, but it is certain that St. Bonaventure did not consider the text a proof for the Assumption. In another, when he comments on the same version in his *Commentary on the Book of Wisdom*, Bonaventure refers to wisdom itself; he makes no mention of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>62</sup>

### Arguments From Reason

As to the arguments from reason, St. Bonaventure has two which appear in the first sermon. The first argument as stated by the Seraphic Doctor shows that the very nature of Mary's perfection demands that she be bodily assumed. The early Franciscan Doctor argues as follows. Mary surpasses all the angels in perfection, for

<sup>60</sup> Bonaventure, "De Assumptione," *Sermones De. B. Virgine Maria*, Sermo III (*Opera Omnia*, Quaracchi, 1901, IX) p. 693a; also sermo II, ad 2, p. 692b.

<sup>61</sup> Bonaventure, "De Assumptione," *Sermo II*, p. 691a ff.

<sup>62</sup> Bonaventure, *Commentarius in Librum Sapientiae*, cap. VII, v. 29 (*Opera Omnia*, Quaracchi, 1893) VI, p. 159b.

the perfection of the angels consists in a tendency towards God—or better in the correct relationship of creature to Creator. The perfection of Mary, however, does not only consist in this relation of creature to Creator, but also in a relationship between Mother and Son. "From this," says St. Bonaventure, "it follows Mary is bodily in heaven." For as he explains it there would not be this perfect relationship between Mother and Son, if Mary were not bodily in heaven. The very basis of the relationship is the fact that Christ's body was formed from Mary's body.<sup>63</sup> Unlike Lawrence then, Bonaventure links this proof of reason with Mary's maternity. Whereas Lawrence explicitly excludes Mary's Maternity as a reason for the Assumption.

Following close upon these foregoing statements, Bonaventure offers a second proof, which seems not so much a proof, rather than a mere statement. Yet it is this statement which is cited in the Encyclical on the Assumption. Very briefly the argument reads like this: Mary has perfect beatitude in heaven. But this would not be true if she were not bodily in heaven. For her soul would have a natural tendency, or exigency for union with the body which would not be fulfilled. Or put in this wise: Mary's beatitude is perfect. But beatitude cannot be perfect unless one experiences it personally. But a person is not just a soul, but a body and a soul. Therefore, Mary is in heaven with body and soul: otherwise her beatitude is not perfect. It is this latter argument which is cited in the encyclical on the Assumption.<sup>64</sup>

Like St. Lawrence, Bonaventure, also offers the reason of Mary's participation in the sufferings of Christ as a theological reason for the Assumption.<sup>65</sup> St. Bonaventure doesn't prove the point. But his mere statement gives us a lead on which to construct a proof for the Assumption by drawing a parallel between Christ and Mary. The argument of similarity would run something like this: Since Christ by one and the same act redeemed men and also merited the glorification of His body, it seems only fitting that Mary by one

<sup>63</sup> Bonaventure, "De Assumptione," *Sermo I*, ad II, p. 690a.

<sup>64</sup> Pius XII, *Munificentissimus Deus*, p. 765; Bonaventure, "De Assumptione," *Sermo I*, ad II, p. 690a.

<sup>65</sup> Bonaventure, "De Assumptione," *Sermo VI*, pp. 704b-705a; also Roschini, *Mariologia*, I, p. 321.

and the same act in which she became the co-redemptrix should by that same act merit her glorification.<sup>66</sup>

Briefly then, Lawrence, like Bonaventure, uses a Scriptural text for his proof. Both make use of the type and anti-type, in their explanation. Their doctrine of Mary's corporeal Assumption is almost exclusively found in their Marian sermons. Both make use of the theological argument from Mary's suffering or her role as co-redemptrix. Both saints took the Assumption for granted and preached mainly to inspire their listeners. Both bear witness to a continuous Franciscan tradition regarding the dogma of the Assumption. And St. Bonaventure merits being cited in the Encyclical proclaiming Mary's Assumption to heaven a dogma of the faith.

In contrast, Lawrence has only three sermons on the Assumption (out of 84 Marian sermons), whereas the Seraphic Doctor has six (out of 27 Marian sermons). Bonaventure argues and bases his arguments on Mary's Maternity. Lawrence explicitly excludes it, and bases his doctrine on Mary's fullness of grace, the proportion of grace and glory. For Lawrence Mary has chosen the best part. The early Franciscan and Doctor uses different texts for each sermon; Lawrence uses the same text. In summary, though both approach the dogma from different points of view, both arrive at the same conclusion, Mary's corporeal Assumption.

Now we may be allowed to ask: Just what did St. Lawrence mean by using the figure of the Ark? Did the Capuchin preacher merely mean to accommodate the figure found in the Old Testament to the reality of the New Testament? If that be the case, Lawrence's argument is weak indeed, for the nexus between the two figures is merely, solely in the mind of Lawrence.

Can we say that he means the Ark of the Covenant is a type of Mary in the New Law? Are we justified in saying that the Ark was the type and Mary the anti-type? Looking back at the Sacred Scriptures, it is easy to see the remarkable similarity between the ark and Mary? But did the Holy Spirit intend that likeness. We do not want to read into Lawrence's words more than what is there. We want to take them at their face value. We have his own statement: "*nihil aperte legimus de transitu Beatae Virginis nec de*

<sup>66</sup> Ermin Bantle O.F.M.Cap., "St. Bonaventure on the Corporeal Assumption," RT, XII, no. 3, p. 119.

gloriosissima ipsius in caelum assumptione.”<sup>67</sup> Lawrence explains this sentence about the silence of Sacred Scripture in a striking way, as we read in the detailed outline above.

Judging from Lawrence’s choice of texts for his sermons, as well as from his development of the figure of the ark, his expansion of the arguments which surround his scriptural sources, it may well be that Lawrence saw the ark as the type and Mary as the anti-type. If that be the case, then Lawrence is saying that the death and the Assumption of Mary are contained in revelation, for it is implicitly revealed in Scripture. And since the encyclical and declaration of the dogma of the Assumption that is exactly the case. The dogma of the Assumption is implicitly revealed in Scripture. Lawrence, then, follows the tradition of the other members of the Franciscan Order. Like his predecessors, and those cited in the Encyclical, Lawrence too bases his arguments on Sacred Scripture, and comes to the conclusion that the Corporeal Assumption of Mary is implicitly revealed.

The Capuchin’s sermons on this beautiful dogma are a masterpiece of power and persuasion. St. Lawrence was and will always be a vigilant champion, an effective herald of the glorious privilege of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. We hope and pray that someday he will be numbered among the great Marian doctors in the Church.

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<sup>67</sup> *Sermo Secundus in Assumptionem*, ad I, *Mariale*, p. 590.



## ST. LAWRENCE OF BRINDISI AND THE TYPES OF MARY

HENRY DE DOMINICIS, O.F.M.Cap.

St. Lawrence's Mariology is characterized by profound and scholarly thinking which finds its expression in words only because the profundity of his thought is surpassed by the intensity of his love for Mary. He finds Mary in everything and everywhere, but in a particular way he seems to find her in Sacred Scripture. So deeply does he dip into the saving waters of Holy Writ that he unearths gems of unequalled beauty, from which he makes a necklace of dazzling splendor which he devoutly places around the neck of Mary Immaculate. That he is not able to discover stones of greater brilliance is due to the fact they lie hidden in deep crevices which cannot be reached by the human intellect, because these crevices contain all the mysteries of our Holy Religion. Dropping rocks to fathom and then challenge the depths of the Scriptural *Mária* (seas), the sound that re-echoes from the landing of the rocks returns to Lawrence as *María* (Mary). St. Lawrence's experience finds an adequate explanation in this touching observation of the Fathers. When God created, He gathered all the waters and called them *Mária*; then He gathered together all graces and virtues and named them *María*.

Our task in this present paper is to make a little examination of St. Lawrence's treatment of the types of Mary.

### Definition

When we speak of a type, we mean a person, event, or thing employed by God to signify or foreshadow another person, event, or thing that will make its appearance in the future. The thing signified or foreshadowed is called the anti-type. Put in popular terms a type is either a preliminary or a substitute which must do "until the real thing comes along." For a true type three elements are necessary. First, the person, event, or thing must really exist or have existed. Secondly, the person or thing which is the type

and the person or thing it prefigures. Thirdly, the prefiguration must be based on divine intention.<sup>1</sup>

### Divine Drama

A task without an endeavor is like a rose without a scent. The scope we have in view will appear clear if we first take an over-all glance at the situation as it stands. God is the Divine Playwright. Scripture is the finished product. From all eternity God decides that Christ, His Divine Son, will be the male protagonist of His masterpiece and Mary, His Spouse and the Mother of Christ, will be the lovely heroine. Satan, the devil, will be the antagonist. The stage for this drama whose plot deals with the Redemption of mankind will be the world.

Before putting His play into act God resolves to run off several closely allied previews with other actors handling the parts destined for Christ and Mary. He believes that such a procedure will better dispose the audience for the showing of the original drama. Furthermore, His principal characters, Christ and Mary, will be more greatly appreciated after fair-to-middling performances by second rate substitutes. Some of the doubles appearing in the previews failed dismally and Satan, the antagonist, stole the whole show. The others gave at most only a fair performance.

Many years have passed since the genuine drama was run off on the Broadway of the world. The Play was rendered but once by the originally chosen cast. It was a star-studded affair, but Christ and Mary ran off with the laurels. Even now, many, many years after the debut of these two incomparable Artists, the whole world is still talking about the stellar performance and reading the Script. Reviewers are still scurrying to their dictionaries to find adjectives which will furnish due praise to these two actors whose artistry produced upon the spectators and subsequent generations a thrill which still lingers.

### Reviewers Good and Bad

Some reviewers, such as Arius, Luther, Calvin, Harnack, Loisy, *et al.*, have aimed unfavorable criticism at both the Drama itself

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<sup>1</sup> J. E. Steinmueller, S.T.D., *A Companion to Scripture Studies* (New York: Wagner, 1936), Vol. I, p. 229.

and the acting. The opinions of these have, in the main, been cast aside because their reviews are clearly vitiated by subjective principles. Favorable critics, such as Augustine, Scotus, Bonaventure, Thomas, Bernard and many others, have won undying fame because their reviews are miniature masterpieces. There is one critic who has been almost entirely overlooked—St. Lawrence of Brindisi. He, too, merits to be placed in the select circle of those who in virtue of their fine reviews, have been awarded the "Oscar" of the doctorate of the Universal Church.

Lawrence's review has covered the whole Drama, but at the present moment we wish to restrict ourselves to comments which he makes on Mary's stellar performance. Acknowledging Mary as the star of the Drama of our Redemption and as the greatest leading Lady of all times, he compares her to the doubles marking out the wonderful traits found in them and then showing how these qualities find their fullness in Mary.

Before entering into the examination of Lawrence's comparisons there are certain things we must keep in mind. Our intellects are not on a par with Lawrence's genius. In fact, it is because of this extraordinary genius used in favor of Christian Dogma that we propose him as a most worthy candidate for the lofty dignity of Doctor of the Universal Church. Whenever he makes a comparison between Mary and her types, he does so in such a reverential manner that he actually pursues an indirect approach which in itself is masterly. He does not draw Mary towards the types, but the types to and towards Mary. Even in this he manifests a peculiarity rooted in his veneration for her. In presenting these types he puts them at a great distance, and even then he does not permit them to tarry too long, fearing that in their inferiority they might accidentally make her exalted dignity fall short of its due. For him the types, no matter how noble, are deeply rooted to earth, while Mary hovers in the celestial heights. He resembles a person who having a most precious genuine stone compares it to a counterfeit replica. Quickly the stone of true stock is pulled away lest the people around, lacking the knowledge necessary for discerning the real from the spurious, deem the two of equal value. It is easily seen that this shyness, this cautiousness, this indirectness raises Mary to a height that would never have been reached by boldness or directness of comparison.

Now let us return to the Old Testament wherein we find the previews staged by God, reviewed by Lawrence.

### Rebecca, Sara and Esther

Speaking of the incomparable legacy of the Incarnation, our learned confrere turns to Mary to exalt her excellence which in turn has enhanced the grandeur of this great Mystery. With this in mind, he draws this comparison. Abraham sent Eliezer, a servant of his house, to seek a wife for his beloved son, Isaac. This faithful servant finds an "exceeding comely maid and a most beautiful virgin," Rebecca.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, God the heavenly Father dispatches Gabriel, a servant of Paradise, to find for His only begotten Son a spouse and a mother. This mission results in a most stupendous miracle. Mary, a virgin, at once becomes a most beloved Mother, Spouse, Sister and Daughter. In so far as Christ is God, Mary is His Daughter and Spouse; in so far as He is man, she is His Sister and Mother.<sup>3</sup>

Mary is likened unto Sara, the mother of Isaac. Sara was sterile and so was Mary, but she was barren in a different manner. Her sterility identified itself with her virginity. Sara was fruitless, yet the seal of her virginity was broken. Mary instead was a virgin before the birth, during the birth and after the birth. When the Lord announced to Sara that she would bear a son, she laughed half unbelievably. When the angel Gabriel announced to Mary that she was to become the Mother of God, she said: "Be it done unto me according to thy word." Like Sara she is a queen, but her reign is not restricted. She is Queen of the entire universe.<sup>4</sup>

When the Jewish people learned that Esther, a young Jewish maiden, had become queen, chosen from many virgins who in order to impress the king were "for six months anointed with oil of myrrh; and for other six months used certain perfumes and sweet spices,"<sup>5</sup> they "rejoiced and were glad. . . . A new light seemed to rise: joy,

<sup>2</sup> *Genesis*, 24/1ff.

<sup>3</sup> St. Lawrence of Brindisi, O.F.M.Cap., *Mariale (Opera Omnia)*, ed. Capuchin Fathers of the Province of Venice—Vol. I), Padua: Ex Officina Typographica Seminarii, 1928, p. 89. In future this work will be indicated by *M.*

<sup>4</sup> *M.*, p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> *Esther*, 2/12.



honor and dancing.”<sup>6</sup> The reason for their happiness was because through her they were saved from perdition and death, which the scheming Aman would have brought about in his hatred for Mardochoai. Likewise the whole human race should delight and be glad because Mary was chosen queen and empress of the world and in this position she repaired the damage which would have befallen it through the sin of Eve. Mary, the principle of reparation, succeeds Eve, the cause of our perdition.<sup>7</sup>

### Eve and Mary

When Eve, Mary's first double, made such a complete fiasco in the very first act which took place in the garden of Eden, God, the Divine Playwright, was filled with righteous indignation mingled with tender pity. He had provided Eve with every gift and opportunity for succeeding in her role yet she failed. God was not moved to ire because His drama was badly acted, but because the entire plot went awry. The antagonist, Satan, survived victorious, while the hero and heroine fell easy preys to his cunning inveiglements. In that moment of disappointment God cried out: "I will put enmities between thee and the woman, and thy seed and her seed: she shall crush thy head, and thou shalt lie in wait for her heel."<sup>8</sup> What He meant by these phrases was that when Mary and Christ would come to play the new Adam and the new Eve, never for a moment would the villain serpent carry the spotlight, nor ever would he gain the smallest victory over the two protagonists. Mary would play her part so flawlessly that from the very second she would appear the serpent would be crushed into defeat by her superb technique. Satan at most would lie in wait for her heel. In other words, he would wait for subsequent actors who would come into the world to play their part in the great drama of life.

When Assuerus found himself captivated by the beauty and exquisite loveliness of Esther, he wanted her for his spouse. In order to make her worthy of his kingship he set the royal crown upon her head and bestowed upon her gifts according to princely

<sup>6</sup> *Ibidem*, 8/15-16.

<sup>7</sup> *M.*, p. 91.

<sup>8</sup> *Genesis*, 3/15.

magnificence.<sup>9</sup> In like manner Mary found favor before God,<sup>10</sup> and He adorned her soul with the scintillating emerald of grace, with the blue gown of justice and with the silver slippers of sanctity. Her heart, her soul and her will assumed a capacity which almost bordered the infinite, because the whole world could not give her a love great enough for that heart, beauty beautiful enough to captivate her soul, and treasures precious enough to satisfy the desires of her will. How like, yet how unlike, Eve was Mary! The soul of Eve was in itself great. Together with Adam she was made mistress, queen and ruler of the entire universe. Every visible creature was in her domain. Yet the vastness of the entire world could not match the magnitude of her soul. Urged on by the deceitful serpent, she toyed with the idea of rendering herself like and equal to God: "No, you shall not die the death . . . you shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil."<sup>11</sup> Her intense desire reached the forbidden realm of the infinite and the eternal, the wisdom and glory of God.

Yet Mary's resignation was highly rewarded and the emptiness in her heart, soul, and will was superseded by fullness of grace. Eve's presumption was severely punished, and the gap within her soul was filled with bitterness which produced within her unbridled longings which threatened to tear her very being asunder. God filled Mary with every gift and blessing she could ever long for, so that she might be worthy to be His Spouse and the Mother of His only begotten Son, Christ,—this dignity being far superior even to the cumulative dignity of the choirs of angels.<sup>12</sup>

As Eve, believing the serpent, became the cause of our perdition, so Mary, believing the angel Gabriel, became the principle of our reparation; the former brought sin and death into the world, the latter brought grace and life. Through the one we lost a terrestrial paradise, through the other we gained a celestial paradise.<sup>13</sup>

### More Types

At this point Lawrence sets out on a beautiful spree of compari-

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<sup>9</sup> *M.*, p. 90.

<sup>10</sup> *Luke*, 1/30.

<sup>11</sup> *Genesis*, 3/4-5.

<sup>12</sup> *M.*, p. 90.

<sup>13</sup> *M.*, p. 91.

sons drawn from the etymological significance of the names of Mary's types. The name of Solomon's mother was Bethsabée, the house of the covenant, the house of the seven columns, the mansion of plenitude.<sup>14</sup> Mary is the house of ivory wherein Christ made his abode for nine months. She is full of grace, full of virtue, full of the Godhead. This new Bethsabée is so beautiful that The Supreme King of Heaven desired to have her hand in marriage, and in order to have her He, so to speak, killed her husband Joseph, verily another Urias, who died to the world through the vow of chastity. Mary is the house of the covenant of the new economy, of varied plenitude, of choice abundance, of dazzling riches, of heavenly delights. She is moreover, the celebrated house of the seven columns, mystically symbolized in the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the seven virtues and seven evangelical beatitudes. No wonder then that the angel addressed her as "full of grace." This "man of God" was speaking to the embodiment, to the very personification of grace.<sup>15</sup>

In Mary we have the mother of Josias, Jedidah, beloved, beloved of God. Here is Rebecca, a virgin whose unusual beauty captivated the heart of the Sovereign Ruler of all things. Hail full of grace . . . this Rebecca is comely, the features of her face and body are characterized by a delicate fullness which reflects the fulness of her soul: "Let my soul be filled as with marrow and fatness."<sup>16</sup> This Rachel is a most mild and humble lamb; this Lia, united, is conjoined to God by charity, the bond of perfection.<sup>17</sup>

Mary is without doubt the real mother of Samson, sterile because she was a virgin and commanded not to drink wine, nor strong beverage, nor eat any unclean thing,<sup>18</sup> that is to say, she never committed sin, neither did she ever experience concupiscence, and she was conceived without the stain of original sin. She conceived and gave to the light a real champion of strength, a real Saviour of His people. Like Samson of old, Christ brought life through death and victory through apparent defect. Of Christ we read: "He shall be great and shall be called the Son of the Most

<sup>14</sup> *M.*, p. 89.

<sup>15</sup> *M.*, p. 98.

<sup>16</sup> *Psalms*, 62/6.

<sup>17</sup> *M.*, p. 90: Col. 3/14.

<sup>18</sup> *Judges*, 13/4.

High. And the Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of David His Father; and he shall reign in the house of Jacob forever.”<sup>19</sup> These words are but echoes of the prophetic utterances of Isaiah: “For a child is born to us, and a son is given to us, and the government is upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called, Wonderful, Counsellor, God the Mighty, the Father of the world to come, the Prince of Peace.”<sup>20</sup>

As the angel Gabriel appeared to Mary to announce the miraculous conception and nativity of Christ, so the angel of the Lord appeared to Samson’s mother, who was sterile and to whom it was ordered not to drink wine or strong beverage, nor partake of anything unclean, but simply to live a holy life as a faithful Nazarite. This holiness of life, Lawrence comments, is meant to serve as an allusion to the singular sanctity of the Virgin of all virgins, Mary, the mother of our real Samson. As the strong man of the Old Testament was born of a woman who had no hope of giving children to the light because of her sterility, so Christ was born of a woman who had willingly given up the privilege of bearing children because she aspired to higher things: perfect and perpetual virginity. As Samson was destined by God to save and deliver his people from the hands of their bitter enemies, the Philistines, so likewise did Christ come into the world to save His people from their sins and from the powers of darkness. This is Jesus of whom it was said: “And thou shall call His name Jesus,”<sup>21</sup> that is to say, Saviour.<sup>22</sup>

### Mary’s Dowry

In ancient times prospective brides had not to worry about hope chests or dowries. Courting days were for women of those times, days of romantic reveries undisturbed by worries of dowries. It was left up to the groom to provide a worthy and generous dowry for his spouse.<sup>23</sup> As biblical examples of this former social custom we may cite the case of Adam, who accepted Eve without requiring a dowry of her.<sup>24</sup> In Isaac one has an instance of a husband supplying

<sup>19</sup> *Luke*, 1/32.

<sup>20</sup> 9/6-7.

<sup>21</sup> *Luke*, 1/31.

<sup>22</sup> *M.*, p. 92.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Hetzenaur I. Cap. *Comment. in Gen.*, cap. 29, 14-19.

<sup>24</sup> *Genesis*, 24/22-53.



the wife with a dowry.<sup>25</sup> As for Jacob's dowry for his spouse Rachel, this consisted in rendering seven long years of service to her father.<sup>26</sup>

When David decided that his love for Michol, Saul's daughter, was great enough to warrant a marriage proposal, he found the desires of his heart stymied by his poverty which denied him the means of providing the required dowry. When Saul's servants reported to David that he was highly acceptable to the king who desired to have him as a son-in-law, David told them that one grave difficulty stood in the way of the realization of his own desire and that of Saul—he had no dowry. When Saul heard of this he sent word to David that in place of the dowry, he would accept only a hundred foreskins of the Philistines.<sup>27</sup> Thus we see that in ancient days the dowry was supplied by the groom.

Now, in like manner, when God chose Mary for His Spouse, He gave her the greatest dowry ever known, a dowry which only God could present—all fulness of grace and celestial riches.<sup>28</sup>

Abraham gave up all his goods to furnish his only son with a worthy dowry for his spouse. Thus, when the angel Gabriel said to Mary: "The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee,"<sup>29</sup> a dowry of grace, a garland of virtues culled by the Almighty was bestowed upon Mary, that she might be worthy of the great dignity of Spouse of God and Mother of Christ.<sup>30</sup> Grace is like a precious urn filled to overflowing with all virtues, with all the gifts of the Holy Ghost. It excludes all vice, as perfect light excludes any shadow of darkness.<sup>31</sup>

The moon is said to be the spouse of the sun, because the sun furnishes as a dowry the delicate light with which the soft moon glows in the heavens after purple-colored curtains mark the end of day. The Blessed Virgin Mary is less than Christ as the moon is less than the sun, yet as the Spouse of God she is greater than any other creature, as the moon is greater in dignity than all the other stars which twinkle and shine about it.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*, 24/22-53.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, 29/18.

<sup>27</sup> *I Kings*, 18/20 ff.

<sup>28</sup> *M.*, pp. 90-91.

<sup>29</sup> *Luke*, 1/35.

<sup>30</sup> *M.*, p. 126.

<sup>31</sup> *M.*, p. 127.

<sup>32</sup> *M.*, p. 97-126.

When the angel Gabriel said: "Hail full of grace, the Lord is with thee: blessed art thou among women,"<sup>33</sup> he meant that her soul was far more beautiful than that of Eve, Sara, Rebecca, Rachel, Lia, Mary, the sister of Moses, and all the other holy women mentioned in Holy Writ.<sup>34</sup> True beauty in the eyes of God consists in virtue and sanctity: "Favour is deceitful and beauty is vain: the woman that feareth the Lord, she shall be praised."<sup>35</sup> Mary was cognizant of this fact, so much so that she could say: "Behold from henceforth all generations shall call me blessed."<sup>36</sup> In Scripture praises are lavished on many women for some reason or other. On some because of their beauty and grace, as Sara,<sup>37</sup> Rebecca,<sup>38</sup> Rachel,<sup>39</sup> Bethsabée,<sup>40</sup> and Esther.<sup>41</sup> On others because of their prudence and wisdom, as Abigail who placated the ire of David,<sup>42</sup> the woman of Thecua who procured the return of Absalom from exile,<sup>43</sup> the wise woman of the city of Abela who for the salvation of the city arranged the killing of Seba.<sup>44</sup> Still others are lauded for their fortitude, as Jahel,<sup>45</sup> and Judith;<sup>46</sup> while a few gain praise for their sanctity of life and their prophetic powers, as Debora the prophetess,<sup>47</sup> Anna the mother of Samuel,<sup>48</sup> and Olda the prophetess.<sup>49</sup>

But this woman Mary is above all these holy women, and in a supreme degree. She is "full of grace," without sin of mind or body: she is "blessed among women." She is the purest of the pure, a virgin, formed together with Eve amid the splendors of Paradise, yet never deceived by the sly flattery and inveiglements of the scheming serpent.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>33</sup> *Luke*, 1/28.

<sup>34</sup> *M.*, 127.

<sup>35</sup> *Proverbs*, 31/30.

<sup>36</sup> *Luke*, 1/48.

<sup>37</sup> *Genesis*, 12/10.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, 24-16.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, 29/17.

<sup>40</sup> *II Kings*, 11/2.

<sup>41</sup> *Esther*, 2/7.

<sup>42</sup> *I Kings*, 25/23 ff.

<sup>43</sup> *II Kings*, 14/1-22.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, 20/16-22.

<sup>45</sup> *Judges*, 4/17-22.

<sup>46</sup> *Judith*, 13/1-12.

<sup>47</sup> *Judges*, 4/1 ff.

<sup>48</sup> *I Kings*, 2/1 ff.

<sup>49</sup> *4 Kings*, 22/14-20; *Para.*, 34/22-28.

<sup>50</sup> *M.*, p. 131.

### Mary's Virginity

Prior to Mary in Scripture we read of no other virgin save the daughter of Jephthe, who was a virgin only in body but not in intention, for she bewailed her virginity for many days.<sup>51</sup> Only Mary was a spotless virgin in both body and mind. She is the "closed portal" spoken of by Ezechiel: "This gate shall be shut. It shall not be opened and no man shall pass through it: because the Lord, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it. And it shall be shut."<sup>52</sup> She is the "garden enclosed" spoken of by Solomon in the *Canticle of Canticles*: "My sister, my spouse, is a garden enclosed, a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up."<sup>53</sup> St. Lawrence makes us observe that Ezechiel mentions the phrase "closed portal" twice and Solomon does the same with the words "garden enclosed." This peculiarity is meant to indicate virginity of both flesh and spirit.

So jealous was Mary of her virginity that when the angel Gabriel announced the conception and birth of Christ, immediately she asked for an explanation. Only when she was assured that she would conceive as a virgin and bring forth as a virgin did Mary bow her head and whisper her "fiat." "For the Lord hath created a new thing upon the earth: A woman shall compass a man."<sup>54</sup>

This is Lawrence's review. This is his evaluation of the previews and the drama of our Redemption, of Mary's performance and that of her doubles. He seems to cluster all of Mary's types around the scene of the Annunciation. We can offer a good reason for this. In that first scene Mary accomplished what her doubles could not achieve throughout their entire roles. Merely by uttering "Behold the handmaid of the Lord: be it done unto me according to thy word,"<sup>55</sup> she gained a mighty victory over Satan the antagonist, a victory from which he never recovered nor ever will:

Hence came the enmity of old between the serpent and man, that inextinguishable feud, that now the viper, prostrate beneath the Woman's feet, lies crushed and trampled on. For the Virgin, who obtained grace to bring forth God, hath charmed away all its poisons; and driven to hide

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<sup>51</sup> *Judges*, 11/32-40.

<sup>52</sup> 44/2.

<sup>53</sup> 4/12.

<sup>54</sup> *Jeremias*, 31/22.

<sup>55</sup> *Luke*, 1/38.

himself in the grass, green as himself, he there coiled up in his folds, torpidly vomits forth his now harmless venom.<sup>56</sup>

### Glory of the New Eve

"In place of the virgin Eve, who stood forth the minister of death, a Virgin is chosen unto obedience of life, who is most pleasing to God and full of grace: a Virgin comprised within the sex of woman, whilst exempt from woman's iniquity: a Virgin innocent, without spot, void of culpability, uncontaminated, untouched, holy in body and soul, as a lily springing amongst thorns, untaught the ills of Eve. . . . Nor was there any communion in her of light with darkness, but when not yet born, she was consecrated to God, and when born, as a monument of gratitude, was offered up a sacred foster-child to dwell in the temple of the Holy Place, a disciple of the law, anointed with the Holy Spirit, clothed with divine grace as with a mantle, wise of soul in things divine, espoused in her heart to God, breathing the splendours of sanctity from her eyes, and turning canticles to the ears, her tongue of honeyed sweetness, her lips distilling the honeycomb, beautiful in her steps, more beautiful in her conduct, venerable in her actions, meek in her demeanour, more meek in her movements, good in the sight of men, better far in the spirit of God, and in a word, all beautiful as an obedient will, all sweet as a store of unguents."<sup>57</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Galland. VI., p. 696. Verses 146, 155 of *Hymn before Meat* of Prudentius.

<sup>57</sup> Theodotus of Ancyra, *Orat. in Sanctam Dei Genitricem*, in Concilio Ephesino, Galland. IX, p 475.



## ST. LAWRENCE OF BRINDISI AND THE NAME AND TITLES OF MARY

BENEDICT SIMEONE, O.F.M.Cap.

We are all familiar with the Shakespearean quotation, "What's in a name?" The attitude of that adage is slighting as we recall also with the Dramatist, that "a rose by any other name is just as sweet," implying of course, that no matter what one calls an object, that does not change its nature. Granted. But a distinction must be made. The names given to things are not always conventional labels. Technical names are invented to describe the nature or essential qualities of things. Thus, in the sciences, and especially in the sacred sciences, names are often given in this latter sense. They do not designate, they constitute.<sup>1</sup> That such is the case regarding the names and titles of the Blessed Virgin Mary is clearly broached by St. Lawrence of Brindisi in his *Mariale*. By an erudite interpretation of the names and titles of Mary this scholarly Capuchin saint gives us a dazzling glimpse into her nature.

### Mary's Name

First let us examine how St. Lawrence interprets Mary's name. Turning to the Scriptural account of the Annunciation, our saint notices that the angel Gabriel, on greeting the Blessed Virgin, does not address her by name, but merely says, "Ave, gratia plena." According to our way of thinking this seems to be a slighting omission on the part of the angel. On the contrary it is a sign of extraordinary respect. In the Old Testament we discover that instead of naming God to the prophet Isaias, the seraph only gives him a description; and more salient still is the fact that among the Jews only the Highpriest was permitted to utter the name of God, and then only once a year on entering the Holy of Holies. This was due to the great reverence the Chosen Race had for the name of

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Msgr. R. Knox, *The Epistles and Gospels for Sundays and Holydays, Translated with a Commentary* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1946), p. 313.

God.<sup>2</sup> It was for the self-same reason that the angel did not dare to pronounce the name of Mary.<sup>3</sup>

From this St. Lawrence judges that after Christ the name of Mary is above all others since even the angels revere it. He is convinced that the glorious name of Mary abounds in mysteries and that we can safely affirm that it was divinely assigned to her as were the names of Jesus and St. John the Baptist. For, if there were no mysteries hidden in names, then God would not have changed the names of Abraham, Sara, and Jacob; nor would Christ have called the Prince of the Apostles by the new name of Peter.<sup>4</sup>

### Etymology

Before going on to the manifold interpretations of the name of Mary according to the Hebrew, St. Lawrence notes that the name, as given by the Synoptics, does not seem to be the Hebrew "Miriam." The word used by the Evangelists grates on the saint's ear. He rather believes it is a Syriac word, for, he assures us, after the Babylonian captivity Syrian was much used by the Jews, and in fact, the Aramaic tongue in use in Palestine in Mary's time was closely related to Syrian. Therefore, he proceeds, in the Syriac Mary means "Domina," and that by the highest right this belongs to the Virgin Mother of God, for she is most perfect among creatures and has been given dominion and pre-eminence over them.<sup>5</sup>

However, in the Hebrew Mary's name has many meanings that are extremely rich in interpretation. (In fact, Bardenhewer says they number at least 70.) Mary's name can mean: "bitterness of the sea," or a "sea of bitterness"; also "myrrh, odor or perfume of the sea," or a "sea of myrrh or perfume"; likewise "vision or apparition of the sea," a "sea of doctrine," or a "seasonal rain on the sea," illumination of the sea, or "a drop of sea water." A veritable incomprehensible name!<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> St. Lawrence of Brindisi, O.F.M.Cap., *Mariale (Opera Omnia*, ed. Capuchin Fathers of the Venetian Province—Vol. I), Padua: Ex Officina Typographica Seminarii, 1928, p. 176. Henceforth this work will be referred to simply as *M.*

<sup>3</sup> *M.*, p. 177.

<sup>4</sup> *M.*, p. 177.

<sup>5</sup> *M.*, p. 178.

<sup>6</sup> *M.*, p. 179.

### Greatness of Mary

In the Hebrew, then, all the emphasis of Mary's name is in relation to the sea or ocean and, as in Sacred Scripture this term "sea" is used to designate magnitude in almost every sense, so, in Mary's name it means "without measure." In fact, St. Lawrence notes that in this sense the saintly doctors Augustine and Bernard call the earth "*mare magnum*." It is consequently plain that when we refer to Mary, we basically and automatically must understand something immense, something immeasurable. Once uttered, that holy name is an adjective describing whatever virtue or dignity we can attribute to her. That name itself gives the lie to anything inferior, minor or belittling. Does she love? It is boundless. Does she sorrow? It is incomparable. Does she pity? It is without limit. Does her soul admit God's grace? Only in its plenitude. St. Lawrence gives us the clue on how to remember this fact: whenever you think of Mary you must see her color—blue. Blue represents the sea, her name; blue represents the sky, celestial life or grace. Both are boundless. Put them together and you get Mary, "the plenitude or sum-total of celestial life."<sup>7</sup>

Mary was a "sea of bitterness" through the anguishing sorrows that she experienced together with her Divine Son. As they were in direct ratio with her perfect love for Him and her perfect hatred of sin, they surpass the sorrows of all other creatures, all the painful labors of the Church throughout the centuries, and all the excruciating torments suffered by all the martyrs.<sup>8</sup> These swords of sorrow merited for her the title of "Queen of Martyrs."

So to speak, Mary's infinite abundance of divine graces which caused the angel Gabriel to salute her as "full of grace" is exemplified by two of her titles. As the "Sea of Sweet Odor" (*mare myrrhae*), her virtues are considered, for if St. Paul says of ordinary Christians that "we are the good odor of Christ unto God," how much more fragrant must the "Spiritual Vessel" be, since she contained Christ Himself in a physical as well as spiritual manner? As the "Rain of the Sea" (*pluvia maris*), we are made to realize that God continuously rained down graces upon her not only for

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<sup>7</sup> *M.*, p. 179.

<sup>8</sup> *M.*, p. 180.

forty days and forty nights as in the Deluge, but we assert that God opened the floodgates<sup>9</sup> of His graces and incessantly poured them down on the Blessed Virgin for the entire seventy-two years of her life, so that her soul was flooded with celestial waters.

After continuously speaking of everything as being so spiritually immense in Mary, St. Lawrence seems to pause, struck with wonder at the next meaning of Mary's name. As if confused and searching for an answer, our Saint asks, "How is it that we have been saying that Mary is a sea, a boundless expanse of water, when here, right before our eyes, from the Hebrew 'mirah,' we must admit that her name means only a 'Drop of Sea-Water' (*stilla maris*)?" As if after a moment's reflection the salient virtue of Mary's life comes to St. Lawrence's mind, so he smilingly assures us that both meanings are correct. For, Mary was as great as the sea and as small as a drop of sea-water. Great in the eyes of God, and small in her own. Did she not say that the Lord "deigned to look upon His handmaid?"<sup>10</sup> Paradoxical as it may seem, the very minuteness of this drop of the sea, the very depth of her humility, when linked with her name means immense immeasurable humility. She saw herself as a mere drop in the sea of God's love. And so she was. But that drop in itself was an ocean of unfathomable self-abnegation.

Although our recent exegetes rail against St. Jerome or the ubiquitous copyist for changing the Latin "*stilla maris*" (drop of sea-water) into "*stella maris*" (star of the sea), St. Lawrence is by no means so shortsighted. He digs deep into his cultivated mind and comes up with the Hebrew "*maor*": to illumine. In the name of Mary this means, "Illumination of the Sea," which is really the same as "Star of the Sea." After all, it does not take much to realize that the stars illumine, so to say, a navigator's course and enable him to get his bearings on a turbulent and dark sea.<sup>11</sup>

Through Mary's title of "Myrrh of the Sea" or better, "A Sea of Myrrh" the fragrant and mysterious perfume of her grace is seen to be not only so sweet and boundless in diffusing its scent throughout the centuries so that all must recognize the unique blessedness

<sup>9</sup> *M.*, pp. 180, 502.

<sup>10</sup> *M.*, p. 180.

<sup>11</sup> *M.*, p. 179.



of Mary's soul, but also as the Hebrew infers, it is the cause of a special and long-sought-for quality—incorruptibility. Do we not all admit that on earth even the possession of great wealth would give us anxieties rather than genuine satisfaction for the simple reason that it (or we) cannot last? We would fear that our treasures may be taken from us by some chance occurrence, or more dreadful thought, that we ourselves might be snatched away by death! St. Lawrence shows that such a spectral thought could find no place in Mary, for she is a sea of myrrh. Myrrh—the odiferous spice used by the Jews for embalming, used in fact on the sacred body of Christ—was for the Jews the symbol of incorruptibility.

Here St. Lawrence draws a consequence, so startling and beneficial in its application that he cannot control himself. He seems to extend his hands, and taking hold of us by the shoulders and shaking with emotion, shouts, "Do you not realize that Mary is not only 'Myrrh of the Sea'—God did not only give her the assurance that her own body and soul and graces should forever be incorrupt and incorruptible. . . . He had also made her a 'Sea of Myrrh'!" Our dull minds do not grasp the implication so St. Lawrence is forced to explain. "I believe," he says, "that by giving her the first gift, God has also by a special merit given Mary the power of preserving *us* from corruption." We, sinful, corruptible men, can become incorruptible if we dip ourselves into this "Sea of Myrrh." There is no limit to Mary's powers of spiritual preservation. She is an ocean of myrrh. She is able to and she desires to preserve us from the plagues and pestilences of bodily and spiritual corruption. This "Sea of Myrrh" will keep in check the contagion of sin and it will never permit the slightest evil to infect us. There can be no agreement between myrrh and worms.<sup>12</sup>

### Insights Into Mary

So much for Mary's name. Now we must consider just why we apply so much mystical meaning to her name. Because it gives us her nature. She was, in all truth "full of grace." In the Mother of God are all the riches of heaven for she is the "Treasure of All

<sup>12</sup> *M.*, pp. 502–503.

Celestial Grace." This is brilliantly disclosed by St. John the Evangelist when he says that she is "clothed with the sun." It is certainly proper for rich kings and princes to collect all their gold, precious stones and metals into treasure-houses. But of all kings, God is the richest, and, collecting all these treasures in Mary and distributing them to all creatures only through her, God has established her as His official almoner. Congregated in her, this divine treasure flashes so brilliantly that she appears to be clothed with the sun itself.

But many mystics have arrived at this consideration of Mary. St. Lawrence, however, goes a step further. What, he asks, is the treasure so identified with Mary that its light is her light and its name hers? Can we sum up these treasures into one comprehensive thought? Is it the title of "The Great Treasure of all the Gifts of God"? or "The Great Treasure of all the Celestial Gifts of the Holy Ghost"? or "The Great Treasure of the Riches of Merit and Spirituality"? or "The Treasure of Grace"? or "The Treasure of Glory"? or "The Treasury of the Divinity Itself"? Yes, that's it! "The Treasury of the Trinity." The sum-total of all her treasures, the *raison d'être* of that blinding light which emanates from her soul is the Divinity Itself. In theological symbolism God is called "Light." "He was the true light," says St. John of Christ,<sup>13</sup> and the same inspired writer asserts, "God is light and in Him there is no darkness."<sup>14</sup> Yes, God's treasure is Himself, and in placing His treasures in Mary, He has placed Himself in her and abides there. As God's treasury, Mary is actually the "Temple of the Divinity," a singular, worthy, and most holy habitation of the Godhead. No wonder we call her "House of Gold," "House of the Lord," and "Gateway to Heaven," for God dwells within her; and just as the Word descended into the world for the salvation of men through this door, so we can ascend to the Godhead only through this self-same "Gate of Heaven."<sup>15</sup>

Among the titles enunciating Mary's spiritual and moral treasures St. Lawrence includes "Treasure of the Knowledge of all Creation," an assertion which at first glance may appear a bit trite.

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<sup>13</sup> *John*, 1/9.

<sup>14</sup> *I John*, 1/5.

<sup>15</sup> *M.*, pp. 27-28.

However, it could not be so to our Saint, not only because he was so devoted to the Virgin, but also because from his own personal experience he felt the tangible results of the scientific knowledge she can dispense.<sup>16</sup>

When St. Lawrence was a young scholar he began the study of ancient Hebrew, a language so difficult for him that he almost gave it up in desperation. One day when he was particularly dejected and had almost decided to give up this study, he prayed to the Blessed Mother for aid, then bending his head over his books, he fell asleep. On awakening, he suddenly felt that Mary had illumined his mind. He tackled his books anew, and with great ease became such a Hebrew scholar that even the greatest Jewish doctors of Europe stood in admiration of him.<sup>17</sup> In his debates with these Jewish intellectuals he would use no books, though permitting his opponents to use what they wished. Then, when they would present arguments from ponderous tomes of ancient Hebrew, St. Lawrence would refute them by quoting those very same books from memory.<sup>18</sup>

### Seat of Wisdom

No wonder then that St. Lawrence calls Mary the "Treasure of Divine Lights." And what does this signify but that she is the "Treasure of all the Wisdom and Knowledge of God"? Is this not expressly meant, St. Lawrence asks, in the fact that St. John sees her with twelve stars encircling her head? This is her diadem as "Queen of Heavenly and Earthly Knowledge." As "Queen with the Divine King," she must know the Divine nature, all supernatural knowledge. As "Queen of Angels" she must know the angelic nature with all its intuitive knowledge. As "Queen of Mankind" she must know all human nature and abstractive knowledge. As "Queen of the Heavens and of the Elements" she must know all natural sciences, the nature of the heavens, the constitution of the elements, and the mixtures contained in all inanimate things, in animals, and in man. As "Queen of the Universal Church" she must know its

<sup>16</sup> *M.*, p. 28.

<sup>17</sup> Erardo da Radkerspurgo, O.F.M.Cap., *Vita del Beato Lorenzo da Brindisi* (Roma: 1784, 2nd edition), p. 188.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 40, 42, 43.

mysteries that she may aid it; and she must know the artifices of the synagogue of Satan that she may defend the Church against him. (Though I have not followed his exact method here, St. Lawrence enumerated the above under twelve heads, symbolizing, of course, the twelve stars of Mary's diadem.)<sup>19</sup>

A little reflection on all the praises St. Lawrence lays at the feet of this most noble of God's creatures after Christ, naturally leads to these questions: Why is Mary so blessed by God? In what does her dominance over other creatures consist? On what single comprehensive fact does all her glory rest? The answer to all these—on the fact that she was actually the "Mother of God," the "Deipara," the "Theotokos." St. Lawrence probably becomes more enthused over this title than any other, so he says very little about it. Though he devotes entire sermons to this title and though he makes direct mention of it specifically as a title at least nine times in the *Mariale*, he can say no more than the "verba arcana" of St. Paul. He shouts that she was predestined before all creatures for the great dignity of becoming the natural mother of the only Son of God! What an honor this is! What a dignity! What a glory! But more than this St. Lawrence is powerless to express.<sup>20</sup>

### Reflection of God

Naturally our Saint has no intention of inferring that the Blessed Virgin just received these graces by remaining passive. Not at all. The dictum "God waited so long before He sent His only begotten Son was because before Mary there was no one worthy to be His mother" was not lost on St. Lawrence's mind. That is why he makes 307 direct references to Mary's virtues in the *Mariale*. Excepting Christ, he insists, no other creature angelic or human ever co-operated so perfectly with God's grace or deserved and merited such an abundance of His gifts as Mary. The virtues of no other creature or combination of creatures could ever, even by combining all their virtues into one and disregarding all their imperfections, reach the perfection of Mary's virtues. Why? For the simple reason that she is "The Most Beautiful Image of God." We are true images and likenesses of God when we participate in God's nature.

<sup>19</sup> *M.*, pp. 18, 28, 29, 456.

<sup>20</sup> *M.*, pp. 19, 95, 181.



Therefore, by being "full of grace," Mary is the most exact reflection of God. God is the highest innocence, there being no iniquity in Him. So Mary is "Most Innocent and Pure," there being absolutely no sin, actual or original, in her. Mary is "Most Holy" in body and soul, thinking always of God, pondering His designs in her heart, and doing nothing but what may be pleasing to Him. Mary is the "Treasure of all the Virtues," of all the gifts of the Holy Ghost, and of all the evangelical beatitudes.<sup>21</sup>

So far we have seen how St. Lawrence of Brindisi interprets Mary's titles as they emanate from her name; as they distinguish the great gifts she has received from the Divinity; as their sum-total is based on and expressed by her unique prerogative of being the Mother of God; and as they enunciate the multifarious virtues which merited such graces for her.

### Mary's Interest in Us

But we are men and prone to be practical. Though we certainly do not take the what's-in-it-for-me attitude in the preceding considerations, yet we are naturally interested in nothing just whether Mary takes an active interest in us. On this subject men have usually been more expressive and lavish in extending titles to the Blessed Virgin. It is this personal concern that she takes in us that makes her so loved and indispensable. So, in this concluding part, we shall observe how St. Lawrence discloses the beneficial and amiable nature of Mary in his exposition of those of her titles which directly regard us *Christifideles*.

The Apostles were told by Christ on Holy Thursday night that He was to leave them. But, lest they become too dejected, He immediately added that He would not leave them orphans. He has already given them God—in Jewish thought their master—as their Father. This night He gave them Himself by the institution of the Holy Eucharist. And before another day passed He would give them Mary for their Mother. The words of Christ by which Mary was officially constituted the "Mother of all Christians" stress the fact that she is the mother of each individual Christian as well as of Christians in general. Christ, in giving Mary to us, said,

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<sup>21</sup> *M.*, pp. 106, 129, 143, 145.

"Woman, behold thy son."<sup>22</sup> Some say that this meant that only St. John was to be her son. But such an interpretation cannot be held. In the first place, St. Lawrence notes that from the early ages of the Church Mary was always the "Protectress of the Church," and thus a mother to all Christians.<sup>23</sup>

### Our Mother

Besides this, our scholarly saint finds an excellent reference to Mary's universal maternity in *Psalms* 86, verse 5. Translated into the Latin from the Hebrew, this verse reads, "Sioni dicetur: Vir et vir (nobilis et nobilis) natus est in ea, et ipse firmavit eam Altissimus." ("It is declared to Sion: This and that man are born in her, and the Most High Himself has confirmed her.") The Hebrew phrase "vir et vir" means "many men," for a parallel passage<sup>24</sup> has, "Generatio et generatio laudabit opera tua"; the double "generatio" meaning "many generations." Thus, the use of the double "vir" means that many men shall be born to her. But we all know that only Christ has been born of the Virgin Mary. How then can we say "many men"? St. Lawrence gives two basic interpretations. It can mean Christ directly, in regard to His two natures, whereby He is called the Son of God and the Son of Man, having a multiple nobility, divine and human.

But our Saint's second interpretation is more ingenious. He says that "vir et vir" means that Christ is not only a private person but also a public one. His public person is the Universal Church, for the multitude of the faithful are the members of His body. But this is not all. "Vir et vir" means "noblemen" and not common men as "homo et homo" would. Thus, the faithful are clearly distinguished from the infidels. The Blessed Virgin is the Mother of Christ and the Mother only of Christians, for only they are members of Christ. This does not mean that she has no sovereignty over the infidels, not at all. But just as God is the Master of Creation and of the infidels, but the Father only of Christians, since sonship is acquired only through Christ; so Mary is the "Mistress of all

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<sup>22</sup> *John*, 19/26.

<sup>23</sup> *M.*, pp. 250-251.

<sup>24</sup> *Psalms*, 144/4.

Creation" and even of the infidels, but only the Mother of us Christians through Christ.<sup>25</sup>

Now, St. Lawrence asks, if Mary is the Mother of all Christians, is it not strange that Christ tells Mary, "Behold thy son," and not "thy sons"? We must not forget something we have known from youth. If Mary is the Mother of Christians, she is also the mother of each of us individually; just as a woman is at the same time the common mother of a whole family and yet the mother of each child. St. Lawrence insists, just as the complete image of the sun is reflected in everyone's eyes without distinction, so each of the faithful who truly and with his whole heart devotes himself to Mary, will have the full enjoyment of her love as if he were her only son. That is why Christ introduced us individually to Mary, saying of each of us, "Behold your son."<sup>26</sup>

Mary is an active mother, for she would rather be like a step-mother if she took no interest in us. It is her continuous concern to lead us to our heavenly home. She herself is the "Way of Salvation" and the "Ladder to Heaven." St. Lawrence also calls her the "Window of Heaven," but though one may get the inference that Mary is so good that she will get us into heaven up a ladder and through a window if necessary, our Saint never joined the two. He does say that guided by her, step by step, we shall ascend the stairway to paradise, and we can see through her a preview of the now invisible joys of heaven.<sup>27</sup>

### No Halfway Measures

More than this Mary distributes to us graces innumerable, as she is the "Fount of Grace" and the "Principle of Grace and Life." Now here is an interesting fact. To these two titles our Saint unites that of "Mother of Mercy," and certainly, on reading the explanation of the former one cannot but see the implication of the latter. This "Fount of Grace" is a "Fount of Gardens" (*fons hortorum*), plural, because Mary is a universal fount that does not do things halfway. She must irrigate two gardens, that of the Church Militant and that of the Church Triumphant. Without the waters of grace

<sup>25</sup> *M.*, pp. 370-371.

<sup>26</sup> *M.*, p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> *M.*, pp. 183, 154.

from this spring our souls would desiccate. And the title of the "Mother of Mercy"? That is the assurance we have that these celestial waters will never cease to flow. As long as we are in need Mary will irrigate and destroy the drought in our souls, for the only control valve on this "Aqueduct of Grace" is her pity and that is boundless.<sup>28</sup>

Mary, the good patient mother, has titles which, though probably not so mystically enthralling as some of those we have already considered, yet often afford us the greatest consolation. These regard us narrow-minded, arrogant, malicious sinners who stupidly reject all the aids Mary sends us. These titles, not so pleasing to the ear, breathe out no dry-eyed, heartless syllables. They are replete with sighs and insistent pleadings; not because Mary will not hear them, but because those who use them have often forgotten all, except that Mary is the "Refuge of Sinners" and their "Salvation." They tremble, for their hope is half-hearted; but after placing their faith in this "Our Hope," their fear is turned to joy, and their souls smile to Mary in gratitude as they see the furious wiles of Satan beat powerlessly against this "Tower of David."<sup>29</sup>

### Our Surest Hope

The last title we consider in this paper is the most consoling. Mary is "Our Advocate," our lawyer. As Christ is our advocate to the Father, so Mary is our advocate to Christ.<sup>30</sup> A lawyer will not refuse a case if he can win it or if there is enough in it for him. Thus, Mary never refuses a case, for immortal souls are at stake. Never has she lost a case for any confiding client. Mary has every requisite of the perfect lawyer: she is innocent of the crimes we are accused of, and she is honest, diligent and capable. But we must remember that unlike our court cases, we are actually criminals, for we have definitely broken God's law. Therefore, we must not expect that Mary will take up the offensive to prove us innocent, for we *are* guilty. But she defends us, she pleads for us, and obtains for us the Mercy of God. In this way Mary is our "Ladder of

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<sup>28</sup> *M.*, pp. 391, 155.

<sup>29</sup> *M.*, pp. 36, 253.

<sup>30</sup> *M.*, p. 397.



Sinners," sometimes the last chance we have for freedom from a painful and eternal imprisonment. However, a merciful acquittal will always be forthcoming here on earth, if we trust in Mary, the "Refuge of Sinners."<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> *M.*, p. 254.

## THE MARIAN DOCTRINE OF BERNARDINE OF SIENA

FRANCIS AFFELT, O.F.M.

Pre-scholastic Marian writing reached its height in the accurate and spirited works of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Many of the Marian works of the scholastic period which followed St. Bernard are also characterized by accuracy and depth of thought, however their form is generally oratorical and their primary intent is to edify. While we must continue to respect them for their elegance and abundant thought, we cannot very well draw upon them for a balanced and synthetic Mariology. The Marian works of Bernardine of Siena, as Scheeben carefully notes, may not be cast into this category: they are distinguished by their deep and sublime conception of the matter.<sup>1</sup> The Marian writings of Bernardine indeed embody depth and sublimity, and they reveal several facets of Marian doctrine which are lofty in their conception and admirably unique in their presentation.

But why did Bernardine present his thought to us in sermon context rather than in neatly arranged tracts, after the fashion of the great scholastics? The answer is briefly that he was a preacher and not a scholar *ex professo*. Indeed it is remarkable that he was prominent and outstanding as a scholar at all, since he excelled as a preacher of Christian morals. Unquestionably Bernardine was a theologian and scholar whose work merits our respect and careful scrutiny.

### Renaissance

The beginning of the Italian renaissance when Bernardine lived and flourished (1380–1444) was a time when men sought to revive the ancient tradition of classical culture. In the process they began to disrupt a religious, social and economic order that had just about reached maturity. The medieval synthesis of secular culture in all its elements, theology, and deep spirituality, was disintegrating much too rapidly. Christian enthusiasm which grew through the Middle Ages developed into a frigid natural enthusiasm which

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<sup>1</sup> *Mariology* (St. Louis: Herder, 1946), I, 56.

breeds sterility. The *civitas christiana* of the West was becoming a battleground for political factions, and conflicting philosophies. The unity which hitherto informed economic life gave way to every sort of looming economic vice.

Clearly this condition created problems which called for preaching more than speculation. The fifteenth century was a time when earnest and renowned preachers rose to renew Christian life and morals. Of these Bernardine of Siena was an exemplar. Consequently, were we to look through his works for a specific and *ex professo* treatise on determined points of doctrine, our search would be in vain. The same may be said of his Marian doctrine.

The main content of Bernardine's Marian teaching is to be found in the eleven Latin sermons contained in the *Opera Omnia*<sup>2</sup> and in the several vernacular sermons and scattered references in his *Prediche volgari*.<sup>3</sup> Two works to which we are indebted particularly for presenting his thought in logical synthesis and casting it into a single treatise are *La Vergine bella in S. Bernardino da Siena* by Giulio Folgarait,<sup>4</sup> and *La Mariologia di S. Bernardino da Siena* by Lorenzo di Fonzo.<sup>5</sup>

### Series of Principles

There is a series of principles to which we might refer at the very outset—principles which are carried out in their logical continuity throughout the Marian works of Bernardine. Once we will have reviewed them, we will have likewise reviewed *en bloc* a good deal of his Mariology, or at least we will have laid grasp upon the particular view and the hallmark of his presentation.

First there is the principle that the person and mission of Mary occupies a central position in God's eternal plan.<sup>6</sup> To this seething

<sup>2</sup> Ed. P. Ridolfi (Venetiis, 1591), 4 Vols. This edition will be referred to throughout, giving the volume, page, and place. The first two volumes of the new edition of the *Opera Omnia* have been published in 1950 by Quaracchi. This later edition will be referred to (particularly when vol. II is in question), giving the volume, date (1950), and page.

<sup>3</sup> *Prediche volgari di San Bernardino da Siena* (Ed. Luciano Banchi, Siena, 1880-1888), 3 Vols.

<sup>4</sup> (Milano: Ancora, 1939), pp. XVI, 542.

<sup>5</sup> *Miscellanea Francescana*, XLVII (1947), I-II, Fasc., pp. 3-102.

<sup>6</sup> II (1950) 376. "Propterea in hoc stat Virginis praerogativa, quia cum haec Deus non possit, nulli alteri creaturae concessit."

and dynamic fact Bernardine became ecstatically responsive, and to its evolution he devoted his trenchant pen.

We think we are correct in beginning a tract on Mariology by taking into account the principles of theology related to the predestination of Christ, not only because in so doing we are being faithful to the design of our Saint, but also because it is the proper embarking point for a full view of Mary's role in the economy of redemption.<sup>7</sup> Mary was willed directly by God together with Christ. She concurred with God Himself in the actualization of the redemption, because she provided a mortal body to the Logos. She gave temporal existence and sensible form to the eternal Word of God.<sup>8</sup>

There is also what we might call the principle of Mary's transcendence. The divine motherhood causes her to occupy a singular and unique place in the hierarchy of being. As Bernardine says: "Certainly we must hold that she is exalted in glory above all pure creatures, as if fulfilling and containing in herself one integral and complete state, which . . . no other person can invade, since that state, because of its incommunicable dignity, lays claim to uniqueness."<sup>9</sup> And because of her maternity also, Mary has been elevated to a certain equality with God. However, let us hasten to qualify this statement with the words of Bernardine himself:

Oportuit enim, ut sic dicam, feminam elevari ad quamdam aequalitatem divinam per quamdam quasi infinitatem perfectionum et gratiarum, quam aequalitatem numquam creatura experta est.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> This positive attitude is introduced well by Jean Bonnefoy thus: "De quel principe révélé partirons-nous pour établir, par déduction, l'existence, la nature et l'étendue du mérite social de Marie. . . . C'est . . . à partir des principes généraux de la théologie que nous essaierons, en nous aidant des principes communs de la raison, d'établir l'existence, la nature, et l'étendue du mérite marial. Le recours à cette méthode suppose que nous envisagerons le plan divin de l'univers tout entier pour y retrouver les grandes lignes de la prédestination de Marie et fixer la place qu'elle occupe dans l'ordre surnaturel en fait voulu de Dieu." "Le mérite social de Marie et sa prédestination," *Alma Socia Christi*, II (1952), 22-23.

<sup>8</sup> III, 104D. ". . . pater ante saecula Deus perpetuam praedestinavit in Virginem dignissimam, filius elegit in Matrem, spiritus sanctus omnis gratiae domicilium praepravit."

<sup>9</sup> III, 88GH (transl. mine) "Proinde certitudinaliter tenendum est, quod ipsa sit super omnem puram creaturam in gloria exaltata, tanquam per se implens et continens unum integrum et totalem statum, cui secundum rectam rationem altera persona congrue non potest addi, quia ipse status ex sui ratione propter dignitatem incommunicabilem exigit unitatem."

<sup>10</sup> II (ed. 1950, 381.



We find elaborated further the principle of Mary's correspondence or likeness to Christ, and her consequent preeminence above all the saints.<sup>11</sup> Her eminent position merited a fulness of grace. The saints also possessed a certain fulness of grace necessary for their perfection, but this fulness was always relative to their degree of perfection and to their natural development. In Mary the fulness of grace was relatively unlimited—it summons to our minds all the implications contained in the *plenitudo gratiae* heralded by the angel, barring of course any interpretation which would stand opposed to reason and sound theology. The fulness of grace in Mary is analogous to the fulness of grace in Christ.

Bernardine bases many of his conclusions on the principle of convenience, by which we must attribute to Mary all perfections that correspond to her as mother of God and mediatrix. He repeatedly applies the principle which Scotists have formulated on the basis of the teaching of the Subtle Doctor, *potuit, deuit, ergo fecit*.<sup>12</sup> To her we must attribute *quod excellentius est* as long as it does not oppose the authority of the Church or Sacred Scripture.

Because of Mary's estate and the ineffable dignity of divine motherhood, we cannot adequately set forth her position and her attributes.<sup>13</sup> We might phrase this as another principle, or because of its negative and impalpable quality, we might mention it simply as a conviction which he carries through his writings. Sacred Scripture lays the foundation for this attitude when it evinces the principle that God, in preparing chosen souls for a great mission in the world, grants all the graces and prerequisites necessary for the completion of that mission.<sup>14</sup> Mary was therefore endowed with the most excellent and unfathomable gifts of nature and grace.

These are the directive principles of Bernardine's Marian doctrine. We find them mentioned summarily and in slightly different form in a work entitled *S. Bernardino da Siena Mistico Sole del Secolo XV* by Vittorino Facchinetti.<sup>15</sup> We will not find

<sup>11</sup> III, 89A. "Gradus enim matris conformis est ipsi homini Christo."; cf. also III, 88G-89B.

<sup>12</sup> III, 130E.

<sup>13</sup> Bernardine admits his own inability to express adequately the dignity of Mary: cf. II, 520GH; I (ed. 1950) 397; *Pred. Volg.*, I, 9-18.

<sup>14</sup> III, 456G; cf. also *ibid.*, 118FG.

<sup>15</sup> (Milano: Casa Editrice S. Lega Eucharistica, 1933), pp. 276-277.

them enunciated in any definite place in the works of Bernardine, but we will find them underlying his entire Marian thought. However it is not our intention to elaborate them here—the mere mention of them must suffice. But if we keep them firmly in our mind, we cannot help but catch a glimpse of them again and again as we review Bernardine's Mariology.

The Marian thought of Bernardine in brief follows this outline: Mary was God's collaborator in the incarnation of the Logos and consequently coredemptrix. With Christ, the King and Firstborn of creatures, she was constituted queen of all creation, of angels and of men, to bring to perfection the whole universe. And she was graced with all privileges and charismata necessary for the fulfillment of her lofty mission. This is the prospectus of Bernardine's Marian thought which we set out to elaborate.

### Mary the Mother of God

Bernardine presents Christ in a twofold aspect: as Logos and Creator together with the Father and the Holy Ghost, and as Logos Incarnate and universal Mediator between God and men. Because of His supreme perfection as the Word Incarnate, He merits the highest honor and glory.

The ultimate reason for creation and hence also for the incarnation is threefold. First, the external communicability of Divine Goodness, second, the glorification of Christ the Incarnate Word, and third, the glorification of God through Christ.<sup>16</sup>

The whole Christian dispensation may not be looked upon as a philosophical system, but rather as the advent of God into history,

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<sup>16</sup> *Sermo de universali regno et dominio Iesu Christi*, II (ed. 1950), 341-344. "Prima ratio, quare omnia sunt creata a Deo, est propter sui communicationem. . . . Secunda autem ratio quare Deus cuncta creavit, est propter Christi exaltationem. Nam principalis natura, in creatione intenta a Deo ab aeterno, fuit, quam ipse praedestinavit ad personalem unionem. Et cum ipsa persona Christi sit omnium summa in ordine gratiae, quae superat ordinem naturae, ad ipsam Deus, qui in omnibus primatum tenet, et ad eius gloriam et honorem omnia ordinavit ut ex omnibus bonis et malis honor accrescat Deo homini Iesu Christo. . . . Tertia vero ratio quare Deus universa creavit, est propter sui glorificationem, scilicet ut ipsa natura assumpta, supplendo defectum omnium creatorum, quae Deum quantum est dignum glorificare non possunt, operationes divinas excellenter perciperet, fidelissime Deo serviret et divinitatem honore condigno glorificaret."

to the extent that all of human history revolves about Christ, the Incarnate Logos. Mary's place in the eternal blueprint of God becomes apparent. The impenetrable mystery of the divine maternity and the concomitant depths of grace which it merited! Mary is a member of our race: she is an integral part of our history united to us by ties of flesh. Yet she is separated from us and elevated into a category all her own, so that she stands in dignity and being next to Christ. She is, as Bernardine says, *vicinissima filio suo, hoc est polo suo*.<sup>17</sup> She plays a vital role in our history; her place in God's plan is no less imperative.

To show this unique position of the mother of God Bernardine represents all creation related to Christ according to the Dionysian geometric order, which envisions all things drawn about Christ in a series of concentric circles. All orders of creation are represented by their respective series of circles, the smaller ones representing the more perfect orders. The smallest circle drawn directly about Christ represents Mary. "*Et inter haec omnia brevissimum facit circulum beata Virgo Maria, quae per mentis devotionem arctius eum constrinxit et infra beata viscera clausit et portavit. . .*"<sup>18</sup>

Mary's place in this divine plan is prominent and essential. She has a threefold mission: to God, to the Incarnate Word, and to men, for she cooperated with God in giving temporal existence to the Word for the salvation of men.<sup>19</sup> God could generate the Eternal Word through the natural process of intellectual generation—indeed it would be impossible for Him not to generate the Word because of His infinite communicability and fruitfulness. But He could not, without special disposition, generate a Divine Person in sensible form: this task was assigned to Mary, the bride of the Eternal Father.<sup>20</sup>

The ultimate and all-embracing motive or final cause for Mary's predestination is to bring all creation to the summit of perfection.

<sup>17</sup> III, 79A ff; III, 78G ff.

<sup>18</sup> III, 79D; cf. the analysis of this presentation in M. Bertagna, O.F.M., "Il trattato 'De gloria paradisi,'" *Bullettino di studi Bernardiniani*, IX (1943), no. 3-4, p. 134f.

<sup>19</sup> III, 99EF.

<sup>20</sup> I, 517AB, "Et quidem quod Deus generaret Deum, nulla requirebatur in Deo dispositio, cum ei ex natura conveniret, ut per viam naturae, intellectus produceret verbum per omnia sibi aequale: immo impossibile est, quod non generet Deum propter suam foecunditatem."

*Ultimae perfectionis consummatio . . . est soli Virgini reservata.*<sup>21</sup> Hers was the work of bringing perfection itself to its acme, to completion and ultimate consummation. Through the fruit of her womb she provided the archetype, the paradigm, the exemplar of all perfection. Lest we run the risk of presenting Bernardine's thought on this point inaccurately, we fall back on his own words:

. . . omnes creaturae appetebant unum quoddam optimum, purum, creatum. His autem sic existentibus imperfectis, provisum est mundo de una foemina super omnibus benedicta, quae unico suo partu omnibus generibus rerum summam et ultimam perfectionem adduxit.<sup>22</sup>

Bernardine is Christocentric in the whole concept and evolution of his theology. He affirms the primacy of Christ at the outset, and from there on with farsighted vision he elaborates the roles of Christ and Mary in the general plan of creation and in the redemption of man. The paramount reason for the existence of Christ may be summed up in these words: "*. . . principalis natura, in creatione intenta a Deo ab aeterno, fuit, quam ipse praedestinavit ad personalem unionem.*"<sup>23</sup> The analogous role of Mary in the cosmic plan of God may be summed up thus: "*Provisum est mundo de una femina super omnibus benedicta, quae unico suo partu omnibus generibus rerum summam et ultimam perfectionem adduxit.*" "*. . . haec benedicta puella tantam perfectionem attulit universo, quod ulterioris perfectionis non est capax. . . .*"<sup>24</sup>

Mary's predestination to the sublime mission of divine motherhood stands out prominently in Bernardine's teaching. After having considered his penetrating thought on the subject, we turn now to consider that mission in its fulfillment.

The basis and root of Mary's dignity is her divine motherhood which made her the bride of the Father, mother of the Incarnate Word, and in a special way the temple of the Holy Spirit. "*Virgo Mater Dei, beatissima Mater Dei, Genetrix Dei, benedicta Mater Domini . . .*"—these are the names he repeatedly assigns to her throughout his works.

<sup>21</sup> II, (ed. 1950) 379.

<sup>22</sup> II, (ed. 1950) 379.

<sup>23</sup> II, (ed. 1950) 342.

<sup>24</sup> II, (ed. 1950), p. 379. This is the conclusion of Emmericus Blondell ab Izegem, "De doctrina mariologica Sancti Bernardini Senensis," *Collectanea Franciscana*, X (1940), 393-394.



Bernardine considers it superfluous to support the reality of the divine motherhood with theological arguments. Were he living during the time of the early christological heresies, such proof would be in point. Here he merely gives the conclusion to which all metaphysical and theological arguments must lead:

. . . occurrit Virgini gloriosae ipse Spiritus Sanctus recognoscens fornacem sui amoris, et officinam suae stupendae operationis, in qua et de qua fabrefactum est corpus mundissimum Filio Dei, et nova infusa anima ambo simul tanquam unam naturam humanam, integram et perfectam in persona Filii Dei univit.<sup>25</sup>

. . . occurrit ei ipse filius in suae gloria maeistatis, omnibus manifestans hanc esse verissimam genetricem suam, quae ipsum concepit, peperit et nutritiv. . . .<sup>26</sup>

His main concern throughout this phase of his Mariology is not demonstrating metaphysically the reality of the divine maternity, but rather reiterating the praises of the mother of God and recalling her sublime dignity.<sup>27</sup> The dominant impression which we must experience is that Mary's estate is sublime and transcendent. Through the divine motherhood she was elevated to a certain equality with God. Let us follow his chain of thought through a kind of syllogism which we paraphrase here.

The station of Mary conforms to that of Christ as man, whose humanity so excels the order of created nature that it is unique and transcendent. However, the dignity of divine motherhood is so closely connected with the incarnation, that without it the incarnation would be impossible. Therefore the dignity of divine maternity is transcendent above the order of nature and all creation in its integral state, and as a consequence it supersedes the dignity of the angelic hierarchy.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> III, 129C.

<sup>26</sup> III, 128D.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. for example: III, 102BC; III, 103B; II (1950), 381; *Pred. Volg.*, II, 257; *ibid.*, II, 425: ". . . Non vedi tu quanta altezza elli è adire 'Mater Dei'? E di tanta sostanza queste due parole, che è una cosa incredibile a pensare che una sia Madre di Dio, e pure così è! . . ."

<sup>28</sup> II, (1950), 387: "Nam anima Christi et Christus in quantum homo transcendit omnem ordinem purae creaturae seu creatae naturae. Gradus autem Matris conformis est ipsi homini Christo, cuius humanatio in tantum transcendit totum ordinem primae conditionis, quod est omnino extra et supra integritatem ordinis universi; propterea non potuit contineri ab universo; sed dignitas maternitatis Dei sic operi incarnationis connexa est quod omnino

If we consider intently the teaching of Bernardine on the divine maternity of the Blessed Virgin we must conclude that the impression which he creates is correct and intensely precise. He avoids the impression which some authors make that the maternal cooperation of Mary was directed merely to bringing about the human nature of Christ independently of His union with the Logos. His thought is exact. ". . . (*Deus*) *ex ea et in ea (formavit) corpus Filio suo, ita quod vere esset filius Dei et filius Virginis. . .*"<sup>29</sup>

Thus far we stressed Mary's predestination and the fulfillment of her sublime mission as mother of God. Shall we say then that Bernardine tried to formulate a synthesis and starting point of all Mariology under this one principle, that Mary is the mother of the Logos Incarnate? Were we to stop at this point we would be attributing to Mary only the physical function of mother. She would be only the physical instrument of the incarnation. However we must not limit ourselves to this pragmatic point of view which does not take cognizance of a much wider scope. Nor must we dissociate her role from Christology. Mary was predestined to be the mother of God and also the new Eve—the mediatrix of the world. She is the mother of God through her relation to Christ, and mediatrix of grace through her relation to God, to Christ, and to men, for she cooperated with Christ in the redemption. The spiritual motherhood finds in the divine motherhood its root and its ontological basis.

### Mary Mediatrix of the World

Bernardine never considers the divine motherhood, which is the center of his Marian doctrine, abstractly in relation to Christ alone, but concretely, in relation to Mary's redemptive mission.<sup>30</sup> Mary was the predestined mother of God: it is through her maternal cooperation that the incarnation and the redemption of the world were realized. Mary therefore was not simply elected as an instru-

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aliter non potuit dari. . . . Igitur huius Maternitatis atque maternae dignitatis ordo est supra totalem integritatem primi ordinis universi, et per consequens supra totalem integritatem angelicorum ordinum atque hierarchiarum."

<sup>29</sup> III, 99F.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. III, 99EF; 97G; 100D; also Lorenzo di Fonzo, "La Mariologia di S. Bernardino da Siena," *Miscellanea Francescana*, XLVII (1947), 31.

ment, but as co-principle to actualize the plan of God; she was elected as co-principle of redemption and of grace. This is her twofold mission.<sup>31</sup>

Mary is mediatrix ontologically because she occupies a position which unites her integrally to the human race and relates her most intimately to God.<sup>32</sup> By reason of her divine maternity she holds a transcendent position above the order of nature and grace. The divine motherhood invests her with a dignity which excels sanctifying grace, since it brings about a natural (not adoptive) relationship between God and man. Since Mary transcends the orders of nature and grace, yet since she does not constitute the hypostatic order, which is reserved to Christ alone, she stands in unique relationship to God. Bernardine alludes to this relationship to God when he says:

. . . Certitudinaliter tenendum est, quod ipsa sit super omnem puram creaturam in gloria exaltata, tanquam per se implens et continens unum integrum et totalem statum, cui secundum rectam rationem altera persona congrue non potest addi, quia ipse status ex ratione propter dignitatem incommunicabilem exigit unitatem.<sup>33</sup>

The relationship which Mary bears to the hypostatic order is very intimate—even intrinsic and necessary, since created nature united to the Logos is really the natural term of her maternal function.

Gradus enim matris conformis est ipsi homini Christo; cuius humanatio in tantum transcendit totum ordinem primae conditionis, quod omnino est extra et supra integritatem ordinis universi. . . . Sed dignitas maternitatis Dei sic operi Incarnationis connexa est, quod omnino aliter non potuit dari.<sup>34</sup>

Mary's relation to Christ, in spite of its closeness, must not be presumed to extend to the hypostatic union itself, but rather to the human nature assumed by the Logos. It would be a gross exaggeration if we were to conclude on the basis of Bernardine's teaching,

<sup>31</sup> III, 97G; 100D. For a concise modern orientation to this question cf. Charles Boyer, "Réflexions sur la corrédemption de Marie," *Alma Socia Christi* (Roma: Academia Mariana, 1952), II, 1-12.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Ceslaus ab Haczów, "Mediatio B. Virginis Mariae iuxta doctrinam S. Bernardini Senensis," *Collectanea Franciscana Slavica*, II (1940), 103-124; cf. also J. B. Carol, "The Nature of the Blessed Virgin's Ontological Mediation," *Miscellanea Franciscana*, XXXIX (1939), 449-470.

<sup>33</sup> III, 88GH; cf. also III, 76D ff.

<sup>34</sup> III, 89AB.

that Mary determined the incarnation itself. She rather determined the actual order of the incarnation: Christ exists as the Son of God and the Son of Mary. In this sense do we say that Mary actualized the plan of God for the incarnation of the Logos.<sup>35</sup>

After a brief review of the texts in question, we might say that Bernardine upholds the doctrine of Mary's mediation, though perhaps not with all the theological precision that we should like to see. Yet it is clear that we cannot attribute to Mary only the physical function of motherhood. She is coredemptress. As Eve contributed actively to the fall of man, Mary played an active role in making him rise again.

### Coredemption

When we speak of Mary's coredemption, we refer to her cooperation in that very act by which Christ merited our salvation. She is called coredemptress because she had a real and meritorious part to play in the redemption. The first essential act of her cooperation in the redemptive work of Christ is her consent to the incarnation: through her free consent she became the willing and ready cooperator with the Father. She collaborated with Him directly in bringing forth the Redeemer of the world. Thus we must look upon her not so much as cooperator with Christ, but rather as immediate and direct cooperator with the Father in bringing about the redemption. This is the clear teaching of Bernardine.<sup>36</sup>

... Consensit scilicet Deo Patri offerenti sibi tanquam suae sponsae Filium suum et requirenti super hoc consensum ejus . . . ut scilicet sic fieret sponsa illius, ut ipse et non alius in ejus mentem et uterum infunderet Filium suum . . . ita quod vere esset Filius Dei et Filius Virginis.<sup>37</sup>

Per utriusque consensum, Dei et ipsius, facti sunt duo in carne una, et ipse Dei Filius assumpsit humanam carnem a carne ipsius Virginis gloriosae.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> We draw this conclusion on the basis of Bernardine's own words and the light cast upon the subject of Mary's role in actualizing the plan of God by Marcel Bélanger, "Nécessité de la Vierge Marie," *Alma Socia Christi*, (Roma: Academia Mariana, 1952), II, 80.

<sup>36</sup> III, 97G (Mary was the "conscia . . . necnon et voluntaria, atque prompta cooperatrix et ministra" in the Incarnation); III, 99EF; III, 99G.

<sup>37</sup> III, 99EF.

<sup>38</sup> IV, 49CD; cf. also Blondeel, "De doctrina mariologica Sancti Bernardini Senensis," *Collectanea Franciscana*, X (1940), 392.



Mary's cooperation in the redemption was more than a mere desire for the salvation of man; it was a total dedication, for she knew that through her consent she was participating intimately in the redemptive work of her Son.<sup>39</sup> Her dedication to the task was complete because she consented to be the mother of the Redeemer who alone would satisfy for the sins of the world—and she would be united with Him affectively when He would embody the conscience of humanity and carry out His redemptive mission.

The initial and essential act of Mary's coredemption, her consent to the incarnation, was the beginning of her *via dolorosa*. Though she gave birth without pain, her entire life as mother of the Savior was a constant participation in the redemptive work of her Son, for she was given to see the full import of the redemptive acts of Christ.<sup>40</sup> This aspect of her cooperation in the redemptive passion and death of Christ is portrayed graphically by our Saint in his description of the presentation of Christ in the temple.<sup>41</sup>

Bernardine is given to exaggeration somewhat after the fashion of medieval authors in his realistic description of the sorrows of the Blessed Virgin Mary. But this does not detract from the deep penetration and theological insight of his description. Mary's suffering just as the suffering of all the members of Christ's Mystical Body has a meaning that transcends all materialist dialectics. But aside from this it has a deeper meaning. Her sorrow has a particular soteriological aspect. It differs from the sorrow of John and Magdalene in this, that she understood to the utmost that Christ was dying as God for the redemption of man. She understood the full redemp-

<sup>39</sup> III, 94E. "... si satisfactorem et supplicatorem pro peccatis omnibus expiandis se noverat pro salute sui et omnium concepturam, et saluti omnium fidelium parituram et nutrituram: constat quod eoipso sentiebat se esse viscerose et maternali affectu iungendam illis humilibus supplicationibus, quae fieri debebant aeterno Patri a Filio Dei, qui scilicet omnia peccata mundi super se tulit, quasi factum a Deo peccatum. Ergo quando consensit, sensit se per suum consensum dedicari et iungi praefatis humilitatibus et humilibus officiis Redemptoris." Or thus in III, 100D. "... Constat autem, quod Angelus, seu Deus per Angelum, Filium concipiendum Virgini proposuit tanquam futurum omnium Redemptorem et Salvatorem." Cf. also III, 97FG; III, 98AB.

<sup>40</sup> III, 523H. "Licet in generando cruciatum non sensit: in genito tamen cruciabatur propter eius passionem, quam oculis spiritualibus dum erat in eius ventre, plene cognoscebat."

<sup>41</sup> III, 121EG.

tive import of the death of Christ.<sup>42</sup> Bernardine speaks very clearly about this active participation of Mary in the redemption; her participation was not merely affective but also effective. She conformed to Christ in His redemptive act in a most perfect way. ". . . *Dum ille corpus, ista spiritum immolabat.*"<sup>43</sup> But nevertheless there were not two sacrifices. There was only one sacrifice, that of Christ offered conjointly by Him and Mary: the one was physical, the other spiritual.<sup>44</sup> Mary's sacrifice was subordinate to that of Christ from which it received its worth.

### Spiritual Mother

As a consequence of her role as mother of the Redeemer and coredemptress, Mary is spiritual mother. If we revert once again to Bernardine's Scotistic Christocentrism when he speaks of the ultimate motive of creation, we will recall that Christ is, in the order of intention, the first handiwork of God, willed in Himself, to show forth the infinite bounty of God. The Logos is in this sense universal Creator. He is also the Head of creation; and all creation converges to proclaim His glory. With Christ, Mary is also head of creation. Together with Christ she merited the salvation of men and angels.<sup>45</sup> She is *Mater omnis gratiae*.<sup>46</sup> She is given to the world as mother of angels and men.<sup>47</sup> This idea portrayed so lucidly by Bernardine summons to our mind ancient Christian tradition on the spiritual motherhood, and gives vitality to the parallel which we draw between the old Eve and the new Eve.<sup>48</sup>

On what foundation are we to establish Mary's universal motherhood? Certainly on her predestination and fulfillment of the role of divine motherhood and on the coredemption. Mary was pre-

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<sup>42</sup> III, 81H-82A; IV, 244B; II, 519H-520A; IV, 241FH.

<sup>43</sup> II (1950), 246.

<sup>44</sup> II (1950), 246. According to Blondeel, Folgarait does not give clear expression to the oneness of the sacrifice but creates the impression that there were two sacrifices—an idea alien to Bernardine's teaching on the subject. Cf. Blondeel, "De doctrina mariologica Sancti Bernardini Senensis," *Collectanea Franciscana*, X (1940), 392.

<sup>45</sup> III, 109H.

<sup>46</sup> III, 109D.

<sup>47</sup> II, (1950), 386-387; *Pred. Volg.*, I, 355; III, 89H.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. P. Joseph Parent, "La Maternité spirituelle de Marie dans la liturgie romaine," *Academia Mariana Internationalis*, II (1952), 240.

destined to be the mother of Christ, the Head of the Mystical Body, to Whom all souls are united and through Whom they are saved. Through her consent to the incarnation, Mary brought forth the Head of the Mystical Body and thereby procured the salvation of all.<sup>49</sup> And further, Mary became the mother of all men by grace through her coredemption on Calvary, and through the direct will of Christ proclaimed publicly in His final testament from the cross.

Mary's spiritual motherhood obviously is not the same as natural motherhood. Neither is it adoptive or metaphorical motherhood. If we admitted this we would be lacking an integral concept of motherhood which consists in the *generation* and direct communication of life.<sup>50</sup> Then we would not be true sons of Mary, but only adopted sons. Hers is a real motherhood in the supernatural order, just as her motherhood in relation to Christ is real in the natural order. St. John representing all men in the episode under the cross is named a true son of Mary: a new filiation is proclaimed whereby John is henceforth called a son of Mary, and a new motherhood is disclosed in Mary whereby she is called mother of men.<sup>51</sup>

### Dispensatrix of Grace

Another consequence of Mary's sublime dignity of divine motherhood is the role of mediatrix of grace. The most incomplex reason that we can adduce for her mediation is simply the will of God.<sup>52</sup> Its foundation is the divine motherhood:

Non vedi tu quanta altezza elli e a dire Mater Dei. . . . Per esser Madre di Dio Iddio l'ha data tanta possanza che a lei sola sta di dispensare

<sup>49</sup> III, 89F; III, 100FG. "Per hunc consensum omnium electorum salutem viscerosissime expetiit et procuravit . . . ita ut ex tunc omnes in suis visceribus baiularet tamquam verissima Mater filios suos."

<sup>50</sup> Folgarait in his "La Vergine bella in S. Bernardino da Siena," p. 398 writes: "La donna onorata con il titolo di madre preso nel senso metaforico è quella che ha con la vera madre solo qualche somiglianza negli affetti dell'animo. Se quindi metaforica fosse la maternità di Maria a nostro riguardo, si dovrebbe dire che la Vergine ci soccorre e ci ama come se fosse veramente madre nostra," in Pi Luigi Marvilli, "Maria madre del Christo Mistico," *Miscellanea Francescana*, Vol. 48 (1948), p. 37.

<sup>51</sup> *Miscellanea*, XLVII (1947), 42-44.

<sup>52</sup> III, 129DE. "Sic igitur tota Trinitas uniformi et voluntate concordis hanc inestimabilem Virginem ostendit esse . . . omnium coelestium thesaurorum Dispensatricem largifluam pro sua complacentia voluntatis."

tutte le grazie che so'addomandate in questa vita. Ogni grazia dispensa lei.<sup>53</sup>

We might ask how is this privilege of dispensing grace derived from the divine motherhood? Bernardine explains that through her divine motherhood Mary obtained a certain jurisdiction over the temporal processions of the Holy Spirit.

A tempore enim, quo concepit Deum in utero suo, quamdam, ut sic dicam, iurisdictionem seu auctoritatem habuit in omni temporalis processione Spiritus Sancti, ita quod nulla creatura aliquam a Deo recipit gratiam virtutis, nisi secundum dispensationem ipsius Virginis Matris.<sup>54</sup>

Mary enjoys jurisdiction in dispensing the grace of the Holy Spirit, since she is the mother of the Incarnate Word, who proceeds from the Father by generation, and from whom, together with the Father, the Holy Spirit proceeds as from one principle by spiration.<sup>55</sup>

This idea of Bernardine is not without a following. Later writers give remarkably similar explanations. Guerra in particular, basing himself on the Fourth Book of Sentences of Scotus, says that the Subtle Doctor teaches that the jurisdiction of a priest over the Mystical Body of Christ derives from his power to confect the Body of Christ sacramentally. If Mary conceived and bore the same Christ in a manner no less ineffable than the priest confects the Sacrament, she also enjoys jurisdiction over the Mystical Christ with a view to the spiritual generation and regeneration of souls.<sup>56</sup>

The activity of Mary in the dispensation of grace can be seen in several incidents related in Scripture. Among others we select the presentation in the temple where Mary offers herself as the advocate and mother of men together with the gift of her son.<sup>57</sup>

<sup>53</sup> *Pred. Volg.*, II, 425; cf. also I, 515G.

<sup>54</sup> II (1950), 157.

<sup>55</sup> II (1950), 379. "Reperio namque in rege nostro Iesu duas dignissimas dignitates, videlicet quod sit aeternus Deus genitus ab aeterno, et aeternum Deum producat, eo quod Spiritum Sanctum spiret; et ipse, clausus in Virginis utero, in aeternitate a Deo Patre Deus generabatur aeternus et in eadem aeternitate ipse puer, in ventre matris, Deum spirabat et producebat. Et quia talis est Mater Filii Dei, qui producit Spiritum Sanctum, ideo omnia dona, virtutes et gratiae ipsius Spiritus Sancti, quibus vult, quando vult, quomodo vult et quantum vult, per manus ipsius administrantur." Cf. also I, (1950), 157 f.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. P. Wenceslaus Sebastian, "De B. Virgine Maria universali gratiarum mediatrix," (Romae: Academia Mariana, 1952), p. 169ff.

<sup>57</sup> III, 121EG.



Other incidents which illustrate this mediational activity are the miracle at Cana, and the sanctification of John the Baptist.<sup>58</sup>

Bernardine teaches that grace is not dispensed by God immediately to His creatures, but rather through a threefold hierarchical procession. Every grace communicated to the world proceeds from God to Christ, from Christ to Mary, and thence to men.<sup>59</sup> This idea of mediation of grace or the ministration of grace through the saints and even the angels is not a new concept in theology. It was a common doctrine in the middle ages, taught alike by St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure. God dispenses His grace hierarchically.

Unde iste est ordo divinarum gratiarum defluxus, ut primo a Deo defluant in Christi animam benedictam, deinde in animam Virginis Matris: inde in seraphim, et sic successive in sanctos alios ordines Angelorum, demum in ecclesiam militantem.<sup>60</sup>

There is a parallelism between Mary's role in the incarnation and her role in the sanctification of souls. Just as she brought forth the Redeemer, she continues her "mediational" role in the salvation of souls. Bernardine speaks of a "jurisdiction." Since Mary conceived Christ, she acquired as it were jurisdiction over every temporal procession of the Holy Spirit. From this idea Bernardine derived the metaphor of the neck—Mary is the neck of the Mystical Christ.<sup>61</sup> In the light of modern Mariology we realize that this metaphor is not without its shortcomings. But we must not judge the past against present developments; precision in our concepts comes only with added insight and theological development.

### Mary's Queenship

There are varied opinions on the logical placement of the prerogative of Mary's queenship in the context of Bernardine's Marian doctrine. However we prefer to leave the issue rest, and to go on straightway to consider his teaching on Mary under her title of *Domina mundi, Regina coeli*. The queenship is a sovereign right of

<sup>58</sup> IV, 50EF; III, 107A.

<sup>59</sup> II (1950), 157. "Omnis nempe gratia, quae huic saeculo communicatur, triplicem habet processum; nam a Deo in Christum, a Christo in Virginem, a Virgine in nos ordinatissime dispensatur."

<sup>60</sup> II (1950), 378-379; cf. also III, 91CD.

<sup>61</sup> II, 84CD; I (1950), 378F; cf. p. 157.

Mary which corresponds to the kingship of Christ. She is truly and properly called queen.<sup>62</sup> The idea of *Domina* expresses her position in the hierarchy of being so accurately, that Bernardine looks for the idea as expressed in her very name.<sup>63</sup>

What type of regality and dominion does Mary possess? Or do we call her queen only in the improper and metaphorical sense? It is indeed true that we call her queen in the metaphorical sense, but here we must not limit ourselves to a mere form without comprehending the actual deeper reasons which give the form a much fuller meaning. Mary is also called queen in the real sense: we attribute to her a real dominion albeit analogical to that of Christ.

Bernardine defines dominion thus:

Nam illa vera dominatio est, quae nulli praelationi est obnoxia, idest subdita; nullius adiutorio est innixa; nullius est subiectionis indiga; et in omnes per provisivam sui bonitatem affluentissime largissima vel profusa est.<sup>64</sup>

Essential, absolute, and total sovereignty is found in God alone. But by participation it is found also in Mary.<sup>65</sup> As mother of the Creator, she has complete dominion: she is subject to no one, she is independent of all.

The basis and root of Mary's queenship is her supreme dignity as mother of the Logos Incarnate and her consent to the incarnation.<sup>66</sup> The divine motherhood gives her a certain right or dominion over all creatures. For if Christ willed that His existence as Redeemer and King should depend upon Mary's consent, He also granted to her a participation in His power of dominion.

Si Maria habet esse mater Dei, ipsa habet esse domina mundi . . . si Maria habet esse sponsa sua, ipsa habet esse coeli regina . . . si Maria habet esse soror sua, ipsa habet esse imperatrix Sanctorum. . .<sup>67</sup>

<sup>62</sup> *Pred. Volg.*, II, 258. "Ella fu Signora e bacchetta."; *Ibid.*, 243. "Essa fu reina Imperatrice e Duchessa."

<sup>63</sup> III, 75FG ff.

<sup>64</sup> III, 87C.

<sup>65</sup> III, 87CD.

<sup>66</sup> II (1950), 374. ". . . Haec autem Virgo in illo glorioso consensu meruit extinctionem fomitibus, primatum orbis, dominium universi super omnes creaturas, sceptrum regni. . . ." "Meruit . . . et super omnia quod divinae misericordiae sit regina, et quod regina misericordiae nominetur. . . ."

<sup>67</sup> III, 543D. We hesitate to list this reference, much less to quote it, since Pacetti is of the opinion that the sermon *De Annuntiatione Virginis gloriosae*

The dignity of the heavenly queen is truly sublime:

... tota Trinitas uniformi et voluntate concordi hanc inextimabilem Virginem ostendit esse ... coeli Reginam inattingibilis dignitatis, mundi Dominam imparticipabilis potestatis. . . .<sup>68</sup>

Domina equidem facta est in sua assumptione, quando exaltata est super choros Angelorum ad coelestia regna, et facta est Regina coelorum et Domina angelorum.<sup>69</sup>

Mary is also *Domina* on the basis of another right which we might call the "right of hereditary succession." (This reason differs from another proposed by Bernardine, namely, the nobility resulting from her Davidic lineage.) The right of "hereditary succession" is twofold, and it affirms itself in two instances: first in the incarnation, and secondly in the redemption.

... tamen secundum leges, quibus regitur mundus, iure haereditario omnem mundi huius promeruit principatum et regnum; quia Filius eius in primo instanti suae conceptionis monarchiam totius promeruit et obtinuit universi. . . . Ex iure ergo conceptionis Filii Dei, Virgini incumbat totum illud procurare et administrare, quod ex tunc Filio datum est usque ad aetatem legitimam Filii sui, sicut ipsius diligens nutrix et auctrix. . . .<sup>70</sup>

... quinimmo cum Filius eius unicus moreretur in cruce, cum nec ullum habuisset in terris, qui de iure succederet ei, Mater omnium secundum omnia iura successit, ac per hoc principatum omnium acquisivit . . . eam dominam et reginam omnium praedicamus.<sup>71</sup>

This right as proposed by Bernardine is not easily defined. Since Mary is the mother of the Word Incarnate and King of creation, she enjoys dominion over His realm, and since she is so intimately united to Him, she becomes heir to His kingdom by the right of hereditary succession.

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in which this text occurs is spurious. Cf. *De Sancti Bernardini Senensis operibus*. (Quaracchi, 1947), p. 114. The style certainly seems to militate against the authenticity of the sermon. Furthermore it is found only in the Venice edition of 1591 which we are employing. However we refer to it here because it is faithful to the thought of our author, and most of all, because it has been accepted, though perhaps unwittingly, by many authors as authentic. Cf. also III, 88GH-89AC.

<sup>68</sup> III, 129D.

<sup>69</sup> II (1950), 156.

<sup>70</sup> II (1950), 377.

<sup>71</sup> II (1950), 378. Cf. III, 543D; *Pred. Volg.*, II, 258-260.

Aside from this, Bernardine bases her queenship on still another foundation, namely, the nobility resulting from her Davidic lineage.

Prima stella nobilitas nuncupatur. Fuit enim beata Virgo nobilius individuum seu nobilior creatura omnibus individuis seu creaturis, quae in humana natura fuerint, aut possint aut potuerint generari.<sup>72</sup>

Quia igitur omnes praeclaritates, ingenuitates, praefecturas, dignitates et nobilitates, quae possunt esse in aliquo individuo humano secundum originem sanguinis, describunt Evangelistae in hac puella, oportet nos eorum testimonio eam praeferre omnibus principibus et principissis, reginis et regibus, imperatoribus et imperatricibus, et omnibus potestatibus, tribubus et linguis totius universi.<sup>73</sup>

This basis of Mary's queenship is rather unique and absorbing. However, it might be contested on the ground that a natural hereditary right would not justify our general conclusion.<sup>74</sup>

The unique state to which Mary was called merited certain personal privileges. We admit them on the basis of a principle very clearly enunciated by our Author: that whenever God chooses one for a singular mission, He grants all the means necessary for the fulfillment of that mission, and He ennobles the person of His choice with a superabundance of grace.<sup>75</sup> The graces which adorned Mary are her immaculate conception, perfect sanctity, perpetual virginity, anticipated resurrection, and bodily assumption into heaven.

### The Immaculate Conception

It was a point of controversy during the time of Bernardine whether Mary's sanctification was merely anticipated as was that of John the Baptist, or whether it extended to the moment of her conception. Was Mary freed from a sin contracted, or was she prevented from contracting it at the outset?

Bernardine used much caution and prudence not to propose his point of view in a detailed way, but only in general terms of a conciliatory nature. In a special sermon on the immaculate conception he says that Mary was freed from original sin and confirmed

<sup>72</sup> II (1950), 372.

<sup>73</sup> II (1950), 373.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Alfonso M. Santonicola, "La regalita di Maria," *Alma Socia Christi*, III (1952), 146.

<sup>75</sup> III, 456G.



in grace. This would indicate merely an anticipated sanctification. But in two sermons delivered in Florence and Siena he makes an exception to his reserve in the matter and he teaches openly that Mary was immaculate in her conception—that she was conceived without original sin.<sup>76</sup>

Further light is cast on Bernardine's teaching on the immaculate conception by Scaramuzzi, who points out quite opportunely that Bernardine based himself in no small degree on Scotus.<sup>77</sup> A tessellation of texts from the Latin sermons, supported with commentaries by Castelpiano, urges us to believe that Bernardine teaches the immaculate conception quite categorically, and that Suarez is not altogether correct when he calls Bernardine an "undecided theologian" where this point of doctrine is concerned.<sup>78</sup> However, with due deference to such a wonderful student of Bernardine as Scaramuzzi, may we not modulate this view with a further observation? If we are to uphold that our Author teaches the immaculate conception definitely, it seems that we should base ourselves on the Italian sermons, while not excluding the Latin. And further, we might conclude with Folgarait and others that Bernardine taught the immaculate conception, but that his position is conciliatory and reserved: what he did not express effectually in the open, he certainly believed in private.

### Perfect Sanctity

Perfect sanctity depends upon two conditions: freedom from all

<sup>76</sup> *Pred. Volg.*, II, 391-392 (delivered in Siena, 1427). "Se nella concezione non vi fu alcuna macola, ode se il Salmista il disse: Quia sanctificavit tabernaculum suum Altissimus. E tabernacolo di Iesu fu Maria, e Iddio il sanctifico, e stette sempre netto e puro senza alcuna macola." *Pred. Volg.*, II, 329-330 and 335 (delivered in Florence, 1427). "Seconda stella fu: ch' ella fu concetta senza peccato originale, et fu preservata dal peccato. O se tu tenesse il contrario? (his conciliatory attitude in Florence). Non saresti pero dannato, pero che la santa Chiesa non l' ha approbato. Ma che debba terere la mente devota. Che senza il peccato originale fusse concetta. O, se santo Giovanni e cotanti santi sono stati santificati nel ventre della Madre, come non avrebbe Iddio fatto piu onore alla sua Madre che agli altri?" "Ave. Mai non fu piu trovato nella Scrittura. Ab a, quod sine vae, cioe senza guai. Quasi venga a dire; Tutte l' altre sono concette in vae, in peccato originale: tu no; et in peccato mortale: tu no!"

<sup>77</sup> Diomede Scaramuzzi, *La dottrina del B.G. Duns Scoto nella predicazione di S. Bernardino da Siena*. (Firenze: Vallecchi Editore, 1930), p. 135 ff.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.* and footnote.

sin, and perfect union with God through grace. These conditions were fulfilled in Mary to an eminent degree: she was not only free from all stain and deformity which would be incompatible with her mission, but she was completely penetrated by the light of grace.

Mary was full of grace; she enjoyed the fulness of virtues and gifts. Her freedom from original sin is the basis for her preservation from all sin. The *sanctificatio maternalis*, which God reserved for her exclusively, confirmed her in grace and nullified the endemic proneness to sin to which all men are subject.

. . . Et haec removet culpam originalem, et confert gratiam: et haec etiam removet pronitatem ad peccandum tam venialiter quam mortaliter. Et haec fuit in Beata Virgine Maria Matre Dei. . . (Deus) illam benedictam Matrem suam talem condidit et sanctificavit in tempore, qualem eam sanctam elegit in sua aeternitate.<sup>79</sup>

It would be incongruous to presume that she who battled against Satan, she who was the advocate of men, spouse of the Father, and mother of the Word Incarnate, should be stained even by venial sin. Here we apply the same principle that we apply to the humanity of Christ. Whatever must be excluded from Christ's human nature as incompatible with His dignity as the Word Incarnate, is also to be excluded from Mary in her position as mother of the Word Incarnate, bride of the Father and advocate of men.

The positive aspect of Mary's sanctity is her fulness of grace. The fulness of grace which we ascribe to Mary implies a very high degree of sanctifying grace, and those graces related to it, such as the gifts of the Holy Ghost, the beatitudes, and supernatural virtues. We must attribute to Mary a supreme fulness of grace and beyond that, every possible grace—all the *gratiae gratum facientes* and *gratiae gratis datae*.

Bernardine elaborates Mary's progress in grace through three stages. Her first sanctification occurred in the womb of her mother. The second at the moment Christ was conceived in her womb. And the third during the period she carried Christ in her womb. The dignity of divine motherhood gave her a right to merit grace progressively in proportion to that dignity. The first sanctification was personal, but with a view to her future privilege.<sup>80</sup> The second

<sup>79</sup> II, 511EF.

<sup>80</sup> III, 102AB.

sanctification was both personal and social, because it prepared her for her offices of motherhood and mediation. She became the *signum gratiae* because she enclosed and concealed in her womb the Author of grace.<sup>81</sup> The new fulness of grace which she received made her the channel of all sanctifying and charismatic graces that came to the Church. The third sanctification, the *sanctificatio maternalis*, occurred during the period when Mary carried Christ in her womb.<sup>82</sup> In general, we may apply to Mary this axiom which expresses her progressive attainment of grace: *Maria semper (enim) ascendebat dum vixit*.<sup>83</sup>

The idea of a triple sanctification is not without precedent among authors, although others do not speak of the same three stages as does Bernardine. St. Thomas distinguishes three degrees of perfection in Mary: the perfection of disposition (*gratia dispositiva*), perfection of form (*ex praesentia Christi in utero eius*), and the perfection of the end (*perfectio finis*).<sup>84</sup>

Yet the triple sanctification as proposed by Bernardine is highly contested. Folgarait and others would reject it as lacking adequate foundation.<sup>85</sup> No doubt it was adduced by Bernardine to mitigate his teaching on the immaculate conception and to allay the agitation of the controversialists.

The fulness of grace with which Mary was endowed was fitting in view of her exalted dignity as the mother of God. Closely bound up with her sanctifying grace is her supernatural knowledge, which is also the fruit of her fulness of grace. Mary possessed the highest degree of knowledge which corresponds with her great privileges and the perfection of her own life. Mary very definitely had a clear knowledge of divine things. But Bernardine ascribes to her the greatest scope of knowledge, even of the natural sciences,<sup>86</sup> which

<sup>81</sup> II (1950), 382; cf. III, 456G.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. III, 130A.

<sup>83</sup> III, 129E.

<sup>84</sup> III, q. 27, a. 5 ad 2.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. Blondeel, "Notae de doctrina Mariologica Sancti Bernardini Senensis," *Collectanea Franciscana*, X (1940), 391. Blondeel also rejects the triple sanctification: cf. his article, "L'influence d'Ubertin de Casale sur les écrits de S. Bernardin de Sienne," *Collectanea Franciscana*, V (1935), 29-30; 37-38; *Idem.*, "Encore l'influence d'Ubertin de Casale sur les écrits de S. Bernardin de Sienne," *Collectanea*, VI (1936), p. 75.

<sup>86</sup> *Pred. Volg.*, I, p. 11 ff; cf. also I, 425AC; 134D; 523FG.

many authors would probably say is purely arbitrary, and required neither by her calling nor her dignity. But we might note that while Bernardine attributes to Mary a sweeping compass of knowledge, he also modulates his view with the palliative that she did not actually use the vast stores at her disposal, but ordained and subjected them always to the élan of her inner life.<sup>87</sup>

Bernardine was one of the principal fifteenth century defenders of the intellectual privileges of Mary. His influence is notable especially because of his personal popularity and his mission of popularization. Contemporary and later authors put forth the opinion that Mary possessed the *scientia biata*, namely the intuitive and clear vision of God in His essence, from the very moment of her conception. Bernardine is usually mentioned as one who held this opinion, although writers are divided on the correct interpretation of his texts. The text usually cited in this connection is his sermon on the conception of the B.V.M. Folgarait thinks that according to this text Mary received only infused knowledge. Salazar and Suarez think that it argues for the intuitive vision of God or the *scientia beata*. A modern writer who studied the question thoroughly thinks Bernardine teaches that Mary enjoyed the intuitive vision of God, because she had perfect knowledge of the divine essence (*naturam increatam divinalem*).<sup>88</sup>

### Perpetual Virginity

This brief purview of the privileges of soul and mind which Mary enjoyed still leaves unconsidered her privileges of body, or more accurately, the privileges which touched both soul and body. Bernardine exalts Mary's perpetual virginity.<sup>89</sup> The mother of the Redeemer remains a virgin in her very motherhood. Her privilege is

<sup>87</sup> III, 133H-134A. "... habet luna frigiditatem, et significat mundanam scientiam et prudentiam frigidam atque nocturnam. Et hanc sub pedibus Virgo habens partim eam spreuit, atque conculcavit, atque partim famulatui suo subiecit. Tertio habet luna luciditatem, et designat claram creaturarum intelligentiam. Et hanc etiam sub pedibus habuit Virgo beata. Nam omnium creaturarum cognitionem activam scilicet et passivam in comparatione ad supereminentem Christi scientiam parvipendit."

<sup>88</sup> Alexius Martinelli, "De primo instanti conceptionis B. V. Mariae," (Roma: Academia Mariana, 1950), pp. 65-66.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. for example III, 118BC; *Pred. Volg.*, II, 402.



especially great because she is both virgin and mother<sup>90</sup>—*virgo in concipiendo, virgo in pariendo, virgo post partum*.<sup>91</sup>

The marriage of Mary and Joseph was the source of communication of spiritual and temporal privileges. But how shall we reconcile Mary's perfect and absolute virginity with the matrimonial contract? Or shall we say that it was only a figment? The marriage of Mary and Joseph, far from being an untrue or imperfect marriage, was really an ideal marriage—*virginalis matrimonii admirabile sacramentum*.<sup>92</sup> And far from being incompatible with her vow of virginity, it was the result of a special inspiration from God—*verissimum matrimonium per divinam inspirationem contractum*.<sup>93</sup>

### The Assumption

Mary's complete conformity to Christ caused her to be subject to death, just as Christ subjected Himself to death.<sup>94</sup> But complete union with Christ also made her immune from corruption. This doctrine, though not explicitly borne out by Scripture, is nonetheless not opposed to Scripture or alien to it.<sup>95</sup> As she triumphs over sin by her immunity from original sin and all personal sin, she also triumphs over death by an immediate resurrection. In this she conforms to Christ most intimately.

Bernardine is a theologian of the assumption.<sup>96</sup> He treats the question of Mary's assumption on the traditional basis of her dignity and her prerogatives. Mary was totally exempt from the effects of sin and her body consequently did not succumb to corruption. Her incorruption corresponds to the threefold perfection of her virginity and sinlessness. She was free from the triple *vae*: *vae concupiscentiae, culpae, et poenae*. She was free from the *vae*

<sup>90</sup> *Pred. Volg.*, II, 406.

<sup>91</sup> III, 523G; cf. III, 101D; III, 105E.

<sup>92</sup> III, 462D.

<sup>93</sup> III, 458F.

<sup>94</sup> III, 130FG; 131E.

<sup>95</sup> III, 130E.

<sup>96</sup> Fr. Balic calls Bernardine the "maximus propugnator et propagator privilegiorum beatae Mariae Virginis": *Testimonia de assumptione Beatae Virginis Mariae ex omnibus saeculis*. Pars Prior (1948), p. 264. In this part of his Mariology Bernardine is dependent upon Matthew of Aquasparta. But if it were not for Bernardine, the doctrine of Matthew would not have been published but many years later.

*concupiscentiae* through her immaculate conception; from the *vae culpa*—from all stain of sin—through her perfect immunity from all sin; and from the *vae poenae*—dissolution and corruption of body—through her assumption.<sup>97</sup>

Apart from these general considerations, Mary's anticipated resurrection and assumption stem directly or indirectly from her divine motherhood. Bernardine lists seven such reasons *ex convenientia* for the assumption.<sup>98</sup> And although they are not an original product, it will be well for us to mention them here because they are often referred to by subsequent authors as originating with Bernardine.

1) Because there is an identity of body between Christ and Mary in this sense that she formed from the substance of her body the Redeemer of the world. This would seem to demand that Mary's special union with Christ requires a likeness to Him in the anticipated resurrection and assumption.

2) Mary's perfect virginity in mind and body, her complete freedom from sin, demand that she should not be subject to the effects of sin.

3) The honor due to one's father and mother enunciated so forcefully by Scripture would seem to urge the admission of this singular privilege of the assumption.

4) The supreme dignity and sanctity of the mother of God.

5) The intimate conformity of Mary to Christ in sentiment and life, and her union with Him in His suffering and death require perfect union with Him in glory.

6) As a cooperator in the redemption, Mary must experience in herself the fruits of the redemption. The perfection of each sex is to be embodied in a representative of that sex. The fruits of our re-

<sup>97</sup> II (1950), p. 155; *ibid.*, p. 155-156. "Fuit tertio sine vae poenae, quae scilicet est in separatione animae et corporis, quae est incineratio et corporis dissolutio. Nam sicut non dedit Dominus Sanctum suum, id est Christum, videre corruptionem, sic nec Sanctam suam, de qua natus est Sanctus; sed corpore et anima in caelum assumpta est."

<sup>98</sup> III, 130DE-132BC. Folgarait notes that this sermon forms a real theological tract on the assumption based on the argument of convenience. Blondeel in *Collectanea*, XI, p. 391, notes that Bernardine, though dependent on Ubertin of Casale, worked up the first system or tract on the assumption. In this sense we referred to him previously as the theologian of the assumption. Cf. also II (1950), 156; III, 79A; 124H; 125A; 128D; *Pred. Volg.*, II, 393.

demption must be typified in the new Eve, who is at the side of the new Adam in heavenly glory.

7) The glory of Mary must be whole and entire. She must be glorified completely—soul and body.

Bernardine also treats of Mary's essential and accidental glory in heaven in numerous lucid passages. The assumption of the Blessed Virgin is the culmination of her sublime role of divine motherhood and its attendant privileges. It is the final destiny of her who is the *consummatio universi*. With due credit to all of Bernardine's penetrating eulogies on the privileges of the Mother of God, we review at length one passage which likewise furnishes us with a compendium of his Marian teaching.

O igitur foemina ab omnibus et super omnia benedicta: Tu nobilitas et praeservatio generis humani; Tu meriti latitudo et consummata potestas omnium creatorum; Tu unica Mater Dei; Tu domina universi, Regina mundi; Tu dispensatrix omnium gratiarum; Tu consummatio universi, et Ecclesiae sanctae decor: Tu nostra satisfactio digna coram largitore cunctorum bonorum. Tu omnium virtutum, donorum et gratiarum incomprehensibilis magnitudo; Tu praelectum et dignissimum vasculum a primo artifice fabrefactum essentiae Dei capax; Tu templum Dei; Tu hortus deliciarum; Tu exemplum omnium bonorum; consolatio devotorum et totius salutis radix et ornamentum; Tu porta coeli, laetitia paradisi, et ultra quam dici possit gloria summi Dei.<sup>99</sup>

Bernardine's role in the history of the Church is that of a preacher who arose together with a number of contemporaries to confront an acute problem of his day. As a preacher he left a permanent imprint upon his age and upon the history of the Church. His role in the history of Mariology is less brilliant. But recalling the words of authors such as Folgarait and Father Balic, Bernardine of Siena must always be remembered as a propagator of the privileges of Mary, and particularly must he be remembered as the theologian of the assumption. The poignant and lofty thoughts to which he devoted his trenchant pen cannot be forgotten if theologians today will be true to the genuine Franciscan Marian heritage.

#### DISCUSSION

TITUS CRANNY, S.A.:—In his paper Fr. Francis gives us the teaching of a great Franciscan luminary who followed in the tradition of Anthony, Bonaventure and Scotus as an ardent devotee of Our Lady. In one sense he may

<sup>99</sup> II (1950), 397.

be said to be more like Anthony in that his teaching is contained in the sermons that he preached rather than in any scholastic treatise as such. But they are filled with profound Marian teaching and have much to offer us in a theological and devotional way in learning more about Mary. While we are familiar, no doubt, with the usual quotations of St. Bernardine used in spiritual books, we can find so much more to enlighten, inspire, and teach if only we go to Bernardine himself, rather than to secondary sources.

Noteworthy is his doctrine on the eternal predestination of Our Blessed Lady which harmonizes admirably with the motive of the Incarnation as taught by Scotus. Important likewise is Bernardine's teaching on the Assumption of Our Lady. Then his thoughts on the queenship of Mary are well suited to the present time when the Holy Father is about to declare Our Lady as Queen of the universe towards the close of this Marian Year. It is the hope of many that Bernardine may soon join the illustrious group of the doctors of the Church.

### DISCUSSION

FRANCIS AFFELT, O.F.M.:—In what sense is Mary called queen? Is her queenship real in the sense of *jus in re*?

My comment upon this: Bernardine stresses the idea of Mary's queenship. We mentioned that Bernardine tries to find the idea of *domina* as expressed in her very name—*domina mundi, regina coeli*. He especially stresses her transcendent position and unique place in the hierarchy of being. This idea is especially brought out by a quote which I gave in translation: . . . "Tenendum est quod ipsa sit super omnem puram creaturam in gloria exaltata, tanquam per se implens et continens unum integrum et totalem statum, cui secundum rectam rationem altera persona congrue non potest addi, quia ipse status ex sui ratione propter dignitatem incommunicabilem exigit unitatem." This is related directly to what Father Cyril said yesterday concerning Mary's place in the "synthesis."

Another point I would like to mention relates to what Father Cyril said of Bonnefoy. I did make reference to Bonnefoy, but not in the same matter referred to by Fr. Cyril. My point was this: Bonnefoy shows well how we must begin a discussion of Mary's role in the plan of God by taking into account the principles of theology related to the predestination of Christ. Jean Bonnefoy gives a fine concise orientation to this problem in his "Le mérite social de Marie et sa prédestination."

The second question introduced concerns the coredemption: How is Mary coredemptrix according to Bernardine?

My response: Bernardine stresses the compassion of Mary. He has several other arguments too, but he especially stresses her compassion. The coredemption is of course rooted in her consent to the Incarnation; thru her free consent Mary became the immediate cooperator with the Father in the work of redemption. Aside from this, her compassion had a particular soteriological aspect. This cooperation in the redemptive passion of Christ is portrayed graphically by Bernardine.



## MARY IMMACULATE IN CAPUCHIN DEVOTION AND APOSTOLATE

CUTHBERT GUMBINGER, O.F.M.Cap.

Mary, preserved from all stain of original sin, in the very first moment of her conception, on account of the foreseen merits of her Son, Jesus Christ, the God-Man, has ever received the peculiar and devoted homage of the Capuchin branch of the Seraphic Order. This doctrine, expounded by Blessed John Duns Scotus, and ever defended by the Franciscan Order, has also found strenuous defenders among the Capuchins, who also promoted devotion to the Immaculate Mother of God.

### Capuchin Writers

Our glorious confrere, St. Lawrence of Brindisi, has eleven splendid sermons on the Immaculate Conception in his *Mariale*, where he explains the doctrine, clearly, devoutly and profoundly.<sup>1</sup> Fr. Bernardine of Belvano, in 1561, edited a sermon on Mary Immaculate. Fr. Alexius of Salo wrote a book explaining the practice of Marian devotion which was later translated into other languages from the original Italian.<sup>2</sup> Fr. Illuminatus of Messina preached on this subject before Pope Paul V and the Roman Court in 1608. Fr. Jerome of Pistoia published four sermons on the Immaculate Conception at Naples in 1564. Various other Capuchins wrote books on the Immaculate Conception. Among them are: John Maria Zamora of Udine (1629), Mark Anthony of Carpendolo, Minister General (1636), Balthazar of Riez (1678), Thomas of Gerace (1650), Juvenalis of Nonsberg (1679), Salvator of Sambuca (three learned volumes, two editions, 1723 and 1755), Francis of Benejac (1877) and Isidore of Alatri (1935).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. Laurentius a Brundusio, O.F.M.Cap., *Opera Omnia*, I, *Mariale* (Padua, 1928), pp. 650; pp. 100 on the Immaculate Conception.

<sup>2</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum* (Romae, 1951), s.v. Immaculata Conceptio B.M.V., pp. 806-810. Cf. Melchior a Poblatura, O.F.M.Cap., *Historia Generalis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum*, Pars Tertia (1761-1940) Romae, 1951, Sect. IV, 3, De Devotione erga Virginem Mariam, pp. 204-213.

<sup>3</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum*, *Ibid.*

To encourage love and devotion to Mary Immaculate, Joseph of Cammarata published a booklet listing the names of one hundred Capuchins who had distinguished themselves by their veneration of the Mother of God.<sup>4</sup> The devotion of the Franciscan Order to Mary Immaculate and their defense of the doctrine are so well known for centuries that the Spaniards sing:

A la Religion sagrada  
De San Francisco debemos  
Que en alta voz os cantemos  
El blason de Immaculada.  
El veros asi ensalzada  
Es su gloria principal;  
Sois concebida, Maria,  
Sin pecado iriginal.<sup>5</sup>

### Provinces Dedicated to Mary Immaculate

By 1700, no less than 10 Capuchin Provinces and 79 Capuchin Friaries and Churches were dedicated to Mary Immaculate from their very beginnings. The first Province thus dedicated was that of Sicily in the sixteenth century. When this was divided into three Provinces in 1574, the Province of Messina retained the dedication to Mary Immaculate.<sup>6</sup> The Province of Syria was dedicated to Mary Immaculate in 1608; Cologne in 1625; Andalusia in 1637; Navarre-Cantabria in 1679; Alsace in 1728; and Bavaria in 1771. Today the following Capuchin Provinces are dedicated to the Immaculate Conception: Andalusia, Illyria, Messina, Parma, Rheno-Westphalia, Sao Paulo in Brazil, Strasbourg, Switzerland and Vienna. The Province of New York, as well as the Provincial Commissariat of South India and the General Commissariat of Slovakia are dedicated to the Immaculate Heart of Mary.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Bullarium Cappucinatorum* I, pp. 151 et seqq; VII, pp. 44 et seqq.

<sup>5</sup> Nelson Hart, O.F.M.Cap., "Capuchin Devotion to Mary Immaculate" in *Round Table of Franciscan Research*, St. Anthony Friary, Marathon, Wis., Vol. 19, Number 1, 1954, pp. 4-15, p. 10. His translation there reads: "We are indebted to the holy Order of St. Francis that we sing in a loud voice the glory of the Immaculate. We see this title so exalted; it is your principal glory, Mary, that you were conceived without original sin."

<sup>6</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum*, loc. cit., Hart, art. cit., p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum*, loc. cit. *Domus Religiosae O.F.M.Cap.* (Romae, 1952), Apud Curiam Generalem O.F.M.Cap., Pars II, pp. 107-151.

### Friaries and Churches Dedicated to Mary Immaculate

Besides the seventy-nine Capuchin Friaries and Churches mentioned above as having been dedicated to Mary Immaculate by 1700, many more have thus been dedicated since that time. In almost all Capuchin churches there is an altar dedicated to Mary conceived without sin. The Friary of Mary Immaculate at Garrison, N. Y., in the New York Province is the largest house of the Order dedicated to Mary Immaculate, while the parish church of the Italian Capuchin Custody on Gun Hill Road, Bronx, N. Y., is probably the largest church of the Order dedicated to the Immaculate Conception.

Among the more famous Capuchin churches similarly dedicated are certainly the church of the Capuchins on Via Vittorio Veneto, in Rome, and that at Piazza Cappuccini, in Genoa. The Roman church and large friary were begun in 1626 and completed in 1631, near the Barberini Palace, and through the munificence of Cardinal Anthony Barberini, a Capuchin, and a brother of the then reigning Pope Urban VIII. The friary was one of the largest the Capuchin Order ever had, but it was demolished completely in 1925, and a small friary was built next to the church that year. This friary and church formed the principal place of the Order, and the Ministers General resided there until another Generalate was built on Via Boncompagni in 1898, under the protection of St. Lawrence of Brindisi. In 1952, a new Generalate was opened on Via Piemonte, dedicated to Mary, Queen of the Seraphic Order.

The Roman Church and friary near the Barberini Palace are the Provinciate of the Roman Province. The famous church is known for its works of art by Guido Reni, Domenichino Pietro of Cortona, Mario Balassi, Andrea Sacchi, and other artists. Here, too, are the tombs of the Capuchins, St. Felix of Cantalice, Bl. Crispin of Viterbo and Ven. Francis of Bergamo, all of whom lived and died at this place. The body of St. Justin, Apologist and Martyr rests under the choir altar. The church is much frequented since it is in the heart of the busy modern city, and in the hotel district. In recent decades this church witnessed great festivities, such as the Solemn Triduum in honor of St. Conrad of Parzham (1934) when Cardinal Eugene Pacelli, as Secretary of State, deigned to give the final discourse, and the other Triduum in honor of St. Ignatius of Laconi

(1951). This year solemn services were held there in honor of Mary Immaculate.

This Roman church of the Immaculate Conception is also famous because under its five chapels on the epistle side there is the Capuchin cemetery, where the bones of many of the deceased confreres are stacked up along the walls, and used even as ornaments and lamps. The place is a national museum and the Roman Friars are the caretakers.<sup>8</sup>

The Capuchin Church of the Immaculate Virgin in Genoa is up on a hill, and dates from the year 1593. Here Bl. Francis Mary of Camporosso, Capuchin Lay Brother, lived for many years; and here he died in 1866. His body lies in a splendid shrine in the new chapel. Here, too, St. Lawrence of Brindisi lived from 1613 to 1616 as Minister Provincial of Genoa. This friary has ever been the Provincialate of the Genoese Province.<sup>9</sup>

### Capuchin Devotion to Mary Immaculate

True to Franciscan tradition the Capuchins have always had a tender love and devotion to Mary Immaculate. Though they had able defenders of Mary's great privilege, yet, the special characteristic of their devotion was their silent prayer, and their fervent example, which enkindled among the faithful a filial trust in the Virgin conceived without sin.

Various Capuchins represented the Order at the Council of Trent. They are: Bernardine of Asti, who addressed the General Congregation of July, 1546; Francis of Milan; Jerome of Venice, who refused the cardinalate; Jerome of Montefiore; and Thomas of Città di Castello, General of the Order.<sup>10</sup> In regard to the Immaculate Conception, the Council stated in the fifth session of 1546, at the end of the decree about original sin and its universality: "However, this Sacred Synod declares that it is not its intention, in the decree relative to original sin, to include the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin Mary, Mother of God."<sup>11</sup> After the Council of Trent the Seraphic Order continued to defend Mary's Immaculate Conception.

<sup>8</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum*, s.v. Roma, p. 1486.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. Genoa, p. 670.

<sup>10</sup> Hart, *art. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*



Among the Capuchin defenders were Thomas of Città di Castello, James of Molfetta and Francis of Milan.<sup>12</sup>

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Spanish Capuchin lectors bound themselves by oath to teach and propagate the privilege of Mary's Immaculate Conception.<sup>13</sup> It is noteworthy that in many a Capuchin friary throughout the world one sees a statue or picture of Mary Immaculate on entering the place before one discovers a Crucifix. "Per Mariam ad Jesum" is certainly applied by the Friars! One who lives for any time among the Capuchins of the Latin nations cannot help but see that they are highly Mary-conscious in their daily life and conversation. Thus the Spanish Friars say "Ave Maria Purissima" when someone knocks on the cell door. The one entering the cell answers "Sine peccato concepta." Many of Murillo's paintings of Mary Immaculate were done for Capuchin churches in Spain.

On July 25, 1617, the Capuchins of Castile and Catalonia sent two supplications to Pope Paul V urging him to define the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Part of their petition reads:

Therefore, when we heard of the tragic scenes perpetrated in popular assemblies, that some impudently affirmed that God's Mother had never been free from original sin, such keen sorrow afflicted the hearts of every one of us that we seemed to be completely broken with grief. We could hardly restrain our eyes from torrents of tears. Who is so foolhardy and impudent as to dare to oppose the published decrees of so many Pontiffs in behalf of the Virgin Mary's Immaculate Conception?<sup>14</sup>

"When the Capuchin Minister General at that time was asked his opinion on the question he replied: 'In all these matters we cry with one voice and one soul that the most holy Virgin Mary has by a singular privilege of God been conceived without the stain of original sin.'"<sup>15</sup>

Among the holy Capuchins known for their devotion to the Immaculate Conception of Mary we find Sts. Lawrence of Brindisi, Felix of Cantalice, Fidelis of Sigmaringen, Seraphin of Monte-granaro, Conrad of Parzham, and Ignatius of Laconi; Bls. Didacus Joseph of Cadiz, Crispin of Viterbo, Felix of Nicosia, Bernard of

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11. Cf. *Analecta O.F.M.Cap.*, VII, pp. 86-89.

<sup>15</sup> Hart, *art. cit.*, p. 11.

Offida, Francis Mary of Camporosso, and many Venerable Capuchin Servants of God. Some of these saintly confreres are pictured with Mary Immaculate, especially Sts. Lawrence of Brindisi and Ignatius of Laconi and Bl. Crispin of Viterbo. St. Conrad of Parzham is often pictured with Our Lady of Altoetting, at whose shrine he lived for over forty years, and where he generally served Mass every day. In the Capuchin choir of the novitiate of the Bavarian Province at Laufen, St. Conrad is represented with other holy Capuchins in huge frescoes. He holds the statue of Our Lady of Altoetting in his arms and presents her to the praying Friars. In this regard it is edifying to note with what reverence the Friars of German and Slavic lands speak of Mary, as "The Most Holy Virgin," "The Highly Blessed and Unspotted Mother of God and Virgin," "The All-holy and Immaculate Virgin Mary," "The Highly-prized, Immaculate and Ever Virgin Mother of God," and similar titles. Some German shrines of "Maria-Hilf" are in charge of the Capuchins and honor her Immaculate Conception.<sup>16</sup>

The French Capuchins honor Mary as Our Lady of Lourdes, who said she is the Immaculate Conception. The Italian Capuchins revere their Immaculate Queen under the titles of Our Lady of Loreto (of which shrine they have charge), Our Lady of Mt. Carmel, and Queen of the Most Holy Rosary. The English Capuchins honor Mary Immaculate assumed in to Heaven as their Patroness, while the American and Irish Friars glory in the Immaculate Virgin by striving to add new lustre to the Capuchin traditions in this regard.

### Official Acts of the Capuchin Order in Honor of Mary Immaculate

In the year 1612, the Capuchin Order received the faculty of reciting the Office of the Immaculate Conception (*sub ritu semiduplici*) on all free Saturdays. By the year 1671, this privilege was confirmed and extended even to the times of Advent and Lent. The General Chapter of the Order, in 1712, chose the Mother of God under the title of the Immaculate Conception as the Principal Patroness of the entire Order. This was approved by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on March 10, 1714. The General Chapter, in 1719, decreed that after Compline the antiphon "*Unica est columba*

<sup>16</sup> Altoetting, Deggingen, Passau, Türkheim, etc.

<sup>17</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum*, s.v. Immaculata Conceptio B.M.V., pp. 806-810.

mea" with the versicle, response and oration be recited in all our friaries.<sup>18</sup> Maximilian of Deggendorf, in his *Flores Rosarum* introduced the daily recital of these prayers in honor of Mary Immaculate.<sup>19</sup>

On November 17, 1802, Pope Pius VII granted the Capuchins permission to celebrate one Votive Mass of the Immaculate Conception in all their churches on free Saturdays. On June 14, 1866, the Sacred Congregation of Rites granted all Capuchin priests the privilege of celebrating a Votive Mass of the Immaculate Conception on all Saturdays, except on First and Second Class Feasts, privileged vigils and during Lent.<sup>20</sup> This privilege is recommended to the priests in the Capuchin Constitutions (No. 58).

### Mary Immaculate, Queen of the Seraphic Order

In 1843, the Holy See granted the Capuchins permission to insert the invocation "Queen, conceived without sin" in the Marian Litany of Loreto. The feast of the Immaculate Conception is a First Class Feast with a Privileged Octave of the Third Order. The Octave day has recently been enhanced by a new feast in honor of Mary Immaculate, Queen of the Seraphic Order. This is a Second Class Feast, granted to the whole Franciscan Order by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on July 14, 1949, at the request of the entire Order. The magnificent new Mass and Office give us added incentives to honor our Immaculate Queen and to rejoice in the Order's devotion to her. The second nocturn is noteworthy, taken from the *Motu Proprio* of the great friend of the Order, St. Pius X. Therein he recalls "the incredible devotion of Saint Francis to the Most Blessed Mother of God" and quotes Thomas of Celano who tells how Francis praised Our Lady and made her the Patron and Advocate of the Friars Minor. The sainted Pontiff quotes St. Bonaventure to the same effect, who calls the Mother of God, the "Defensatrix Pauperum et Humilium Advocata" and asks her to intercede with the King, her Son, that the Friars may be poor and humble like Francis, her servant. In the same *Motu Proprio* the Pope permits the whole Franciscan Order to insert the invocation

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>19</sup> Hart, *art. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>20</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum*, *loc. cit.*

"Queen of the Seraphic Order" in the Marian Litany of Loreto. The second nocturn concludes by saying that Pope Pius XII graciously granted this feast to increase the liturgical cult of the Most Blessed Virgin, Mother of God, among the sons of the Seraphic Father. In the third nocturn we read a fine homily of the Seraphic Doctor taken from a commentary and a sermon on the Annunciation.

### Our Lady of Loreto

Within the Octave of the Immaculate Conception, on December 10, the Capuchins celebrate the Feast of the Transferral of the House of Loreto, which was brought by angels from Tersatto, near Fiume, Dalmatia, to Loreto, Italy, on December 10, 1294. This feast, first granted for the ecclesiastical province of the Marches by Pope Innocent XII about the year 1700, was extended to all Italy and the adjacent Islands by Pope Benedict XV on April 12, 1916. Since 1558, the Capuchins have been active at the Basilica of the Holy House of Loreto and have had a friary there since 1608. A new place was built for the Order next to the Basilica in 1638, through the munificence of Cardinal Anthony Barberini, a Capuchin. When, in 1934, the Basilica passed completely into the hands of the Holy See (*pleno jure*) Pope Pius XI, considering the great work the Capuchins did there for almost four centuries, gave them full charge of the entire place, and permitted the Friars to live in the Apostolic Palace attached to the Basilica.

In view of these facts, and to arouse still greater devotion to Our Lady of Loreto among the Friars throughout the world, Fr. Vigilius of Valstagna, Capuchin Minister General and his General Definitory, in virtue of faculties granted by St. Pius X, in the Apostolic Letter *Septimo jam pleno saeculo* <sup>21</sup> granted the Feast of the Transferral of the Holy House of Loreto to the entire Capuchin Order, on June 26, 1935.<sup>22</sup>

The same Fr. Vigilius of Valstagna in his Circular Letter *Non sine magno animi gaudio* <sup>23</sup> of July 12, 1935, urged the Order to promote the cult of the Immaculate Mother of God under her title

<sup>21</sup> *Analecta O.F.M.Cap.*, XXV, pp. 305-313.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, LI, p. 191.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 177-181.



of Our Lady of Loreto. He asked the Order to spread this devotion especially by propagating the Universal Sodality of the Holy House of Loreto, which he calls "a splendid work, the honor and glory of the Capuchin Order." He quotes his renowned predecessor, Fr. Bernard of Andermatt, under whose rule the Universal Sodality was greatly spread, and who wrote, in 1884, that devotion to Our Lady of Loreto has ever been a characteristic of the Capuchin Order; and that for centuries the Capuchins have been the servants and chamberlains in the House of their Immaculate Mother and Queen.<sup>24</sup>

### Mary Immaculate in the Capuchin Apostolate

The great faith of the Capuchins urged them to spread devotion to Mary Immaculate. Thus Bernard of Chieri, at the time of the plague in 1586, induced the people of Genoa to hold a procession and to celebrate the Feast of the Immaculate Conception to pray for the cessation of the plague. At Mantua, in 1629, Bernard of Gambellara founded a Confraternity whose members bound themselves by oath to defend the privilege of Our Lady's Immaculate Conception. He had a statue of Mary Immaculate erected in the city square. Later on, when he became military chaplain in the war against the Turks, he had one of the military ships placed under the protection of Mary conceived without sin.

Athanasius of Megen propagated the Little Crown of the Immaculate Conception (a small rosary) among the Flemish people about the year 1700. Justus of Valencia, in 1742, founded various congregations of both men and women in honor of Mary Immaculate and named after her.<sup>25</sup> The practice of reciting the Crown of the Immaculate Conception dates back to the year 1845, when Bonaventure of Ferrara, the "Apostle of the Immaculate Conception" spread this devotion among the faithful to obtain the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception. It was approved by various Bishops, and by Pope Pius IX, and enriched with indulgences. The Capuchin Procurator General can grant faculties to bless and apply indulgences to these small rosaries of the Immacu-

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, I, pp. 40 et seqq.

<sup>25</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum*, s.v. Immaculata Conceptio B.M.V., pp. 806-810.

late Conception. Bonaventure of Ferrara is one of the most famous defenders of Mary Immaculate in the nineteenth century.<sup>26</sup>

It is inspiring and consoling to see the ways and means the Capuchins have used in the past, and which many still use, to spread love and devotion to their Immaculate Queen. Urged by love for her, Isidore of Seville († 1750) propagated devotion to Mary, the Mother of the Divine Shepherd, which caught fire at once, and spread through Spanish lands, and also in other countries. This devotion was approved by Rome on November 19, 1885 with a Mass and Office, which the Capuchins celebrate as a Second Class Feast on the second Saturday after Easter. Bl. Didacus of Cadiz, Isidore of Seville, Stephen of Adoain, and other famous Spanish Capuchins preached thousands of sermons on Mary's office and title of Mother of the Divine Shepherd.<sup>27</sup> At the request of the Spanish Friars the Capuchin General Chapter in May, 1932, declared Mary, Mother of the Divine Shepherd, Patroness of the Foreign Missions accredited to the Order.<sup>28</sup>

Some sixty years ago the Servant of God, Marie Antoine of Lavour (Toulouse) brought Mary Immaculate into the hearts of countless thousands of people by his many fervent Marian sermons, and his pleas for true devotion to the Immaculate Mother of God. He greatly promoted pilgrimages to Lourdes. He founded a fine big church and friary in the midst of Toulouse. He had a huge statue of the Immaculate Mother holding the Divine Child, which he wanted to place on the top of the church so that it could be seen even from afar. Eventually, however, the statue was placed over the high altar of the church. There the statue still stands in all its imposing beauty—a monument to the good Friar's love for Mary. He lies buried there in a side chapel with the Capuchin Bishop Andre Marie Jarosseau, Vicar Apostolic of the Gallas in Ethiopia, and successor to the Capuchin Cardinal William Massaia.<sup>29</sup>

After the definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, Bonaventure of Ferrara published a book urging that the

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, Cf. Carmel Flora, O.F.M.Cap., "The Immaculate Conception Chaplet and the Apostle of Mary," in *Round Table of Franciscan Research*, Vol. XVIII, Number 3, 1953, pp. 91-98.

<sup>27</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum*, s.v. Maria Virgo, p. 1042.

<sup>28</sup> *Analecta O.F.M.Cap.*, XLVIII, p. 141.

<sup>29</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum*, s.v. Antonius Maria a Lavour, p. 91.

feast of the Immaculate Conception be raised to the rank of a First Class Feast for the universal Church.<sup>30</sup> He wrote a Mass and Office for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, taken from the Bible and documents, which he submitted to Pope Pius IX. In 1879, Fr. Bonaventure submitted a special Preface for the Mass of the Immaculate Conception to Pope Leo XIII.<sup>31</sup>

### The Month of May for Mary Immaculate

The practice of dedicating the month of May to Mary Immaculate is very old. But its present form dates back to the year 1672, when the Austrian Capuchin Lawrence of Schnueffis († 1702) edited a book of Mary's Praises to be recited and sung daily in the month of May both by the clergy and the laity. The book has songs, Scripture texts, meditations, instructions and prayers. Emperor Leopold I of Austria was so pleased with the work that he declared the author a poet-laureate of the Roman Empire and decreed that this devout exercise should be propagated exactly as Fr. Lawrence had written it. This form of May devotions spread through Austria and the other lands subject to the Hapsburg Crown, as well as through Germany, Switzerland, and even in Poland, through the Capuchin Benjamin of Warsaw. In 1757, the Jesuit Francis Lalomia published the book in Italian but without the hymns. The practice of this devotion was approved by the Holy See in 1784, at the request of the Camillian Fathers.<sup>32</sup>

### The Devotion of the Three Hail Marys

In modern times the French Capuchin, John Baptist of Chemery has the main merit of instituting the popular devotion of the Society of Three Hail Marys to honor the Immaculate Virgin as Daughter of God the Father, Mother of God the Son, and Spouse of God the Holy Spirit. Mary is represented with folded hands and eyes raised to Heaven and around her halo "Ave Maria" is written three times. Founded at the Capuchin Friary of Blois, and canonically erected there, this Society and devotion have spread especially in France. Pope Benedict XV approved them and raised

<sup>30</sup> Hart, *art. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>31</sup> *Analecta O.F.M.Cap.*, XX, p. 277.

<sup>32</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum*, s.v. Mensis Marianus, p. 1103.

the Society to the rank of an Archsodality or a Primary Society on July 30, 1921. In this devotion Mary is styled the "Immaculate Lily of the Most Blessed Trinity." The books written by the Capuchins in French and Spanish on this subject abound in theological doctrine and tender devotion. They show us the glorious relations of Mary to the Three Divine Persons. Fr. Clovis of Provin, also an ardent champion of Mary Immaculate, preached and wrote books on this devotion. As successor of Fr. John Baptist, Fr. Clovis collected money from all France to erect the splendid Basilica of Our Lady of the Three Hail Marys at Blois, which was dedicated in 1949—truly a monument to French Capuchin devotion to the Immaculate Mother of God.<sup>33</sup>

### The Solemn Coronation of Mary's Images

Another form of devotion, begun and used especially in Italy, is the Coronation of statues and pictures of the Immaculate Queen of Heaven. This custom was begun by the Capuchin Jerome Paolucci of Forli (1620) who was called the Apostle of the Mother of God. His faithful helpers were two confreres, Michaelangelo of Venice and Fidelis of San Germano Vercellese. This custom soon spread to the whole Church. It is customary that such crowns, made of gold and richly adorned with jewels (generally there is a smaller one for the Divine Child) are blessed by the Vatican Chapter and then sent to the respective Marian Sanctuary. Since 1631, more than a thousand such crowns have been blessed and solemnly placed on pictures and statues of Mary Immaculate and her Divine Child.<sup>34</sup>

Of the fifty-two Marian Sanctuaries entrusted to Capuchin care throughout the world, no less than twenty-three are in Italy, the most famous being that of Loreto.<sup>35</sup>

### Conclusion

In modern times the Capuchin Lay Brother, St. Conrad of Parzham (†1894) and the Capuchin Servants of God, Victricius of Eggenfelden (†1924) and Leopold of Castelnuovo (†1942)

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. Tres "Ave Maria," p. 1734.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. Coronatio Imaginum B.M.V., pp. 466, 467.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, s.v. Maria Virgo, pp. 1042, 1043.



are shining examples of devotion to the Immaculate Virgin Mary. St. Conrad always held the little Crown of the Immaculate Conception in his left hand. Some of the fingers of that hand and his brain were found preserved after his death—to show his love for Mary, his purity and union with God. Mr. John M. Haffert in his famous book, *Mary in Her Scapular Promise*, compares St. Conrad even to St. John of the Cross, Doctor of the Church, for propagating Marian devotion.<sup>36</sup> St. Conrad wore the Scapular of Our Lady of Mt. Carmel; he distributed thousands of such Scapulars to the pilgrims at Our Lady's Shrine at Altoetting, and practiced the true devotion to Mary advocated by St. Louis Marie Grignon De Montfort.<sup>37</sup> In ways such as these every Friar can become an apostle of Mary Immaculate.

The Servants of God, Victricius of Eggenfelden and Leopoldo of Castelnuovo advocated love and devotion to Mary Immaculate in their sermons and spiritual conferences as well as in their confessional work. With these great lovers of Mary, we can rank the Servant of God, Stephen Eckert of Dublin (Ontario) of the North American Capuchin Province of St. Joseph, who died in Milwaukee, Wis., February 16, 1923. He was the Apostle of the Colored Race, and devoted the last ten years of his life to their welfare at St. Benedict the Moor Colored Mission in Milwaukee. He was greatly devoted to our Immaculate Queen under her title of Our Lady of Lourdes; and he spread devotion to her in his sermons and conferences, which he gave in many places both before and after taking charge of the Colored Mission in Milwaukee. He would generally have the Baptism of his colored converts on the Feast of Our Lady of Lourdes, February 11; and he sought to inculcate devotion to her even among the children.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Scapular Press, Sea Isle City, N.J., 1942, pp. 109, 141.

<sup>37</sup> St. Louis Marie Grignon De Montfort, *A Treatise on True Devotion to the Blessed Virgin*, Translated by Fr. Faber (London, Burns, Oates & Washbourne, New Edition, 1937). It is noteworthy that various French and Spanish Capuchins within the past century have helped to propagate this devotion by new translations of this book, and even by a special Spanish magazine dedicated to this devotion. In this way the Capuchins have helped not a little to spread the new Marian devotion to the *Queen of Hearts*. Cf. Melchior a Pobladora, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 213.

<sup>38</sup> The Ordinary Process of his Beatification and Canonization is now being conducted.

All friars are encouraged by these facts and examples to imitate our confreres of former, and even of modern times. There is a vast field for our apostolate. Any Marian devotion can be propagated in honor of Mary Immaculate. People are hungry for sermons and instructions on Mary's privileges, honors and power. We can bring Mary to the people with Christ, for Mother and Son are never separated. She is the world's hope, the dawn of salvation. She will bring everyone closer to her Divine Son.

## THE MARIOLOGY OF ST. ANTHONY

JUNIPER CUMMINGS, O.F.M.Conv.

Convenience and brevity inspire the title of this paper. Longer and more exactly put, it would be "The Mariological Content of the Certainly Authentic Works of St. Anthony of Padua."

Mariological tracts as such postdate St. Anthony.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, St. Anthony did not write a book of theology as such but a collection of possible sermon developments. This work of St. Anthony is entitled the *Sermones Dominicales et in Solemnitatibus* and has been established as authentic.<sup>2</sup> In this paper we will use the admittedly defective but adequate and most recent edition of St. Anthony's work, that of Canon A. Locatelli (Padua, 1895 sq.). The *Sermones* of St. Anthony are not only primary source material but for all practical purposes the only source for the material of this paper. Others have treated of St. Anthony's Mariology.<sup>3</sup> But we have deemed it better not to use their findings or conclusions since theologically scientific study of Anthony is comparatively recent. We will endeavor to treat what St. Anthony says about the theology of Mary and not what others say about what he says.

### Introduction

St. Anthony's *Sermones* are built on the Gospels, Epistles, First Nocturn lessons and the Introit of the feast treated.<sup>4</sup> Great and frequent use is made of the Old and New Testaments. In accordance with the style of his day, he made extensive use of figures of speech.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Roschine, G. M. *Mariologica* (Rome, 1947-1948), I, p. 389f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the works of Balic, Scaramuzzi et alii.

<sup>3</sup> Costa, B., O.F.M.Conv., *La Mariologia di S. Antonio di Padova* (Padua, 1950).

Di Fonzo, L., O.F.M.Conv., *La Mariologia di S. Antonio in S. Antonio, Dottore della Chiesa* (Vatican, 1947), pp. 85-172.

Romeri, G., O.F.M., *De Immaculata Conceptione B. V. M. apud S. Antonium Patavinum* (Romae, 1939).

Roschini, G., O.S.M., *La Mariologia di S. Antonio da Padova in Marianum*, VIII, 1946, pp. 16-67.

<sup>4</sup> Prolog. p. 4b.

It would be foolish and disappointing to expect to find a finished Mariology in his works. In arranging the Mariological material found we will attempt to follow the mind of the Evangelical Gospel and not fit him into another table of contents.

That Mariology has come a long way since St. Anthony is to be expected and is indicated by the Saint. He writes that Mary is like a bee whose home is built from the top. So Mary began to build in the eyes of the Divine Majesty and only gradually, i.e., discreetly and orderly does she come down to men's view, so that which descended in the sight of God should become admirable in the sight of men.<sup>5</sup>

We can, however, without stretching our theological imaginations find in Anthony all of the Mariology *in nuce* since he uses the basic and ancient Eve-Mary parallel or the principle of recirculation.<sup>6</sup> Anthony has a second figure of recirculation—Mary, the new Paradise.<sup>7</sup> Mary as the new Eve was chosen to be Mother of the whole Christ and had an active part in the recreation that is in the redemption of mankind. All of Mary's offices and prerogatives can in some way be explained by the principle of recirculation.

#### I. MARY'S PREDESTINATION

Anthony puts Mary in her place when he writes that Mary, from the constitution of the world, was predestined to be the Mother of God.<sup>8</sup> This idea of Divine pre-election he expresses with his figure of recirculation: Mary as the new paradise for the new Adam.<sup>9</sup> The Evangelical Doctor seems to indicate that Mary's very

<sup>5</sup> "Beata Virgo non ab inferiori idest in conspectu hominis, sed a superiori, idest oculis Divinae Majestatis coepit aedificare; et paulatim, quasi discrete et ordinate, coepit ad notitiam hominum descendere ut, quae jam erat electa in conspectu Dei, fieri admirabilis in conspectu hominum."

In festo Purificationis B. Mariae, p. 809b.

<sup>6</sup> "Eam, quae est a Maria in Evam recirculationem." S. Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, 1. 3c 22 n.4, P.G. VII col. 959. St. Anthony. Dom. IV p. Pascha p. 181a; Dom. *infra* Oct. Nat. Dom., p. 646b.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *In. Ann.*, S. Mariae, p. 840a; Dom. V post Pent., p. 293a; Dom. *infra* Oct. Nat. Dom., p. 646b; in Purif. p. 719a.

<sup>8</sup> "A mundi constitutione praedestinata est Mater Dei." *In Assump.*, p. 729; cf. "Mater eligitur" *In Ann.* p., 838b.

<sup>9</sup> "Necesse ergo fecit, ut alius 'paradisum' longe meliorem Beatam scilicet Mariam Dominus Deus, plantaret. . . . In hoc 'paradiso' positus fuit secundus Adam qui operatus est et custodivit" illam. (*In Purif.*, p. 719a/b).



existence depends on her eternal election to the Divine Maternity when he writes for the feast of her nativity: ". . . He who today made you to be born in order that He might be born of you."<sup>10</sup> In this sense we can understand his speaking of Mary being honored by the gift of virtues and the privileges of grace.<sup>11</sup> "The indescribable sublimity of grace, inexpressible profundity of mercy" is that God the Father willed to have Mary the Mother of His Son in time.<sup>12</sup> An unmerited privilege predestined from all eternity is the Divine Maternity. As any theologian knows, however, there is merit and merit (*ex condigno* and *ex congruo*) and it must be merit in the wider sense that Anthony means when he writes that Mary merited to be His Mother.<sup>13</sup>

## II. PREPARATION

Anthony teaches that Mary was chosen from all eternity to be Mother of Christ. Now we can investigate his teaching concerning Mary's preparation for that mission.

### A. Negative Preparation

That Mary had special privileges by way of preparation for her Divine Maternity St. Anthony most certainly teaches. He uses the expressions that are patristic and cited as being implicit expressions of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>14</sup> Thus we find expressions as "most Pure,"<sup>15</sup> "most clean,"<sup>16</sup> referring to Mary. Using his figure or principle of recirculation of Christ as the new Adam and Mary as the second paradise, our Saint calls Mary the blessed earth,<sup>17</sup> and for the parallel we could infer a primitive unblemished condition.

<sup>10</sup> "Qui, ut ex te nasceretur, Te hodie nasci fecit . . ." *In Nat. B.V.M.*, p. 696b.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *In Festo B. Johannis Evang.*, p. 764a.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *In Assump.*, p. 732 a/b.

<sup>13</sup> "Ecce quanta dignitas gloriosae Virginis, quae meruit esse Mater illius . . ." *In Assump.*, p. 729b.

<sup>14</sup> E. g., Aldama, A., *Mariologia in Sacrae Theologiae Summae* (Madrid, 1953), vol. III, p. 350.

<sup>15</sup> "De purissima enim carne Virginis . . . de purissima Virgine conceptus." *In Cena Domini*, p. 846a & b.

<sup>16</sup> ". . . caro ex carne mundissima gloriosae Virginis."

<sup>17</sup> *Dom. II in Quad.*, p. 69b; *In Nativ. Dom.*, p. 714a.

Christ, the new Adam, cultivates and guards this garden by keeping it integral. Integrity refers frequently to virginity but in the context it certainly could mean complete integrity to the extent that she never was spoiled by any sin. In the same passage, we find Anthony continues to say that Mary was never cut by the sword of any concupiscence.<sup>18</sup> The idea of the Devil's having no part of Mary is found in the *Sermones*. Mary is called a gate closed to the Devil,<sup>19</sup> and the Devil could find no path in her; moreover, he could not tempt her.<sup>20</sup> Dominion of the Devil and concupiscence are part of, if not the essence of, original sin.

We cannot, however, from the passage cited, conclude that St. Anthony teaches explicitly that Mary was immaculately conceived; yet it would certainly seem implicit or at least not even materially contrary to the doctrine. We could add such passages as "Mary is like the full moon, perfect in every way,"<sup>21</sup> and add that if Mary had had original sin, she would not have been so completely perfect or pure or stainless. The passage just cited is for the feast of the Nativity of Mary and continues that Mary had no stain at birth because she was sanctified in her Mother's womb. This too could certainly include the Immaculate Conception, especially if we consider the Saint's statement that Mary's birth differed from that of all the other saints in clarity.<sup>22</sup> Liberation from original sin before birth would not be according to tradition unique of Mary since it is and was commonly accepted that John the Baptist enjoyed this privilege. Anthony does teach that there is some prerogative in connection with the very generation of Mary.<sup>23</sup> He

<sup>18</sup> "(Christus) custodivit vero dum integram conservat. . . Beata Maria quae nullius concupiscentiae ferro unquam fuit incisa . . ." *In Purif.*, p. 719b & 720a; cf. *In Ann.*, p. 836a: "Fuit enim sine concupiscentia carnis . . . oculorum et superbia vitae."

<sup>19</sup> "Porta haec (Maria) clausa erit . . . diabolo." *Dom. III. p. Pent.*, p. 259b.

<sup>20</sup> "Diabolus . . . non potuit invenire semitam." *In Nat.*, p. 707b; and "diabolus . . . cujus suggestionibus clausa fuit, quia nulli tentationi mens ejus patuit, sicut et caro virilem contactum nescivit." *In Purif.*, p. 722b.

<sup>21</sup> "Luna plena . . . quia ex omni parte perfecta . . . gloriosa Virgo nec in sua Nativitate habuit maculam, quia in utero matris fuit sanctificata." *In Nat. B. V. M.*, p. 696b.

<sup>22</sup> "Beatae Virginis Nativitas ab omnium sanctorum (claritate) differt nativitate." *In Nat. B. V. M.*, p. 695b.

<sup>23</sup> It is a quote from St. Bernard about the twelve stars of the woman's

cites<sup>24</sup> St. Augustine *re* Mary, who, it is certain, had no sin and Anthony continues that the glorious Virgin was prepared (*prae-venta*) by and filled with singular grace.<sup>25</sup>

Anthony, however, never writes explicitly that Mary was immaculately conceived. There is a passage which can be grammatically interpreted to mean that Mary is immaculate, but it could also mean that Christ's flesh was immaculate.<sup>26</sup>

If we had just these passages we could line St. Anthony up as teaching the Immaculate Conception. We have, however, other passages which deal with Mary's preparation for the divine maternity, but do not indicate an explicit belief or teaching of the Immaculate Conception. These passages are those referring to Mary's purification at the time of the Annunciation when Mary is chastened from all stain of vice,<sup>27</sup> and the drive (inclination, "fomitem") of sin.<sup>28</sup> These words are enough to make it uncertain that he was thinking of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>29</sup>

### B. Positive Preparation

Absence of sin is just one aspect of sanctity and we have seen that although Anthony touches upon Mary's immunity from sin, his entire approach is much more positive. Mary has an ontological or material holiness because of her motherhood. Anthony writes that she is most blessed because her womb bore for nine months the highest good, the beatitude of the angels, the reconciliation of men.<sup>30</sup> Mary's holiness was, however, also personal and formal.

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crown: ". . . duodecim praerogativas in Virgine dicit . . . Mariae generatio." *In Ann.*, p. 702a.

<sup>24</sup> Augustine, *De Natura et Gratia*, Cap. 36 n. 42, PL 44 col. 267.

<sup>25</sup> ". . . quem constat nullum habuisse peccatum. . . . Illa autem gloriosa Virgo singulari gratia praeventa est atque repleta." *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 89b.

<sup>26</sup> "Pater induit Filium suum veste alba idest carne ab omni labe peccati munda."

<sup>27</sup> "Superveniens Spiritus Sanctus in Virginem et mentem illius ab omni sorde vitiorum castigavit." *In Ann.*, p. 338a.

<sup>28</sup> "(Spiritus Sanctus) Virgini obumbravit idest refrigerium praestitit et fomitem peccati omnino in ea extinxit." *Dom. V. Post Pascha*, p. 199a.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Costa, B., O.C., p. 111 sq.

<sup>30</sup> "Beatus ergo venter gloriosae Virginis, qui omne bonum, summum bonum, angelorum beatitudinem, peccatorum reconciliationem novem mensibus portare meruit." *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 89a.

Because she was prepared for that physical privilege by grace.<sup>31</sup> Thus Mary is to be praised not only because she bore Christ but also because she observed God's law.<sup>32</sup> Her grace was so abundant that it excelled that of all other men and angels.<sup>33</sup> So resplendent was her grace that Anthony speaks of rays radiating from her face as they did from the face of Moses.<sup>34</sup>

### III. THE MATERNITY ITSELF

Mary was truly Mother of Christ the God-man and his only earthly parent. It may seem obvious that Mary's consent was present; but for a full appreciation of Mariology, it is reasonable to consider the presence and importance of this consent. Then, because virginal maternity is unique to the extent of the miraculous, we must consider that; and finally, it would be theologically sound to consider the resultant relationship of Mary to the Blessed Trinity. These points are not neglected by St. Anthony, so we will see what the Evangelical Doctor has to say about them.

#### A. Mary's Consent

Our Saint speaks of Mary's faith as causal in her conceiving Christ.<sup>35</sup> Her faith is likened to the thread and the work of the Holy Spirit to the needle out of which Christ's human nature was confected.<sup>36</sup> Faith always requires an act of the will so Mary's

<sup>31</sup> "singulari gratia praeventa," *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 89b; "(Maria) suffulta . . . septiformis gratiae donis," *Dom. XX p. Pent.*, p. 516b. Mary received the virtues of poverty, humility, etc. "quae gratiam infusione recipit . . . totam se commisit 'custodis' (Christi) arbitrio, a quo tam decenter est ornata . . ." *In Assump.*, p. 730b & 731b.

<sup>32</sup> "Non solum laudanda est Maria quia Verbum Dei in utero portavit, sed etiam beata est quia praecepta Dei servavit in opere." *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 91b; cf. *In Purif.*, p. 809a.

<sup>33</sup> "Beata Maria quae prae ceteris citius et altius in Dei amore fuit radiata." *Dom. III in Quad.* p. 90b; "Super omnes Domini grata facta fuit . . . Nullius sancti anima tantas divitias virtutum congregavit sicut sancta Maria." *Dom. in Ramis*, p. 110a; Cf. also *Dom. III p. Pent.*, p. 266b; *In Purif.*, p. 722b, 723a/b and p. 810a.

<sup>34</sup> "Haec facies est plena gratiarum omnium." *In Assump.*, p. 732a.

<sup>35</sup> "Aperiaturl terra idest Maria ad credendum, et sic germinet Salvatore . . ." *Dom. I in Advent.*, p. 587a/b.

<sup>36</sup> "Jesus Christus ex sacco nostrae naturae fecit sibi tunicam quam actu, idest subtili opere Spiritus Sancti et filo idest fide Beatae Virginis consuit et seipsam induit. . . ." *Dom XIII p. Pent.*, p. 409a.

consent is shown in these passages as also in the one likening the incarnation to the rejoining of humanity and divinity through the union of the Word to humanity through Mary.<sup>37</sup> Explicitly Anthony teaches the importance of Mary's consent when describing the Annunciation. He writes that the Incarnation did not take place until Mary gave her consent because God waited for it. This Anthony repeats, drawing from it a moral application.<sup>38</sup>

## B. Virginal Maternity

In the consideration of Anthony's teaching *re* the Maternity we cannot overlook his teaching concerning Mary's virginity.

That Mary was truly Mother of Christ, true God and true man, Anthony presumes and mentions in passing as when he writes: "The only begotten God when he was conceived took the truth of flesh of the Virgin and when He was born He preserved the integrity of virginity in His Mother."<sup>39</sup> He refers repeatedly to Mary as the blessed, glorious Virgin.<sup>40</sup>

There is a variant reading according to the edition in which we find the phrase, "she was a virgin before, at, and after birth," but this is apparently not found in the best extant codices.<sup>41</sup> Anthony stresses mostly the virginal conception and birth.<sup>42</sup>

### a. Vow of Virginity

Anthony taught that Mary had a vow of virginity. He writes that

<sup>37</sup> "Inter nos et Deum magna erat discordia, ad quam expellendam et pacem reformandam necesse fuit, ut Dei Filius de nostra parentela acciperet sponsam. . . . Post concessum Sanctae Virginis Spiritus Sanctus praevenit in ipsam Verbum Dei." *Dom. XX p. Pent.*, p. 515a.

<sup>38</sup> "Expectabat Virginis consensum. Nullus enim potest Deum in mente concipere nisi ex consensu mentis; quidquid est in anima praeter consensum hominem justificare non potest." *In Assump.*, p. 841b; cf. p. 838b and 709b.

<sup>39</sup> Deus unigenitus, dum conciperetur, veritatem carnis accepit ex Virgine, et quum nasceretur, integritatem virginitatis servavit in Matre. *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 90a.

<sup>40</sup> E. g. *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 89b; *Dom. XII p. Pent.*, p. 398b; *In Cena Domini*, p. 846b; and cf. other texts in these notes.

<sup>41</sup> "Virgo fuit ante partum, Virgo in partu, et Virgo post partum. Vir non transibit per eam." *Dom. I p. Epip.*

<sup>42</sup> Beata Virgo in conceptione et Nativitate Salvatoris virides permansit. . . . Virgo ante partum et in partu permansit. *In Assump.*, p. 732b; cf. following citations.



she was the first among women to present to God the glorious offer of virginity.<sup>43</sup> This passage could be interpreted to mean the unique fruitful virginity of Mary but we are not dependent on it for his teaching of this vow of virginity. When speaking of Mary's six words he writes that the first at the time of the Annunciation shows the firm proposal of inviolable virginity,<sup>44</sup> and calls it an indication of fortitude or magnitude that she took and kept the proposal of virginity.<sup>45</sup> And he writes that her being troubled by the angel indicates that she wanted to be blessed among virgins, not women, and she fears for her virginity because not only did she not know men, but she was determined not to know them.<sup>46</sup> Mary asks not how can it be but how will it be since she knew that she had vowed not to know man; but here Anthony adds, as if the vow were conditional, "unless God disposes otherwise."<sup>47</sup> The evangelical Doctor states very definitely in connection with the proto-evangelium that Mary crushed the head of the serpent, the principle of diabolic suggestion, when she made the vow of virginity.<sup>48</sup> That Mary kept this vow with God's cooperation Anthony reiterates.<sup>49</sup>

### b. Explanation and Effect

Anthony explains the excellence of the fecund virginity of the virgin mother,<sup>50</sup> by the figure of the rose and lily that give off a

<sup>43</sup> "... prima inter feminas virginitatis gloriosum munus Deo obtulit." *In. Annun.*, p. 836a.

<sup>44</sup> "In primo verbo notatur firmum propositum inviolabilis virginitatis." *Dom. II p. Epip.*, p. 668a.

<sup>45</sup> "Ex fortitudine vel magnitudine propositum Virginitatis assumpsit, tenuit, re tam immensae exhibuit." *In Ann.*, p. 701b.

<sup>46</sup> "Turbata est cum audivit se benedicta 'in mulieribus,' quae in virginibus benedicta semper optaverat; et ideo cogitabat quales esset ista salutatio; quae ab initio videbatur esse respecta. Et ut in promissione Filii manifestum apparuit Virginitatis periculum . . . quoniam virum non cognoscit idest non cognoscere proposui." *In Nativ. Dom.*, p. 713b.

<sup>47</sup> "... quae non quomodo fiat quaerit sed 'quomodo fiet' quaerit, cum se non cognituram virum in animo vovisset nisi Deus aliter disponderet." *In Assump.*, p. 837a.

<sup>48</sup> "Beata Maria contrivit caput principium diabolicae suggestionis, dum emissit votum virginitatis." *In Purif.*, p. 721a.

<sup>49</sup> "Porta haec . . . erit clausa et non aperietur, et vir non transibit per eam." *In Ann.*, p. 840b; *In Nat. Dom.*, p. 715; *In Purif.*, p. 719b; *De ead.*, p. 707b, etc.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. *Dom. II p. Epip.*, p. 666b.

sweet scent without detriment or detracting of the flower.<sup>51</sup> By way of an argument of convenience, he says that it is most fitting that the only begotten of God be born by none other than the Virgin.<sup>52</sup> For she alone bore virginally<sup>53</sup> who alone above human ways generated the Son of God.<sup>54</sup> The effect of the virgin birth was victory over Satan<sup>55</sup> and the spiritual maternity of John at the foot of the cross.<sup>56</sup>

The virgin birth was a sign not only for the Jews but even for the Gentiles, and Anthony refers to a Roman tradition, evidence of which we also find in Innocent III.<sup>57</sup> Our Saint says that it is recorded that the Magi found Mary and the Child, but no mention is made of St. Joseph lest the Gentiles be given an occasion for suspicion.<sup>58</sup> Since Mary's was a virgin birth, Anthony exegetizes *Leviticus*, XII, 2 as not pertaining to Mary because there was no receiving of the seed and consequently neither she nor Jesus was bound by the law.<sup>59</sup> Among the effects, or at least intimately connected with the virgin birth, is the painless birth. Anthony's references apparently cover both moral and physical pain. He speaks repeatedly of fecundity without corruption and birth without sorrow (*dolor*).<sup>60</sup>

<sup>51</sup> "Sicut lilium non perdit florem eo quod respirat odorem sic Beata Virgo virginitatis non perdidit florem eo quod peperit Salvatorem." *De Eodem* p. 709a/b. The same figure is found *In Nat. Dom.*, p. 713a/b; *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 91a; cf. also *De Eodem* p. 709b; *Dom. XII p. Pent.*, p. 400a.

<sup>52</sup> "Dicit Bernardus: Duplex miraculum sed digne prorsus aptissimeque conveniens; ubi Dei Filius et Virgo Mater; neque enim Filius alius Virgine nec Dei partus decuit alter." *In Ann.*, p. 837a.

<sup>53</sup> "Partus beatae Virginis non habet similitudinem in sexu mulierum." *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 91a.

<sup>54</sup> "... quae contra morem Virgo concepit supra morem humanae consuetudinis Dei Filium generaret." *In Assump.*, p. 837b.

<sup>55</sup> "Hic (diabolus) interfectus fuit Virginitate Beatae Mariae et sui Filii Passione." *In Ann.*, p. 840b; cf. note 44 supra.

<sup>56</sup> "... et ibi quasi mulier a virginitate sua suscepit illum; virgo virginum." *In Fest. B. Johannis Evang.*, p. 764a.

<sup>57</sup> *In Epip.*, p. 788b and Innocent III in *Nat. Sermo II*, PL 217, col. 457.

<sup>58</sup> "Ne aliqua inde malae suspicionis occasio daretur gentibus." *In Epip.*, p. 788b.

<sup>59</sup> "Mulier" inquit (Lev. XII, 2) 'quae suscepto semine peperit masculum, immunda erit septem diebus,' ad destructionem illius quae Virgo peperit. Non ergo Filius nec Mater hostiis indigebat purgari." *In Purif.*, p. 805a.

<sup>60</sup> "partus sine dolore." *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 91a; *In Ann.*, p. 836b; *Dom. XII p. Pent.*, p. 400a.

### c. Virginal Matrimony

Fulfilling his role as theologian, Anthony explains why it is fitting and proper that the Virgin should have been espoused to St. Joseph. The reasons he gives are traditional, namely, that the order of generation be evident, that Mary be not stoned as an adulteress, and that Mary have the consolation of a man and a witness to her integrity. The other reason is that the devil be fooled. Concerning the marriage Anthony remarks that the Lord would rather have some doubt His origin rather than His Mother's good name.<sup>61</sup>

### C. Mary's Relation to the Trinity

By reason of the mode of her conception and child-bearing as well as by reason of the term of that generation, Our Lady has a special order to the Divine Persons of the Blessed Trinity.

Anthony presents Mary as consanguineous to the Incarnate Word since she is properly His own Mother.<sup>62</sup> He moreover represents Mary as the Mystical Spouse of the Divine Word.<sup>63</sup> Mary as spouse of the Word is older and more fitting than Mary as spouse of the Holy Ghost. Anthony writes of Mary as the dwelling place of the Holy Spirit.<sup>64</sup> Her special right to the title "Daughter of the Father" is by reason of her similarity with the Eternal Father whose son she bore in time.<sup>65</sup> God the Father alone generates the Son according to divinity and Mary generates, without the aid of a man, the Son according to humanity.<sup>66</sup>

Thus we have Anthony's teaching concerning the Maternity as

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<sup>61</sup> "De desponsata voluit nasci, ut per 'Joseph' texeretur ordo generationis et ne quasi adultera lapidaretur, et ut Virgo solatium viri et testimonium integritatis haberet et ut diabolus mysterium ignoraret. . . . Maluit Dominus aliquos de suo ortu dubitare, quam de matris pudoris." *In Ann.*, p. 836a.

<sup>62</sup> "Dominus dedit ei (Johanni) matrem non aliam sed propriam." *In Festo B. Johannis Evang.*, p. 764a.

<sup>63</sup> *Dom. XX p. Pent.*, p. 515a and 521a; *In Purif.*, p. 720b; cf. Aldama, O.C. p. 400; Anthony also calls Mary "Soror Christi" propter carnis contubernium." *In Purif.*, p. 722a.

<sup>64</sup> *In Ann.*, p. 701a Beata Maria dicitur speciale hospitium Spiritus Sancti.

<sup>65</sup> "Peperit . . . Filium . . . Deum Dei Filium . . . Pater Dedit Deitatem, Mater humanitatem." *In Nat. Dom.*, p. 732.

<sup>66</sup> ". . . Jesus duas habet naturas . . . Divinam ex Patre de quo natus est sine matre; humanum de Matre, de qua natus est sine patre." *In Cir. Dom.*, p. 779a.

being consented to by Mary the Virgin and the consequent relation she has to the Trinity.

#### IV. SPIRITUAL MATERNITY

The Mariology we find in St. Anthony will not support any side of the argument concerning the priority of spiritual maternity or mediation or co-redemption. We do, however, find all these teachings in the work of the Evangelical Doctor. For the sake of convenience we are treating them all under the heading of spiritual maternity. When treating of co-redemption, we will refer to Mary and Satan as presented by our Saint.

##### A. Spiritual Maternity Itself

It certainly is valid to draw a theological conclusion from Anthony's use of the "New Eve" to spiritual maternity although Anthony doesn't seem to have done so. He writes that as the beginning of the night was Eve's temptation so was the beginning of the day Mary's annunciation.<sup>67</sup> Just as by a man and a woman Satan obtained domination over the human race, so through Christ and Mary he lost it.<sup>68</sup> Mary's causality in regeneration is just as real as Eve in degeneration. This seems to be the extent to which Anthony pushes. We can add that as Eve is physical Mother of all and partial cause in the fall of all, so Mary is spiritual Mother of all and partial cause of the regeneration of all who are saved.

Mary's spiritual maternity is expressed by Anthony when he gives as one of the interpretations of "first born" as meaning "among many brothers."<sup>69</sup> We are brothers of Christ through grace and Anthony writes that we are made full [of grace] through Mary's womb<sup>70</sup> and that the grace of Mary flows over on us.<sup>71</sup> In

<sup>67</sup> "Principium noctis fuit ad Evam in serpente diabolica suggestio. Initium diei fuit ad Mariam Angelica salutatio." *Dom. infra Oct. Nat. Dom.*, p. 646b.

<sup>68</sup> "Per hominem idest Jesus Christus et mulier idest beatam Virginem . . . diabolus in humano genere perdidit principatum." *Dom. IV p. Pascha.*, p. 181a.

<sup>69</sup> "Peperit ergo Filium suum primo genitum, idest . . . in multis fratribus." *In Nat. Dom.*, p. 732b.

<sup>70</sup> ". . . uteri tui, repleti sumus." *In Nat. Dom.*, p. 732a.

<sup>71</sup> "'gratia plena' et hic dicitur 'super veniet,' datur intellegi quod sicut de

her we are regenerated because she is the place of our sanctification.<sup>72</sup> Through her we export grace as through a port<sup>73</sup> and through her we arrive at salvation.<sup>74</sup> She is the mother of mercy.<sup>75</sup> It must be admitted that these passages are figures of speech and/or refer to her physical maternity, as Mother of the Author of grace.

There are, however, elements of a literal spiritual maternity in such passages as the one referring to Mary's bearing her Son in order that we might receive immortality.<sup>76</sup> Mary is called the dwelling of Christ's Mystical Body, the Church.<sup>77</sup> We could further infer Mary's spiritual maternity from the title "spouse of Christ."<sup>78</sup> Anthony does speak of a double giving-birth: one in the flesh and the other in spirit<sup>79</sup> and he connects the beatitude of comforting those who mourn with the last word of Christ: "Mother, behold thy Son; Son behold thy Mother."<sup>80</sup>

The Antonian teaching of spiritual maternity should become more evident in our subsequent search for the doctrines of Mary's mediation and coredemption.

### B. Mary as Mediatrix

There are two aspects of the Marian mediation. Christ-Mary-Man and God-Mary-Man.

Anthony quotes twice from St. Bernard concerning the first when

vase pleno se aliquid superaddatur emanat ita aliqua stillicida gratiae ejus nos emanarent." *In Ann.*, p. 838a.

<sup>72</sup> "Beata Virgo fuit locus sanctificationis nostrae idest Filii Dei, qui nos sanctificavit." p. 729b.

<sup>73</sup> "Porta . . . significat Beatam Mariam per quam gratiarum munera exportamus." *In Purif.*, p. 722a; cf. *In Ann.*, p. 701a.

<sup>74</sup> "Stella maris clamamus, ut per ipsam ad portam salutis aeternae perveniamus." *In Ann.*, p. 840a; cf. *Dom Infra Oct. Nat.*, p. 638b.

<sup>75</sup> "Omnes ad se confugente recipit ideo vocatur Mater misericordiae misericors miseris, spes desperata." *In Purif.*, p. 809b.

<sup>76</sup> "Peperit filium suum et pannis eum involvit, ut stolam immortalitatis reciperemus." *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 90a.

<sup>77</sup> "O beata Maria quae est habitatio Sion idest ecclesiae . . ." *Oct. Paschae*, p. 138b.

<sup>78</sup> *Dom III in Quad.*, p. 90a; cf. citation above *re* Mary and Trinity-note 63.

<sup>79</sup> After speaking of the first painless birth, he writes: ". . . debemus et ei condolare in illius Passione, cujus animam ipsius 'gladius pertransivit' et tunc fuit secundus 'partus' dolorosus et omni amaritudine plenus." *Dom infra Oct. Nat. Dom.*, p. 644b and 645a; cf. *In Assump.*, p. 732b.

<sup>80</sup> *Dom XXIII p. Pent.*, p. 566a.



he writes of the Son placating and pleading with the Father and the Mother with the Son.<sup>81</sup> The second mediation of Mary between God and man St. Anthony has most explicitly: "The Blessed Virgin Mary, our mediatrix, re-established peace between God and sinners."<sup>82</sup> This is also the idea in the expression concerning Mary and her Child (Spouse) as uniting two estranged factions. The reconciliation was effected by the union of human nature assumed from her to the Divine.<sup>83</sup> The expression referred to above as "gate" and "flowing over with grace" certainly do express also Mary's mediation.

### C. Co-Redemptrix

From the foregoing we have already an idea of Mary's co-operation in redemption. Now we intend only to mention the Antonian view.

Mary's role as co-redemptrix can be twofold. That Mary prepared the sacrifice would be one claim to the title. That Mary's life and work were acceptable as gaining for us salvation would be another claim to the title; this later claim can be drawn from Anthony's teaching of Mary's consent, the New Eve and recirculation.<sup>84</sup> Anthony does write that the Blessed Virgin is the medicine of sinners and that her sanctity confers every kind of sanctity.<sup>85</sup> The passage at least hints at Mary's role being more than exemplary or precatory. True, however, he does use the figure of Mary as altar in a mystical but a passive sense.<sup>86</sup> Anthony does speak of the circumcision as being Christ's first blood shed for us and he mentions the possibility of Mary's having performed the ceremony.

<sup>81</sup> "Unde B. Bernardus: Securus, o homo, ascensum ad Deum, ubi habes ante Filium Matrem et Filium ante Patrem." *Dom I de Adventu*, p. 591a; the same quote in *De eodem*, p. 709b.

<sup>82</sup> "Beata ergo Virgo Maria, mediatrix nostra, inter Deum et peccatorem pacem reformavit." *De Eodem*, p. 709b; cf. *In Ann.*, p. 703a.

<sup>83</sup> *Dom XX p. Pent.*, p. 515a/b et p. 520a; cf. also *In Assump.*, p. 732a.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. these subjects as treated above.

<sup>85</sup> "Haec (Maria) est medicina peccatorum. Hanc nigredinem et adustionem Beata Maria suae sanctitatis medicinali candore aufert et in se sperantibus omnimodam confert sanctitatem." *De Eodem*, p. 715b.

<sup>86</sup> "Et bene beata Maria dicitur altare. Altare dictum, quasi alta ara. . . . Ara dicitur, quod victimae ibi ardeant." *Dom XII p. Pent.*, p. 400b; Cf. *Dom. VI p. Pent.*, p. 310a. Christ is an altar made from the blessed earth, Mary.

He adds, though, that it is not important who did it.<sup>87</sup> Concerning the offering of the Child in the temple, Anthony writes that Mary did the offering and then connects the offering in the temple with that on the Cross.<sup>88</sup>

Mary's role in the redemption would certainly be a subordinate one according to the mind of St. Anthony. He is most clear and explicit as to Mary's place in sacrificial redemption as preparing the sacrifice. "When Christ fed at His Mother's breast, He was working out salvation," writes Anthony and adds his reasoning. Our salvation was His passion: the passion He sustained in His body nourished by the Virgin's milk.<sup>89</sup> The instrument, the means of the sacrifice that redeemed us, was presented by, prepared by Mary and in that sense at least Mary is the co-redemptrix and the passion is hers.<sup>90</sup>

#### D. Mary and Satan

Redemption etymologically speaking can refer to saving us from Satan. Anthony expresses Mary's active role in a very graphic manner by using Jahel's victory over Sisara as a type of Mary's victory over Satan. The hammer that our Jahel uses is the cross of Christ.<sup>91</sup> In the fall we have Adam, Eve, the tree, and the serpent. In the redemption we have Christ, Mary, the Cross and blood of Christ to drive off the devils.<sup>92</sup> Mary crushed the head of the pride of the devil by her humility but he attacked her heel, so to speak, by her Son's passion.<sup>93</sup> In another place already cited, Anthony describes the crushing as the effect of Mary's vow of virginity.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>87</sup> *In Circum.*, p. 780b.

<sup>88</sup> "Primo obtulit Eum Mater . . . Secundo obtulit seipsum in sacrificium Deo Patri in reconciliationem humani generis." *In Purif.*, p. 720a.

<sup>89</sup> "... dum enim Christus lac sumebat, salutem nostram agebat. Nostra salus fuit ejus passio: passionem sustinuit in corpore quod nutritum fuit Virginis lacte." *Dom III in Quad.*, p. 91b; in 'a' he writes "ad ipsam confugiet peccator et salvabitur."

<sup>90</sup> "tibi (Mariae) idest humanitati quam accepi a te Passionem sustinere." *Dom. II p. Epip.*, p. 668a; "... ex parte Matris . . . laborem et dolorem." *Dom. IV p. Pascha*, p. 184b.

<sup>91</sup> *In Purif.*, p. 723a/b; *In Ann.*, p. 840a/b.

<sup>92</sup> *Dom. IV p. Pascha*, p. 181a.

<sup>93</sup> "Beata Maria contrivit superbiam diaboli humilitate; sed ipse 'insidiatus fuit' quasi 'calcaneo ejus' in sui Filii Passione." *In Ann.*, p. 839a.

<sup>94</sup> *In Purif.*, p. 721a/b.

Mary's victory over Satan was for all the people and such that he had no trace of power over her.<sup>95</sup>

We can conclude from Anthony's doctrine on Mary that she is our Mother and had a special role to play as Mediatrix, Cooperator in redemption and in the victory over Satan. Now we can move on to Franciscan Anthony's teaching of Mary as our model.

#### V. MARY AND OUR SPIRITUAL LIFE

Anthony in his *Sermones* is definitely Franciscan in his preaching of not only what to believe but also what to do. After all Mary is our Mother and a child does resemble his parent so we are to resemble Mary supernaturally. It is fitting, then, to consider Anthony's teaching as our exemplar after we have investigated her spiritual maternity with its ramifications.

Our Mother Mary is held up as an example when Anthony, after describing the Annunciation and Mary's attitude, writes that we ought to be as Mary.<sup>96</sup> In the same place, speaking of Mary's consent he notes the part our wills have to play in our justification.<sup>97</sup>

Anthony writes of Mary and her virtues so frequently that we need not cite the many passages. Noteworthy is his reference to Mary's faith which kept her at the tomb all day, that first Holy Saturday,<sup>98</sup> that faith which was the thread in sewing Christ's humanity.<sup>99</sup> Anthony writes of Mary's having the cardinal virtues although he does not use that name.<sup>100</sup> He refers to Mary as having the four virtues of temperance, prudence, justice, and fortitude.<sup>101</sup>

More than once, our Saint refers to Mary's prudence and our need for that virtue. Mary's prudence is brought out in reference

<sup>95</sup> *De Eodem*, p. 707a/b; *Dom. III p. Pent.*, p. 259b and 260a.

<sup>96</sup> "Sic et nos . . . debemus." *In Ann.*, p. 841a; cf. *In Ann.*, p. 702. As Mary, all who want to live chastely in Christ as Mary did, should avoid not only impurity 'sed etiam ipsam odorem debet fugere.' Cf. also *In Pent.*, p. 225a.

<sup>97</sup> *In Ann.*, p. 841b.

<sup>98</sup> *Dom. in Pascha*, p. 125a.

<sup>99</sup> *Dom. XIII p. Pent.*, p. 409a; cf. *Dom. XX p. Pent.*, p. 516b: "In fide enim Beatae Virginis, quae Angelo credidit sibi nostra naturam sponsavit."

<sup>100</sup> He writes about "quatuor virtutibus principalibus." *In Purif.*, p. 721a.

<sup>101</sup> "Potest hoc referri ad quatuor virtutes, quarum singulas invenis in Maria . . . (temperantia . . . prudentia, justitia, fortitudo)." *In Ann.*, p. 701b.

to the Annunciation.<sup>102</sup> St. Anthony certainly stresses Mary's humility and along with that, poverty. He speaks of the three principal virtues of Mary as being humility, virginity, and poverty.<sup>103</sup>

The Virgin Mary is held up by Anthony as the exemplar of the contemplative and active life. Our Lady was like both Martha and Mary, writes St. Anthony.<sup>104</sup> By her sublime contemplation and profound humility she was as an altar.<sup>105</sup>

Although the Evangelical Doctor does not make the application to his order, he points out Mary as an exemplar of the contemplative-active life. He writes that since all time is not to be spent in contemplation, Mary led the active-contemplative life.<sup>106</sup> In another place he says that Christ can glory in His Mother who was in the world, not a recluse or nun, and to bloom in the world is more glorious than in a garden or desert.<sup>107</sup>

It would certainly be interesting to investigate the Antonian teaching of the virtues as applied to Mary, but such a study would lead us too far afield. In concluding a cursory treatment of Mary in our spiritual life, we can mention Anthony's reference to the Eucharist and Mary. We are to believe firmly and proclaim loudly the Body which the Virgin bore is that given to the Apostles on Holy Thursday and confected daily in the Church.<sup>108</sup>

## VI. MARY GLORIFIED

### A. The Assumption

Mary's fullness of wayfaring grace was rewarded by its proper consummation of heavenly reward. On the day of her Assumption,

<sup>102</sup> *Dom. V. p. Pent.*, p. 296a; cf. *In Ann.*, p. 836a and 837b.

<sup>103</sup> *In Purif.*, p. 722a; cf. *Dom. II in Quad.*, p. 57a; *In Assump.*, p. 730b.

<sup>104</sup> "Fuit enim quasi Martha et Maria." *Dom. V. p. Pent.*, p. 296b and *In Assump.*, p. 732b, 733a.

<sup>105</sup> *Dom. XII p. Pent.*, p. 400b.

<sup>106</sup> *In Ann.*, p. 702b.

<sup>107</sup> "Ita et Beata Maria ejus Mater potest gloriari quae in mundo florem non perdidit cum tamen nec reclusa nec monialis fuit, gloriosius reputans florere in mundo quam in horto vel deserto." *Dom. XV p. Pent.*, p. 453b.

<sup>108</sup> "Unde firmiter credendum et ore confitendum quod illud corpus quod Virgo peperit, in Cruce pependit . . . ad dexteram Patris in coelum ascendit, illud vere Apostolis hodie tradidit, illud vere quotidie Ecclesia conficit et suis fidelibus tribuit." *In Cena Domini*, p. 847b.

writes Anthony, she was adorned with every prerogative of celestial reward. She received the reward of all the saints, who bore the creator and redeemer of all.<sup>109</sup> The Virgin reflects the life of all the saints; she is capable of all virtues. She possessed the virtues of all the just while in the Church Militant. Now she reigns in glory having the reward of all the saints because she is raised above the choirs of Angels.<sup>110</sup> This argument of "convenientia," that as Mary's grace and virtue excels the saints so also her merits and rewards, is reiterated by our Saint, seems to be his only attempt at theological reasoning for the Assumption. He contents himself with repeating the fact, using accommodation from the Old Testament.<sup>111</sup> Mary already has that beatitude of body and soul which all the saints will have on the octave of the resurrection.<sup>112</sup>

### B. Mary Queen

Mary was made Queen Celestial<sup>113</sup> and although she is of the royal house of David,<sup>114</sup> her right to that title is much stronger. Lady is to Lord as King is to Queen and Anthony calls Mary our Lady<sup>115</sup> as well as queen and ruler.<sup>116</sup> It is Christ who crowns His Mother and exalts her above the choir of angels,<sup>117</sup> because not even the angels had the dignity of being chosen by God the Father for the maternity.<sup>118</sup> Mary conquers the highest angel so she is "Blessed

<sup>109</sup> "Omni praeogativa caelestium praemiorum ornatam. Omnium Sanctorum praemia recepit, quae omnium creatorem et redemptorem genuit." *In Assump.*, p. 730a.

<sup>110</sup> "Insola Virgine omnium resultat vita Sanctorum; capax est omnium virtutum. . . . Beata Maria dum in hac Ecclesia militante fuit, omnium justorum virtutes possedit . . . Modo vero regnat in gloria, in quam omnium Sanctorum habet praemia; quia super choros Angelorum exaltata." *In Purif.*, pp. 722a, 723b.

<sup>111</sup> *In Assump.*, p. 730a/b, 732a/b.

<sup>112</sup> "Drachma octava pars unciae beatam Mariam significat quae jam illam et etiam longe majorem in anima et corpore beatitudinem possidet, quam omnes Sancti in octave resurrectionis sunt habituri." *Dom. III. Pent.*, p. 266b.

<sup>114</sup> *Dom. II in Quad.*, p. 69b.

<sup>115</sup> *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 91b; *Dom. V in Quad.*, p. 100b; *In Nat. B. V. M.*, p. 697a; *De Eodem*, p. 715b; *In Purif.*, p. 809b.

<sup>116</sup> "Gloriosa Virgo Princeps et Regina nostra." *In Nat. Dom.*, p. 744a.

<sup>117</sup> *In Assump.*, p. 733b.

<sup>118</sup> *In Assump.*, p. 732.



among the Angels."<sup>119</sup> This eminence of Mary over the Angels is a reality in spite of the fact that they did not need to be freed as men.<sup>120</sup> She is Mother of the King, "the beauty and firmament of the angels."<sup>121</sup> Thus she is queen, Lady of all of creation, even angels.<sup>122</sup> The angels then rejoice at her birth and to illustrate this, our Saint quotes *Eccelisasticus*, L, 6-11 and XLIII, 10, plus a pious legend of a saintly man who heard a melody on a certain day. The melody turned out to be the angels praising God on the anniversary of Mary's birth.<sup>123</sup>

Comparatively speaking Anthony wrote a lot about Mary as Queen and Mary and the angels. It could be his trips to the Portiuncula that set his mind on these lines.

### C. Marian Cult

After considering the Antonian doctrine of Mary's privileges, prerogatives, offices, and reward, we must mention our duty towards her as Anthony taught it. We must render her praise and glory and thanks,<sup>124</sup> not only because she bore the Word in her womb but also because she observed the precept of God in deed.<sup>125</sup>

When we praise Mary we please Jesus, her son, so that in praising her we praise Him.<sup>126</sup> Anthony put his exhortation into practice because although most of his sermons end with a prayer to Christ, he concludes a number with prayers addressed to Mary.<sup>127</sup>

Our praise of Mary always falls short and is as stuttering.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>119</sup> *In Ann.*, p. 840b; 841a.

<sup>120</sup> *In Ann.*, p. 840a.

<sup>121</sup> *In Assump.*, p. 729.

<sup>122</sup> *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 70b etc.

<sup>123</sup> *In Nat. B. V. M.*, p. 695a/b.

<sup>124</sup> "Tibi, O Beata Virgo, laus et gloria . . . gratias Virgo gloriosa, quia per te nobis Deus." *In Nat. Dom.*, p. 732a/b.

<sup>125</sup> *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 91b.

<sup>126</sup> "Sonet vox tua in auribus meis, vox enim tua dulcis. "(Cant 2.14). Vox dulcis est laus gloriosae Virginis quae dulcissima sonat in auribus Sponsi idest Jesus Christ is ejusdem Virginis Filii. Extollamus ergo vocem universi et singuli ad laudem beatae Mariae et dicamus ejus Filio: 'Beatus venter qui to portavit, et ubera quae suxisti.' (Lk 11.27)" *Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 89a.

<sup>127</sup> Besides the Marian *Sermones* we have other examples of prayer conclusions directed to the Blessed Virgin as *In Dom. III in Quad.*, p. 91b.

<sup>128</sup> "Ad cujus laudem quae omni laudi superenatat, in cujus laudem omnia materia deficit, omnis lingua balbutit, quia materia se offert, et devotio quan-

Despite, however, our deficiencies, Anthony gives us the example to praise Mary.

*Re* the cult to Mary we can add that Anthony has an explanation for Saturday devotion to the Blessed Mother. He writes that some say that Mary kept vigil at the tomb until Christ rose and thus merited to be the first to see her risen son. For that reason, he adds, the faithful honor her on Saturday.<sup>129</sup>

### Conclusion

In Antonian Mariology, we find nothing new or startling but then why should we. Theology is perennial since it is the science of God and things pertaining to God. It has as its object God and as its foundation or data the facts of revelation, the knowledge (*scientia*) that is God's. Thus as the science of God in two ways it is eternal, immutable. The human element, however, with the help of the hand-maid, has developed. From what we have seen, we can conclude that Anthony is a good representative of his times, a forerunner, if not parent, of Franciscan theology.

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tulacumque de ipsa enarrare cupit, ideo de 'Tabernaculo' digno quasi manu palpando, proponamus." *In Purif.*, p. 720a/b.

<sup>129</sup> "Beata vero Maria postquam Dominus, ejus Filius, sepultus fuit, a monumento, ut quidam dicunt, nunquam decessit, sed continue ibidem lacrimans vigilavit, donec resurgentem prima videre meruit, et ideo in ejus honore a fidelibus sabbatum celebratur." *Dom. in Pascha*, p. 125a.

## MARY'S SANCTIFICATION ACCORDING TO ST. BONAVENTURE

AIDAN M. CARR, O.F.M.Conv.

It is certain that St. Bonaventure did not admit the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception as contained in the solemn definition of 1854. A few authors, perhaps, can be found who endeavor to adapt the mind of the saint to the teaching of the Church,<sup>1</sup> but however sincere and laudable may be their effort, they do not really prove the point—nor even do they construct a sound theological basis for their position.<sup>2</sup>

Similar overly-enthusiastic attempts by the partisans of St. Thomas Aquinas<sup>3</sup> have succeeded only in doing violence to the texts of Aquinas, to say nothing of violence done to that sweet spirit of concord that should (ideally) reign among the Catholic theologians. Franciscans do not desire to see Bonaventure's words twisted into an *ex post facto* mould labeled "*orthodoxy in re the Immaculate Conception.*" Indeed, we do not need such a well-intentioned service, for we are in truth graced in having the one man who fashioned that mould: John Duns Scotus.

While Bonaventure never was able to bring himself to accept Mary's immunity from Original Sin, still it is of genuine interest and value to examine, in the light of what we understand today by the Immaculate Conception, the teaching of the Seraphic Doctor on the nature of Mary's initial sanctification. After all, it is he, perhaps as much as any other one man, who has given to our Blessed Mother the glorious title "*Regina Ordinis Minorum.*"

In the present paper we propose to limit our study of Bonaven-

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Minges, *Compendium Theologiae* (Ratisbonae, 1921), I, p. 338, no. 630.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Emmanuel Chiettoni, O.F.M., *Mariologia S. Bonaventurae*, in *Bibliotheca Mariana Medii Aevi* (Romae, 1941), pp. 145 et sqq.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dominicus Palmieri, S.J., *Tractatus de Peccato Originali et de Immaculato Beatae Virginis Deiparae Conceptu* (Romae, 1904), p. 291; M. A. Bros, *Santo Tomas de Aquino y la Immaculada Concepcion de la Virgen Maria* (Barcelona, 1909), *passim*.

ture's thought on the Immaculate Conception to those places in his *Omnia Opera* wherein he treats, *ex professo*, the question of the Virgin's preservation from the primal stain. In contrast to Aquinas, Bonaventure treated the question of the Immaculate Conception as a specific problem in Mariology, and not merely as *obiter dicta* in a tract on Christology. We have used some texts chosen from cognate places in his writings, but because Bonaventure's analysis of Mary's sanctification is largely confined to his Commentary in the Sentences, it is from that source we have chiefly drawn. The treatment divides itself conveniently into three sections: I Hypotheses. II. Theological Principles. III. Conclusion.<sup>4</sup>

### I. Hypotheses

In his treatment on the sanctification of the Blessed Mother, St. Bonaventure proposes three possibilities: 1) the sanctification of her flesh prior to animation (i.e., prior to the infusion of the rational soul); 2) the sanctification of the soul prior to the time it would contract Original Sin; 3) the sanctification of the soul in the womb of Anna after contracting sin, but before extra-uterine birth.

This statement of possibilities sets up the problem clearly, at least in its major lines. The question to be settled was: at what moment was Mary sanctified? To this question each possibility offers its own reply. And thus to determine the mind of Bonaventure with regard to the time of Mary's sanctification, one has only to weigh the opinion of the saint as to the respective value of each of the three possibilities.

1) The hypothesis of a "sanctification" of Mary's flesh anterior to animation is excluded by Bonaventure. To understand this alleged mode of sanctification, one must recall the teaching commonly held (even by Bonaventure) concerning the moment at which, in human generation, the rational soul is created and united to the body. It was admitted generally that the soul was created and infused into the fetus only after the organism had attained

<sup>4</sup> The present paper is indebted greatly to the clear treatment of this question by Chan. J. Bittremieux, *Le Sentiment de S. Bonaventure sur l'Immaculée Conception de la sainte Vierge*, in *Études Franciscaines*, Tom. XL (July-Aug., 1928), pp. 367-391.

such a development and such dispositions as would be required in order for it to become an apt subject for the reception of the substantial form. It was therefore held that between the moment of initial (seminal) conception and the subsequent infusion of the soul there existed an interval of time more or less considerable.

In addition, to see why Bonaventure excluded from Mary any corporeal santification before animation, it must be remembered that he, with virtually all scholastics, believed that the transmission of Original Sin was caused by an infection in the material part of the human composite communicating itself in some way to the soul: by its union with an infected body, the soul itself is marked by the primal stain.<sup>5</sup> To suppose, therefore, that her flesh had been "sanctified" before the soul was united to it would mean (assuming that the hypothesis were in other respects tenable) that the Blessed Mother would not have been touched by that stain to which every child born of the seed of Adam is heir.

2) The second hypothesis: sanctification of the soul prior to the time it would contract Original Sin, leads directly to the heart of that doctrine which became, in time, the object of the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception. Had Bonaventure accepted this position he would, in effect, have accepted the doctrine of Mary's complete immunity from all sin. But he categorically rejected it, and in such a manner that there is really no room left for doubt about his conviction: the sanctification of the soul of Mary was not accomplished prior to the time it would contract Original Sin, but only afterwards.

According to Bonaventure, *if* this second hypothesis were tenable, the sanctification of the soul of the Mother of God before any stain, could be explained by a creation of the soul and infusion of grace into it before its union with the body and the consequent incurring of sin; or else it could be explained by a creation of the soul, the infusion of grace into it and its union with the body, all occurring simultaneously in the order of time, but with a priority of nature in favor of the union of the soul with the body in relation to the sanctification by grace.

The former of these ways would imply some kind of pre-existence of souls, a theory too absurd even to merit refutation. Bonaventure

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. *II Sent.*, d. 31, a. 2, q. 1 (2, 749 b).



viewed the problem rather in terms of the possibility of a simultaneity of time in the creation of Mary's soul, its sanctification and its union with the body.<sup>6</sup> But what does he have in view with regard to a priority in the order of nature? It seems that he was weighing the argument in terms of the creation of the soul as something prior (in the order of nature) to sanctification, and the sanctification (again in the order of nature) as something prior to the union of the soul with the body.

That Bonaventure entertained the question from this aspect seems to find support in the beautiful analogy he borrows to explain the opinion favoring the Immaculate Conception. The Virgin is compared to the Ark of the Covenant, her soul is compared to the urn, and sanctifying grace is compared to the manna placed in the urn. The manna was first of all placed in the urn, and the urn then placed in the Ark. Granting that all this would take place in one instant of time, it would nevertheless be necessary, in the supposition of the Immaculate Conception, that there be a priority of nature in favor of the infusion of grace into the soul (the manna placed in the urn) in relation to the union of the soul with the body (the urn placed in the Ark).<sup>7</sup>

This argument of a priority of sanctification was not acceptable to Bonaventure, probably because to admit it seemed to him to leave no room for the *debitum* of Original Sin, and to exclude her from a *debitum* seemed to exclude her from any necessity (and even possibility) of falling under the redemptive influence of her Redeemer-Son.<sup>8</sup> St. Bonaventure probably did not accord much weight to a hypothesis of the sanctification of the soul posterior (in the order of nature) to animation. Ought one admit that if he had considered this a possibility he would have inclined to acceptance of it? There is little doubt that, even if this position had been clearly formulated, he would have rejected it as well, for he excluded in formal terms the proposition that the soul of the Virgin had been sanctified before contracting Original Sin, and the reasons for his

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<sup>6</sup> Cf. *III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 2 (3, 66 b).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 77 b.

<sup>8</sup> This seems to be the opinion of the Quaracchi editors. Cf. *ibid.*, *Scholion*, 69 a-b.

stand on that point are as forceful against sanctification after animation as against sanctification before animation.

3) The third hypothesis: the sanctification of the soul of Mary in the womb of Anna, after contracting sin, but before birth, is the solution to which Bonaventure gives his assent. According to this doctrine, Mary enjoyed the privilege of pre-natal adornment of grace, something required by her eminent dignity as Mother of the Messiah. Although not an unique instance of this special gift, yet this grace was granted to her sooner and in a greater degree than that given to John the Baptist or to Jeremias. Accordingly, Mary was cleansed from the stain of Original Sin just as soon as possible, most likely from the first instant following infusion of her soul into the body. This is substantially the teaching of Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas.<sup>9</sup>

It is evident that Bonaventure, in teaching that the infusion of grace was truly posterior to animation, had reference to a posteriority in the order of time and not in the order of nature. "If one asks," he wrote, "at what day or at what hour the soul of the Blessed Virgin was sanctified in her mother's womb, we are ignorant as to this. But one can affirm, with probability, that grace was infused very soon after (*cito post*) the union of the soul with the body."<sup>10</sup> This formula: *cito post*, indicates a true posteriority in the order of time. Hence there was an interval, however short, between animation and sanctification, and consequently there was the stain of Original Sin in her, even if it lasted for only an instant.

## II. Theological Principles

St. Bonaventure's motives for deciding that Mary was not immaculately conceived must have been cogent ones, for surely he would not have easily given assent to an opinion that seemed to derogate from her personal dignity. Rather, his Marian piety would have led him to adopt the favorable opinion, had this seemed to him theologically sound.

The Seraphic Doctor rejected the opinion that held for the first hypothesis: the sanctification of the body of the Virgin prior to

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Albert the Great, *III Sent.*, d. 3, a. 5; Cf. St. Thomas Aquinas, *Quodl. VI*, q. 5, a. 7.

<sup>10</sup> *III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 3 (3, 71 a).

animation, and on this point his arguments are absolutely valid. The proposal of the sanctification of the flesh when the soul did not yet exist naturally seemed absurd to him. There could be no question of a sanctification of the flesh, but at most, of a purification. Sanctification is realized by means of sanctifying grace, and the subject of grace is not and cannot be the body, since grace can be infused only into the rational soul.<sup>11</sup> This argument of Bonaventure against a prior sanctification of Mary's flesh as a method of explaining the Immaculate Conception, gains additional support from the principle that in the present order Original Sin is only remitted by sanctifying grace.

For St. Bonaventure, Original Sin did not consist in the privation of sanctifying grace, but in the privation of original justice. One thing, to his mind, was *justitia gratuita*, conferred on all the justified by sanctifying grace; another thing was *justitia naturalis* (or *originalis*), conferred by the gift of original elevation of man to the supernatural order. It is true, of course, that the privation of the latter would imply the forfeiture of the former.<sup>12</sup>

Since the soul contracted the stain of Original Sin by its union to a stained flesh, it follows from this that if the flesh had been previously purified, the soul, by the fact of its union with a purified body, would not have contracted the stain. Thus the soul of Mary, presupposing some miraculous purification of the flesh, would have been able to be preserved from stain inherited by all who take their origin from the seed of Adam.

But here too comes into consideration another principle already mentioned: in the actual order willed by God, in order to deliver one or to preserve one from Original Sin, it is sanctification that is required, not a purification. Original Sin, consisting essentially in the privation of original justice, is only remitted by the communication of sanctifying grace. Now, in the opinion of Bonaventure, as grace can be communicated only to the soul and not to the body, and since the soul of the Blessed Virgin did not (by hypothesis) yet exist, it follows that the only possible means for the removal of Original Sin would consist in the sanctification of the souls of her

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 1 (3, 61b-62a).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *II Sent.*, d. 33, a. 2, q. 1 (2, 788b).

parents. In this way Mary would have been sanctified in the persons of her parents.

But still another principle, admitted by Bonaventure, is opposed to this manner of sanctification, which implies the transmissibility of sanctifying grace by way of generation. The principle is this: transmissibility is not possible for grace, for contrary to original justice (a gift to nature and so subject to transmission by generation), sanctifying grace is a personal gift and so cannot be passed along by the act of generation.<sup>13</sup>

With regard to the second hypothesis: that of the sanctification of Mary's soul before any stain might be contracted, it becomes particularly interesting to see the reasons why Bonaventure refused agreement. We have already observed that for this mode of preservation from Original Sin, one can imagine its accomplishment either by a priority of nature in favor of the infusion of grace relative to the union of the soul with the body, or a priority of nature in favor of the union with the flesh relative to the sanctification by grace.

Whichever of these two may have appeared more acceptable to Bonaventure (although he rejected both) this much is certain: the Seraphic Doctor, in denying the sanctification of the soul of the Virgin prior to any contracting of sin, invoked arguments he believed valid against either of the two modes. And these are the very reasons which account for the unwillingness of the scholastic doctors to accept the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

The argument of authority would naturally have had great weight with St. Bonaventure, whose respect for tradition is well known, and he accepted the opinion of St. Bernard as *communior*.<sup>14</sup>

### Penalties of Sin

Bonaventure felt that a forceful proof for Original Sin in Mary could be found in her being subject to the penalties of that sin, such as death, and the presence of these penalties can be explained, he said, in one of two manners: either they would be "assumed" or they would be "contracted." They would be assumed if freely accepted for the redemption of men, and in this way Christ Himself willed to undergo some consequences of Original Sin. They would be

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 1 (3, 62a).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 2 (3, 67b).

contracted if they were the necessary consequence of Original Sin, and in this way all children of Adam incur them. Since, for St. Bonaventure, the presence of these penalties in the person of the Virgin could not be explained in the first manner, it must mean that the Mother of God incurred them simply because she, too, contracted Original Sin.<sup>15</sup>

What value did Bonaventure actually attach to this proof? It is not easy to determine from his text. He seems to advert to this argument only to show why the opinion opposing the Immaculate Conception is more common.<sup>16</sup> And yet it may well be that he believed this argument to be one of considerable intrinsic value, judging from his teaching on the difference, in mode and in origin, between the passibility of Christ and that of His Mother. He declared in formal terms that the passibility of the Virgin was the result of Original Sin, while that of Christ was in no way due to sin.<sup>17</sup>

We know, of course, that this reasoning is not valid. We know that Mary was subject to many of the penalties of Original Sin, not because she contracted that sin, but because God willed her to be a co-Redemptress with her divine Son; that it would be fitting that she undergo, in some measure, the sufferings the Incarnate Word condescended to take upon Himself.<sup>18</sup>

Further arguments employed by Bonaventure in his negative stand are:

Being, according to nature, precedes being according to grace, and from this it follows that the soul ought first to be united to the body before being adorned with grace. Now the soul which is united to the body before being sanctified by grace contracts Original Sin, from which grace only subsequently delivers it. This argument has no conclusive force, and St. Bonaventure himself seems conscious of its limitations. He refers to this principle in these terms: “. . . *esse naturae praecedit esse gratiae, vel tempore vel natura,*” and the mentioned possibility of a priority in the order

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *III Sent.*, d. 15, a. 1, q. 3 ad 4 (3, 335 b).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Juniper Carol, O.F.M., *Romanorum Pontificum doctrina de B.V. Corredemptrice*, in *Marianum*, Tom. 9, pp. 165 et sqq.



of nature, rather than in the order of time, deprives the principle of much value in this connection.<sup>19</sup>

However, since he invokes this principle to show that the opinion excluding the Immaculate Conception is better founded, it is only logical to suppose that he accorded this proof, if not a conclusive value, then at least one of probability. In substance his reasoning is this: it must be allowed, at least as more probable, that being according to nature precedes, in the order of time, being according to grace. Now, that a person should have being according to nature supposes the union of the soul to the body. Consequently, the soul of the Blessed Virgin was first united to the body, in order that the Virgin would be able to receive being according to grace. And because this union brings with it Original Sin, it accordingly follows that Mary had to contract this sin before being sanctified by grace.

A further support for his opposition to the Immaculate Conception is found in the absolutely universal quality of Original Sin, which permits of no exception. Everyone born of man, upon receiving life, is touched by the primal sin,<sup>20</sup> and Mary must inevitably be numbered among the stained children of our first parents.<sup>21</sup>

Connected with this principle is another, deduced from the mode of propagation of Original Sin. The channel through which this sin is transmitted is carnal generation, the same channel through which human nature itself is conveyed. All who receive human nature through this generative act necessarily receive similarly the taint that accompanies that nature, and because Mary was begotten in the normal carnal manner, it follows that she must have fallen under the law of sin.<sup>22</sup>

Moreover, Bonaventure affirms, immunity from Original Sin is the unique prerogative of the Saviour, demanded by His quality of Mediator and Redeemer, as well as by the manner of His origin: the miraculous overshadowing of the Holy Spirit.<sup>23</sup> And he cites in this connection the authority of Augustine: "He alone was able to take away sins of the world, who alone came without sin, because

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 2 (3, 67b-68a).

<sup>20</sup> *Rom.*, 5, 12.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 2 (3, 68 a).

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *Sermo I de Purif.* (9, 734 a).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 2 (3, 67 b).

He lacked all sin." <sup>24</sup> St. Bonaventure does not deny that God *could* in some way have made His Mother to share in this privilege of the Son, but he believed that it was not fitting that God do so. <sup>25</sup>

Finally, the universality of the Redemption is such that it extends to all men: Christ died for all without exception, opening for each child of Adam the gates of Paradise. How could Mary be entirely indebted to her Son for the benefit of Redemption if she did not need to be redeemed from Original Sin? This difficulty, so serious a one for Bonaventure as for many others, had to await the distinctions of Duns Scotus. As far as Bonaventure was concerned, to hold for Mary's immunity from Original Sin would indeed augment her personal dignity but at the expense of the glory due to her Son. <sup>26</sup>

For us of the mid-twentieth century, who enjoy the theological advances of some seven centuries, and whose minds have been illumined by the Church's infallible *magisterium*, it is a simple matter to perceive that Bonaventure's arguments against the Immaculate Conception are without real value, even though the principles he used to arrive at them are valid. But it was otherwise for him, for whom these profound difficulties stood in the way of accepting the doctrine, dictating an attitude of prudence and reserve in the presence of a then uncommon, if not novel, opinion.

Surely St. Bonaventure knew well and accepted a principle that had always been an unvarying part of the Church's dogmatic tradition, and had earlier probably induced others to accept what today we understand by the Immaculate Conception. <sup>27</sup> It is a principle that contains implicitly Mary's liberty from whatever sin: the fact of the utterly unique purity and sanctity of the Mother of the Redeemer. Understood in its full ambit, this fundamental notion must lead to a conclusion favoring Mary's freedom from any stain, even from the first instant of her existence.

If it be asked how it happened that St. Bonaventure, that savant troubadour of Mary, did not follow this truth of Mary's unparal-

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 2 ad 6 (3, 69 a-b).

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Martin Jugie, A.A., *L'Immaculee Conception dans L'Ecriture sainte et Dans la Tradition Orientale*, in *Academia Mariana* (Rome, 1952), *passim*; Patres S.J., *Sacrae Theologiae Summa* (Madrid, 1950), pp. 306-310.

leled holiness to its logical conclusion, the answer must be sought for in the strength of the opposed theological arguments. These restrained not only St. Bonaventure, but St. Thomas, St. Bernard<sup>28</sup> and others, from giving to the incomparable purity of the Mother of God its full implications in regard to Original Sin, although they rigorously excluded all actual sin from her.

It is remarkable to note that St. Bonaventure developed, with an insight that anticipated a current emphasis in Mariology,<sup>29</sup> the doctrine of Mary's role as Mediatrix and co-Redemptress.<sup>30</sup> He elsewhere appealed to the office of Christ the Redeemer and Mediator as one explanation why the Saviour must be entirely free of any sin whatsoever.<sup>31</sup> And yet Mary's office as the Associate with her Son in the work of Redemption did not lead Bonaventure to grant a similar immunity from sin in her case. This parallelism between the work of the Son and the Mother, due proportioned and guarded,<sup>32</sup> might well have brought the Seraphic Doctor to perceive Mary's Immaculate Conception as a necessarily related truth. That it did not is striking evidence of how convinced he was of the correctness of the contrary opinion.

### III. Conclusion

Some authors have been unwilling to agree that Bonaventure rejected the Immaculate Conception, and have read into his texts, taken out of context, merely the saint's affirmation of a *debitum* in Mary.<sup>33</sup> Others have tried to establish that he favored the Immaculate Conception because it is said that as General of the Order he introduced the feast of the Conception in 1263.<sup>34</sup> Yet he only states that although he could not himself accept the opinion

<sup>28</sup> Cf. A. Raugel, *La Doctrine Mariale de Saint Bernard* (Paris, 1935), *passim*. Note especially concerning the celebrated letter to the Canons of Lyons, p. 34 et sqq.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Juniper Carol, O.F.M., *Our Lady's Coredemption in the Marian Literature of Nineteenth Century America*, in *Marianum*, vol. 14; E. Ledvorowski, *Maternitas divina fundamentum Mariologiae*, in *Marianum* (Fasc. 2 [45]), pp. 176-194 (Roma, 1953).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Sermo V de Annunt. B.M.V.*, (9,679 b.)

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 2 (3, 68 a.).

<sup>32</sup> Cf. *De donis Spiritus S.*, collat. 6, n. 16 et 17 (5, 486-487).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Minges, *op. cit.*, *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Thus the Quaracchi editors. Cf. their observation in 1, p. LXIII, nota 3.

favorable to the doctrine, still that he would not dare either to praise or to blame the celebration of the feast.<sup>35</sup> And it would be so much the easier for him to authorize the celebration of it, since the object of the liturgical cult in question might equally well concern simply Mary's sanctification in the womb, rather than her conception in grace, a likelihood he expressly mentions.<sup>36</sup> In any case, it is by no means certain that St. Bonaventure in fact introduced the feast into the Order.<sup>37</sup>

While it must be acknowledged, we submit, that Bonaventure did not recognize Mary's immunity from Original Sin, still full credit should be given to his thorough, clear and pointed analysis of salient aspects in the problem of the Immaculate Conception. He proposed the necessary distinctions and presented the principal hypotheses. He honestly gave to both sides the profound attention they deserved. Simply because he could not, in conscience, place himself in the ranks of the minority who held for the Immaculate Conception at his epoch, does not mean that the Seraphic Doctor denied possibility, even perhaps probability, to the other opinion.

Is it not conceivable (and the thought opens vistas of keen theological interest) that if Bonaventure had not so fully explained his doctrine on the Immaculate Conception, Scotus might never have brought into the shadows surrounding the question the penetrating light of his subtle mind. The editors present, in the Quaracchi edition of the *Omnia Opera*, a remarkable Scholion on that point.<sup>38</sup>

Of this we may rest assured: no one would have more gladly accepted the definition of *Ineffabilis Deus* than he who wrote of Mary:

Virgo Maria advocata est peccatorum,  
gloria et corona iustorum,  
sponsa Dei et totius Trinitatis triclinium  
et specialissimum Filii reclinatorium.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Cf. *III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 1, q. 1 (3, 63 a).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 63b.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Bitttrémieux, *art. cit.*, pp. 383-384.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. their *Scholion* (3, 69 a-b).

<sup>39</sup> *III Sent.*, d. 3, p. 1, a. 2 (3, 73).

## MAGNA DEI MATER: MARIOLOGY OF ST. PIUS X

GREGORY GRABKA, O.F.M.Conv.

In the address delivered at the canonization of Blessed Pius X, the present Holy Father Pope Pius XII has called upon the faithful "to contemplate the gigantic and yet humble figure of the holy Pope," Saint Pius X. We believe that St. Pius X needs no introduction to this Franciscan gathering; his elevation to the supreme honors of Catholic altars highlighted the international Marian Year event Saturday, May 29. Nevertheless we feel that it is not altogether amiss to preface the Marian theology of Pope Pius X with a portrayal of St. Pius X the great Franciscan Tertiary, the more so since the theme of this Conference is devoted to *Mary in the Seraphic Order*. Of necessity, however, the burden of this paper precludes any lengthy presentation of it.

From the lowliness of the rural village of Riese where he was born to the heights of the Chair of Peter which he occupied as Vicar of Christ, Saint Pius X always nourished a great love, deep affection, and high esteem for St. Francis of Assisi, for his ideals and institutions, and for his sons.<sup>1</sup> His spirit was intimately and deeply Franciscan. As a boy, Joseph Melchior Sarto, the future Saint Pius X, heard of the Poverello of Assisi from his mother who was a devout and exemplary Franciscan Tertiary. In 1870, Father Sarto, then pastor at Salzano, was enrolled into the Third Order of St. Francis. He received the habit at Treviso from the hands of the Capuchin Father Onorato Bindoni, missionary at the Cathedral, in the course of Lenten sermons.<sup>2</sup> Henceforth he spared neither

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Girolamo Dal-Gal, O.F.M.Conv., *Beato Pio X*. A Cura della Postulazione della Causa del B. Pio X (Basilica del Santo. Padova 1951); F. Saccardo, *La figura francescana di Pio X* (Venezia 1927); T. Chiapetta, O.F.M.Cap., "St. Pius X," *Franciscan Herald and Forum*, xxxiii (June, 1954) 174-176; *A Symposium on the Life and Work of Pope Pius X*. Prepared under the direction of the Episcopal Committee of the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (Washington, D.C. 1946), 1-42.

<sup>2</sup> Dal-Gal, *op. cit.*, 173; *Analecta Ordinis Min. Cap.* (Oct. 1903), 309. Cf. *Bolletino del Terz' Ordine Francescano dei Minori Cappuccini di Padova* (1904) 52.



time nor energy in promoting the ideals of St. Francis. As Father Sarto ascended higher in ecclesiastical ranks, his apostolate on behalf of the Seraphic Order increased in proportion to the sphere of his influence. The official Acts of the Ordinary and Apostolic Processes of Beatification all testify to the fact that he showed intense interest in militant Franciscanism, and gave powerful impulse to the Third Order of St. Francis to which he belonged.<sup>3</sup> His benevolence toward the Franciscan Order and his admiration for its works were known to all.

### Pius X and The Franciscans

When Cardinal Sarto became Pope Pius X his love and goodwill toward the three branches of the Seraphic Order and for the Third Order grew immeasurably. He extended (Dec. 9, 1903) the privilege of celebrating a Votive Mass to the Immaculate Conception on all Saturdays of the year (with certain exceptions) to all churches and oratories of the Third Order wherever the Seraphic Kalendar is used.<sup>4</sup> The following year, March 23, 1904, Pius X granted indulgences (*in perpetuum valiturae*) for the devout recitation of *Tota Pulchra*.<sup>5</sup> On September 15, 1905, he granted special indulgences for the recitation of the Franciscan Crown of seven decades;<sup>6</sup> two months later, November 18, he permitted the Capuchin Fathers to enroll members into the Third Order Secular.<sup>7</sup> To commemorate the seventh centenary of the oral approval of the *Rule of St. Francis*, he issued his Apostolic Letter *Septimo iam pleno saeculo* in which, among other praises, Pius X openly expressed his devotion to the Franciscan Order.<sup>8</sup> In his Letter *Doctoris Seraphici* he commended

<sup>3</sup> Dal-Gal, *loc. cit.*; Chiappetta, *art. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> *Acta Sanctae Sedis* [-ASS] 36/487; cf. 38/40-41. -By a Brief dated April 5, 1856, Pope Pius IX granted this privilege to the churches and oratories of the First Order of St. Francis; the same privilege was extended to the Second Order of St. Francis by a decree of the Sacred Cong. of Rites.

<sup>5</sup> ASS, 36/702-703. An indulgence of 300 days *semel in die* was granted for its devout recitation, and a plenary indulgence under the usual conditions on the principal feasts of B. V. Mary: Nativity, Purification, Annunciation, Assumption, Immaculate Conception.

<sup>6</sup> ASS, 38/140.

<sup>7</sup> ASS, 39/153.

<sup>8</sup> *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, [-ASS] 1/725-738. Pius X quotes his predecessor Leo XIII whose sentiments he makes his own: "Iamvero Nos, qui, ut ipse de

the Franciscans of Florence for their excellent critical edition of the *Opera Omnia* of St. Bonaventure.<sup>9</sup> As a new token of his singular benevolence and love toward the Seraphic Order he granted *in perpetuum* the privilege to add to the Litany of Loreto the invocation *Regina Ordinis Minorum, ora pro nobis*.<sup>10</sup> Again, in an audience granted to the Friars of the three branches of the Franciscan Family Pius X praised their work, learning, virtue, and labors in the defense of the rights of the Church.<sup>11</sup>

The Third Order of Saint Francis ever remained close to his heart. He envisaged the "Seraphic Militia" as destined to rechristianize the world with its simple rule of life, especially with its emphasis on the apostolate of good example and the practice of Christian life based on the spirit of the Gospel. Pius X always took delight, at the numerous audiences he gladly granted to the members of the Third Order, in addressing them as his dear brothers and sisters, true co-operators with him in restoring society to Christ. To increase the spiritual force of the Third Order, and as a token of his solicitude for its growth, he issued the Letter *Tertium Franciscanum Ordinem* (Sept. 8, 1912) in which he restated the nature and purpose of the "Seraphic Militia," pointed out the dangers to be avoided, and with his authority set forth certain disciplinary measures to be henceforth observed in its regimen.<sup>12</sup>

These are a few, but not isolated, instances of the love and affection which Saint Pius X ever nourished toward our Seraphic Father and his spiritual sons. He himself observed throughout the course of his life the spirit of poverty of the Poverello of Assisi. All the Acta of his Beatification extoll his spirit and heroic virtue of Franciscan poverty. "He loved poverty," writes his biographer Fr.

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se Leo confirmabat, 'Franciscum Assisiensem admirari, praecipuaque religione colere ab adulescentia assuevimus, et in familiam Franciscanam adscitos esse gloriamur,' certe non minoris, quam Decessorum Nostrorum quivis, grande beati Patris Opus aestimamus, nec secus atque illi, peculiari quodam studio Nostro dignum ducimus" *Id.*, 1.730.

<sup>9</sup> ASS, 36.654-655.

<sup>10</sup> *Motu Proprio* (Sept. 8, 1910) -ASS 2/718-720. The Holy Father wrote: "Ob singularem benevolentiae et caritatis sensum, quo universam Fratrum Minorum Familiam prosequimur . . . tamquam novum specialis Nostrae in Sancti Francisci filios benevolentiae pignus, in perpetuum concedimus . . ."

<sup>11</sup> ASS, 2/906-909.

<sup>12</sup> ASS, 4/582-586.

Dal-Gal,<sup>13</sup> "no less than did St. Francis of Assisi." Upon his death a Roman journal carried these words: "We have seen living in our midst the figure of the Poverello of Assisi."<sup>14</sup>

The Marian theology of St. Pius X is intimately bound up with the goal of his pontificate. In his first encyclical letter *E supremi apostolatus* (Oct. 4, 1903)<sup>15</sup> Pope Pius X set forth the programme of his pontificate, which was, in the words of St. Paul, "to restore all things in Christ" (*Ephes.* i, 10), so that "Christ may be all in all" (*Col.* iii, 11).<sup>16</sup> Time and again Pius X returned to this motto during his eleven-year reign.<sup>17</sup> The prime means by which he proposed to accomplish his aim was the devotion to the Immaculate Mother of God. In his commemorative encyclical *Ad diem illum* he returned to this subject and discoursed at length on the role of Blessed Virgin Mary in bringing individuals and nations back to God. "The chief reason," he said, "why the fiftieth anniversary of the proclamation of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God should arouse a singular fervor in the Christian people is to restore all things in Christ, which We proposed in our first encyclical letter. For who does not know that there is no surer or easier way than Mary for uniting all persons with Christ and obtaining through Him the perfect adoption of sons that we may be holy and immaculate in the sight of God"?<sup>18</sup> In his address to the Marian Congress held in Rome, the holy Pontiff declared anew that the foremost means of restoring all things in Christ is the cult of the august and ever Virgin Mother of God.<sup>19</sup> He proposed to the faithful the dogma of the Immaculate Conception as a bulwark against the errors of

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, 529.

<sup>14</sup> *Id.*, 606. Five years before his death, Pius X penned his last will in which he wrote: "I was born poor, I have lived in poverty and I am sure that I shall die a very poor man" *Id.*, 528; cf. 607.

<sup>15</sup> ASS, 36/129-139. On the historical background of this encyclical see Dal-Gal, *op. cit.*, 367-396.

<sup>16</sup> ASS, 36/131: ". . . in gerendo pontificatu hoc unum declaramus propositum esse Nobis *instaurare omnia in Christo*, ut videlicet sit *omnia in omnibus Christus*. . . . Unde si qui symbolum a Nobis expetant, quod voluntatem animi patefaciat, hoc unum dabimus semper: *Instaurare omnia in Christo*."

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Encycl. *Communium Rerum* (AAS, 1/336); Encycl. *Editae saepe Dei* (AAS, 2/358); Allocutio *Primum Vos* (ASS, 36/195; cf. 36/707).

<sup>18</sup> ASS, 36/451.—On the relationship of the encyclicals *Ad Diem illum* and *E supremi apostolatus*, cf. Ettore Dehó, *I Dieci Pii Sommi Pontefici. Sunti Storico-Critici* (Siena 1909), 469.

<sup>19</sup> ASS, 37/295.

rationalism, materialism, and anarchism. Every force that is destructive of civil and Christian society "is destroyed by the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God."<sup>20</sup>

More than ninety official papal documents treating of Marian subjects ranging from approval and granting of indulgences for Marian prayers and invocations, sermons, addresses, to encyclical letters, were issued during his reign as Pope. They all harmoniously conspire to further the goal of his pontificate, to restore all things in Christ through Mary. He was very fond of addressing Blessed Virgin in terms which extoll her sublime dignity and sanctity, such as "the august Mother of God," "the Immaculate Mother of God," "the great Mother of God," "the august and Immaculate Virgin Mother of God," etc. In all truth it may be said that St. Pius X is the "Pope of Mary," "the Marian Pope."<sup>21</sup>

### The Marian Encyclical *Ad diem illum*.<sup>22</sup>

Of all the Marian documents of Pope Pius X the Encyclical Letter *Ad Diem Illum* is the most important source for our study and deserves our special consideration. Being an instrument of the supreme and authoritative ordinary Magisterium of the Pope, it carries great theological weight.<sup>23</sup> The Holy Father published the encyclical on February 2, 1904, in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the definition of the Immaculate Conception. He called upon the faithful throughout the world to celebrate the festal year with special manifestations of piety and love in honor of the Immaculate Mother of God. Pius X not only reaffirmed the revealed truth of Mary's Immaculate Conception, but also enlarged upon its significance both for the Church and for the spiritual life of the individual faithful.

At the same time the commemorative encyclical served as a point of departure for his teaching on Mary's prerogatives, particularly

<sup>20</sup> ASS, 36/457-458. Cf. *infra* n. 152.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. P. Romano, 'Pio X Papa Santo e Mariano,' *Orizzonti* Suppl. (Maggio 1954), 2.

<sup>22</sup> ASS, 36/449-462. —The English text adopted throughout this paper is based on the translation of D. J. Unger, O.F.M. Cap., *Mary Mediatrix. Encyclical Letter AD DIEM ILLUM of Pope Pius X* (St. Anthony Guild Press: Paterson, New Jersey, 1948).

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Pius XII, Encycl. *Humani Generis* (AAS, 42/568).



on her role of Co-redemptrix of the human race and of Mediatrix of all graces. It is a veritable compendium of Catholic teaching on the great Mother of God. The principal Mariological themes treated therein may be gathered under the following headings: <sup>24</sup> Immaculate Conception; universal mediationship; Mary's spiritual motherhood of the Mystical Body of Christ; devotion to the Immaculate Mother of God; Scriptural oracles and figures that bear on Mary's intimate and indissoluble association with Christ in the work of human salvation. The other pontifical pronouncements and documents on Marian subjects contain one or more of these doctrinal points. The relationship of the august Mother of God to the Three Persons of the Most Blessed Trinity is explicitly stated in his encyclical letter *Une fois encore* and in a prayer of reparation to the Blessed Virgin Mary in which she is called the Daughter of God the Father, the Mother of the Incarnate Word, and the Spouse of the Holy Spirit.<sup>25</sup>

The principal authors quoted in this encyclical are: St. Leo the Great,<sup>26</sup> St. Augustine,<sup>27</sup> St. Bede the Venerable,<sup>28</sup> St. Bonaventure,<sup>29</sup> Eadmer of Canterbury,<sup>30</sup> St. Bernard,<sup>31</sup> St. Bernardine of Siena,<sup>32</sup> St. Ambrose,<sup>33</sup> Dionysius the Carthusian,<sup>34</sup> Pius IX.<sup>35</sup> Besides, two passages from the Office for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception and one from the Gradual of the Mass for the same feast are cited.

The Marian Encyclical marks a notable step in the development

<sup>24</sup> Cf. G. Roschini, O.S.M., *Mariologia* 1 (Ed. 2a: Roma, 1947), 44-47.

<sup>25</sup> ASS, 40/11: "Confiant que la Vierge Immaculée, Fille du Père, Mère du Verbe, Épouse du St. Esprit, vous obtiendra de la Très Sainte et Adorable Trinité des jours meilleurs, . . ." AAS, 6/108: "Benedice [il vostro servo] l'eterno Padre, che vi scelse in modo particolare per Figlia, benedice il Verbo incarnato, che vestendosi dell' umana natura nel vostro purissimo seno vi fece sua Madre; benedice il divino Spirito che vi volle sua Sposa."

<sup>26</sup> *Sermo 2 de Nativitate Domini*, cap. 2.

<sup>27</sup> *De Sancta Virginitate* 6.

<sup>28</sup> *Expositio in Lucam*, IV, 9.

<sup>29</sup> *I Sent.*, dist. 48, Dub. 4.

<sup>30</sup> *Liber de Excellentia Virginis Mariae*, cap. 9.

<sup>31</sup> *Sermo de Tempore, In Nativ. B.M. Virginis*, n. 4.

<sup>32</sup> *Quadragesimale, De Evangelio Aeterno*, sermo 10, cap. 3, n. 3.

<sup>33</sup> *De Virginibus*, lib. 2, cap. 2.

<sup>34</sup> *In 3 Sent.*, dist. 3, q. 1.

<sup>35</sup> *Bulla Ineffabilis Deus* (*Acta Pii IX Pontificis Maximi. Pars prima* [Romae 1854] 597-619).



and clarification of mariological science within the Church. Thus, to furnish an instance or two of this progress, Pope Pius IX has enunciated in his Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* the mariological "principium consortii" with regard to Mary's role in the redemption of mankind. "Just as Christ," Pius IX says, "the Mediator between God and man, assumed human nature, blotted out the handwriting of the decree that stood against us, and fastened it triumphantly to the Cross, so the Most Holy Virgin, united with Him by a most intimate and indissoluble bond, was, with Him and through Him, eternally at enmity with that poisonous Serpent, and most completely triumphed over him, and thus crushed his head with her immaculate foot."<sup>36</sup> In the encyclical of St. Pius X we have a profound exposition of Mary's universal mediatorship on the basis of that principle. Again, the Rosary Encyclicals of Leo XIII are a veritable goldmine for the doctrine of Mary's role as Mediatrix of all graces.<sup>37</sup> Yet it is the encyclical *Ad diem illum* of Pius X that explicitly teaches that Mary has merited for us *de congruo* what Christ merited for us *de condigno*.<sup>38</sup> Likewise it is St. Pius X who neatly distinguished the twofold mediation of B.V. Mary in the work of the redemption of mankind, namely, her co-operation in the acquisition of all graces, and her part in the distribution of these same graces; the former is presented as the foundation of the latter.<sup>39</sup>

We will treat in order of the four main aspects of Marian theology of St. Pius X: Immaculate Conception; Mary's universal mediationship; Mary's spiritual motherhood of the members of the Mystical Body of Christ; nature and importance of Marian devotion.

### I. Saint Pius X and the Immaculate Conception

No other truth lay as close to the heart of St. Pius X as the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. It was

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, (Acta, 607). Cf. D. J. Unger, O.F.M. Cap., *Mary Immaculate. The Bull 'Ineffabilis Deus' of Pope Pius IX* (St. Anthony Guild Press: Paterson, New Jersey, 1946), 11.

<sup>37</sup> On the Mariology of Leo XIII, cf. J. Bittremieux, *Doctrina Mariana Leonis XIII* (Brugis, 1928); *id.*, *De Mediatione universali B. Mariae Virginis quoad gratias* (Brugis, 1926); Roschini, *op. cit.*, 139-44.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *infra* n. 91.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *infra* n. 87.

his favorite theme which he never tired to assert and inculcate. While Pius IX defined the dogma, Pius X promoted the cult of the Immaculate Mother of God. A large part of his official pronouncements bears some reference to Mary Immaculate. His apostolate in behalf of the Immaculate Virgin must be considered an integral part of his pontificate. To be sure, in his Mariology Mary is not isolated from her Divine Son: she is inseparable from Christ and from all that is Christ.

More than once Pius X stated that there is nothing more pleasing and gratifying to him, nothing more desirable, nothing more sacred, than that the cult of the august and Immaculate Virgin flourish more and more among the faithful and be promoted throughout the world.<sup>40</sup> To this end he enjoined on all the faithful that special devotions and solemnities honoring the Immaculate Virgin be held throughout the Jubilee Year of the Immaculate Conception: "Let there be solemnities of the faithful in the temples; let there be festive celebrations and rejoicings in the cities. All this is no small means for fostering devotion" to Mary.<sup>41</sup> He warmly approved of Marian Congresses held in honor of the Immaculate;<sup>42</sup> he commended Marian studies and endorsed the idea of collecting all documents pertaining to the Immaculate Conception;<sup>43</sup> he rejoiced to hear that Belgium was consecrated to the Immaculate Mother of God;<sup>44</sup> he exhorted Mexicans to foster the cult of the Great Mother of God.<sup>45</sup> To commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the apparition of Our Lady in Lourdes, Pius X had the grotto of Massabielle reproduced in the Vatican Gardens and placed there an imposing

<sup>40</sup> In the opening address of the Jubilee Year Pius X stated: "Noi, a cui nulla sempre fu più a cuore che cresca ognor più di giorno in giorno la devozione alla Vergine Immacolata, abbiamo stabilito di aprire benignamente nel Signore, i celesti tesori della Chiesa"—ASS, 36/346. Cf. ASS, 38/141; ASS, 2/185.

<sup>41</sup> ASS, 36/455.

<sup>42</sup> *Ad omnium instaurationem* (ASS, 37/295-296 [Marian Congress in Rome]); *Epistola Nuncium sane* (ASS, 39/197-198 [Marian Congress in Mexico]); *Epistola Barcinonem conventuris* (ASS, 39/257-258 [Marian Congress in Barcelona, Spain]). Cf. ASS, 39/335-336.

<sup>43</sup> *Epistola Exposuisti Nobis* (ASS, 39/196); *Abbiamo letti* (*id.*, 40/449). Cf. ASS, 37/295-296.

<sup>44</sup> *Epistola Quinquagesimo redeunte* (ASS, 40/386-387).

<sup>45</sup> *Epistola Per sollemnia saecularia* (ASS, 2/98).

statue of the Immaculate Madonna.<sup>46</sup> He extended the Feast of the Apparition of B.V. Mary in Lourdes to the universal Church.<sup>47</sup> In 1907, Pius X issued what is considered by many the most important document of his pontificate, the Encyclical *Pascendi dominici gregis*, in which he unmasked the multiheaded monster Modernism and condemned it. It is not coincidence that the document bears the date of Sept. 8, the Feast of the Nativity of Our Lady. Pius X sealed that encyclical with an invocation of unruffled confidence "in the intercession and help of the Immaculate Virgin, the destroyer of all heresies."<sup>48</sup> In view of these facts one can readily see why Pope Pius X was acclaimed during his lifetime as "the second Pope of the Immaculate."<sup>49</sup>

Although the Holy Father's teaching on the Immaculate Conception is for the most part a reaffirmation of what Pius IX taught in his magnificent Bull, *Ineffabilis Deus*, he has cast additional light on the theological basis for the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of B.V. Mary. The most holy Virgin, says Pius X in his prayer composed for the Jubilee Year,<sup>50</sup> is "immaculate in body and in soul, in faith and in love." The reason for her Immaculate Conception is the transcendent dignity of divine motherhood: "the Virgin herself was exempt from original sin, because she was to be the Mother of God."<sup>51</sup>

The Encyclical *Ad diem illum* has a more direct theological reason why Blessed Virgin was free from all stain of original sin in the first instant of her conception. Surprisingly enough Mariologists do not give it the prominence it duly deserves. In their proofs gathered from the magisterium of the Church, Marian scholars as a rule end up with the Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* of Pius IX, without a word about the teaching of Pius X on this subject.<sup>52</sup> True, their

<sup>46</sup> Romano, *art. cit.*, [cf. supra n. 22].

<sup>47</sup> Decretum *Immaculatae Mariae* (ASS, 40/747-748).

<sup>48</sup> ASS, 40/650.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Dehó, *op. cit.* [supra at n. 19], 564.

<sup>50</sup> ASS, 36/66.

<sup>51</sup> Encycl. *Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36/458).

<sup>52</sup> The name of Pius X and his teaching on the Immaculate Conception does not appear at all in the recent comprehensive work of Roschini (*op. cit.*, 2, pars 2 [Romae 1948] 11-87), where he treats of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The author brings forth a total of 27 theological reasons of fittingness, among which are 14 from the part of God (3 ex parte Dei

silence about him may be explained on the ground that it was Pius IX who has solemnly defined the dogma, and his apostolic document summarizes the wealth of scriptural, patristic, liturgical, and ecclesiastical data on Mary's unique privilege. The contents of this immortal document have been carefully and thoroughly explored by Mariologists. But there is in the Encyclical *Ad diem illum* of Pope Pius X a theological reason in favor of the Immaculate Conception which should be given due consideration, the more so since many Marian scholars have hitherto overlooked it completely.

### Various Proofs

St. Pius X adduces this reason in conjunction with his teaching on the nature of genuine piety toward the Blessed Mother of God. True devotion to the Immaculate Mother requires, first, abhorrence and avoidance of sin, and, secondly, imitation of Mary in her virtues. To corroborate this teaching, Pius X goes to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>53</sup> He presents the proof in the following way:

a. Apart from Catholic Tradition, states Pius X, "how does it come that the belief in the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary has at all times appeared so thoroughly in accord with the

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Patris; 9 ex parte Filii; 2 ex parte Spiritus Sancti), 11 from the part of the Blessed Virgin herself, and 2 from the part of the human race. Not one of these reasons expresses the thought of Pius X on this subject.

In his mariological treatise, *Tractatus de Beatissima Virgine Maria Matre Dei* (Editio 5a: Romae, 1926), Cardinal Lépicier quotes (p. 164) the pertinent text of Pius X; but, apparently, he sees in it only a reference to the 'sensus fidelium' with regard to the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The theological reasons of fittingness adduced by the eminent author (pp. 169-172) do not contain the basic thought of Pius X.

Among other authors who, in their dogmatic treatises, are completely silent about Pius X in connection with the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, we may mention C. Pesch, S.J., *Praelectiones Dogmaticae* 3 (Editio 5-6: Friburgi Brig., 1925); L. Lercher, S.J., *Institutiones Theologiae Dogmaticae* 3 (Editio 2a: Oeniponte, 1934); C. Boyer, S.J., *De Deo Creante et Elevante* (Editio altera: Romae, 1933); F. Diekamp—A. Hoffman, *Theologiae Dogmaticae Manuale* 2 (Parisiis, 1944); also G. Van Noort, J. M. Hervé, O. Mazzella etc.

<sup>53</sup> "Should anyone think that this requires further proof, it can conveniently be obtained from the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God"—ASS, 36/455-456.



Christian sense as to seem implanted and innate in the souls of the faithful?"<sup>54</sup>

b. The reason for this universal accord, he declares, is admirably explained by Denis, the Carthusian, who said: "We shrink in horror from the thought that the woman who was to crush the head of the Serpent should ever have been crushed by him and that the Mother of the Lord should ever have been the child of the demon."<sup>55</sup>

c. Next, Pius X sums up the thought implied in the above text: "Really, it is repugnant to the Christian mind that the holy, undefiled and innocent flesh of Christ could have been taken from the womb of the Virgin, from a flesh which had ever been stained for a single moment."<sup>56</sup>

d. Pius X brings forth the reason for this repugnance: "Why is this, but that God and sin are separated from each other by an infinite opposition?" And he concludes: "This surely is the reason why Catholic nations everywhere have been convinced that the Son of God, before 'He washed us from our sins in His Blood' (*Apoc.* i, 5), assuming human nature, had to preserve [*debuisset . . . praeservare immunem*] His Virgin Mother free from all stain of original sin in the first instance of her conception by a singular grace and privilege."<sup>57</sup>

We have here the elements of a theological reason why Blessed

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<sup>54</sup> ASS, 36/456.

<sup>55</sup> Dionysius Carthusianus, *In 3 Sent.*, dist. 3, q. 1: "Horremus mulierem, quae caput serpentis erat contritura, quandoque ab eo contritam, atque diaboli filliam fuisse Matrem Domini fateri."

<sup>56</sup> "Nequibat scilicet in christianae plebis intelligentiam id cadere, quod Christi caro, sancta, impolluta atque innocens, in Virginis utero, de carne assumpta esset, cui, vel vestigio temporis, labe fuisset illata"—ASS, 36/456.

<sup>57</sup> "Cur ita vero, nisi quod peccatum et Deus per infinitam oppositionem separantur? Hinc sane catholicae ubique gentes persuasum habuere, Dei Filium, antequam, natura hominum assumpta, lavaret nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo, debuisset, in primo instanti suae conceptionis, singulari gratia et privilegio, ab omni originalis culpa labe praeservare immunem Virginem Matrem"—*Ibid.*—It is apparent that the reason which Pius X proposes for the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and which serves as a further proof for his teaching on the nature of genuine piety to the B. Virgin, is not a "ratio theologica ex sensu fidelium," as Card. Lépicier would seem to indicate (cf. supra n. 52). The universal accord of the faithful in the Immaculate Conception is stated as a fact; Pius X indicates here one of the basic reasons for it. It is at the same time a theological argument in favor of Mary's Immaculate Conception.



Virgin, who was to be the Mother of God, was never subject to original sin, but was entirely preserved free from the original stain. It may be called *ratio theologica ex infinita oppositione Deum inter et peccatum*. The infinite opposition that separates God and sin from each other also affects Mary in so far as the Son of God was to be her Son. In other words, it was repugnant for the Son of Virgin Mary to have taken His human nature from a flesh which had ever been stained for a single moment. Hence the conclusion which Pius X draws: "The Son of God, before He washed us from our sins in His Blood, assuming human nature, had to preserve His Virgin Mother free from all stain of original sin in the first instant of her conception."<sup>58</sup>

It is to be noted that the object of the repugnance of which Pius X speaks, is not only the presence of any sin in the Blessed Virgin, but also the stain of original sin which, though no longer present, may perhaps have once been present. In other words, to the mind of Pius X the infinite opposition that separates God and sin from each other is such that, in the case of the Incarnation of the Word of God, it precluded not only the actual presence of any sin in the Blessed Virgin, but also any past stain of original sin. Otherwise the proof which Pius X draws from the dogma of the Immaculate Conception would entirely miss its value, if the infinite opposition between God and sin would bear solely on the actual presence of sin in the Blessed Virgin. For, as the Holy Father teaches, "it is repugnant to the Christian mind that the holy, undefiled and innocent flesh of Christ could have been taken from the womb of the Virgin, from a flesh which had ever been stained for a single moment." This repugnance, as is evident, refers directly to the stain of original sin. Now, the reason why it is repugnant to the Christian mind that the Son of Mary could have taken His human nature from a Virgin who had been stained even for a single moment, is, as Pius X explicitly states, the infinite opposition that separates God and sin from each other.

This is further clarified by what Pius X has to say in concluding his proof: "Since God, then, so thoroughly detests sin that He willed the future Mother of His Son to be free not only from every voluntary stain, but also, . . . from that stain by which all children

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

of Adam are marked as by an evil inheritance, who can doubt that the first duty of everyone who earnestly desires to win the favor of Mary by his homage, must be that of amending his sinful and corrupt habits and of subduing the passions which urge him on to forbidden things?"<sup>59</sup>

God could have redeemed mankind other than by His Incarnate Son. But since it pleased God in His eternal counsels that we receive our Savior through Mary, the Son of God, before He assumed human nature from His Virgin Mother, had to preserve her free from all stain of original sin in the first instant of her conception, because of the infinite opposition between God and sin. Hence by a most singular grace and privilege the Most Blessed Virgin Mary was never subject to the stain of original sin. She was immaculate in her conception. She is the Immaculate Conception.

In our opinion the teaching of Saint Pius X, the great Franciscan Tertiary, has added another element to the basic line of thought in the Franciscan School on the Immaculate Conception. To the teaching of Duns Scotus<sup>60</sup> expressed in the famous formula *Potuit, deuit, ergo fecit*, Pius X has added the *debut facere*: because of the infinite opposition that separates God and sin from each other, the Son of God, assuming human nature, had to [*debuisset*] preserve His Virgin Mother free from all stain of original sin in the first instant of her conception.

## II. Pius X and Mary's Role in the Economy of Salvation<sup>61</sup>

If, on one hand, the teaching of Pope Pius X on the Immaculate Conception has not received due attention from Mariologists, on the

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>60</sup> Scotus, *In 3 Sent.*, dist. 3, q. 1, n. 4 sqq. Cf. *Quaestiones Disputatae de Immaculata Conceptione* (Quaracchi, 1904), 14-16.

<sup>61</sup> General bibliography: The vast contemporary literature on Mary's cooperation in the redemption of mankind excludes any attempt on our part to give within the limits of this paper even a partial list of studies, articles, books etc. that have appeared. We will indicate some of the more known works wherein abundant literature is given.—J. B. Carol, O.F.M., *De Corredemptione Beatae Virginis Mariae Disquisitio Positiva* (Civitas Vaticana, 1950); Roschini, *op. cit.*, [cf. supra n. 24]; E. Druwé, "La médiation universelle de Marie," *Maria. Études sur la Sainte Vierge*. Ed. H. du Manoir, S.J. 1 (Paris, 1949), 419-572; Cl. Dillenschneider, *Marie au service de notre Rédemption* (Haguenau, 1947); J. Keuppens, *Mariologiae Compendium* (Louvain, 1946); J. M. Bover, *Maria Mediadora o Soteriologia Mariana*

other, his doctrine on Blessed Virgin's mediation in the salvation of mankind had been widely acclaimed as a prominent document of the Magisterium of the Church on the weighty issue, whether the Mother of God is in a strict and proper sense Co-redemptrix of the human race.<sup>62</sup>

The doctrine of Our Lady's mediationship contained in the official acts of Pius X, particularly in the encyclical letter *Ad diem illum*, bears on three fundamental phases of Marian theology: a) Mary's cooperation in the acquisition of all graces, by reason of which she is styled *Co-redemptrix of the human race*; b) Mary's mediation in the distribution of the fruits of redemption, by reason of which she is called *Mediatrice of all graces*;<sup>63</sup> c) Mary's spiritual motherhood with regard to all the members of Christ's Mystical Body. St. Pius X has developed these three closely bound aspects of Mary's universal mediatorship in connection with his program of restoring all things in Christ through Mary: "there is no surer

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(Madrid, 1946); B. H. Merkelbach, *Mariologia* (Parisiis, 1939); L. Leloir, *La médiation mariale dans la théologie contemporaine* (Brugis—Parisiis, 1933); C. Friethoff, *De Alma Socia Christi Mediatoris* (Romae, 1936); E. Campana, *Maria nel Dogma Cattolico* (Torino, 1936); Bittremieux, *op. cit.* [cf. supra n. 37]; id., "Adnotationes circa doctrinam B. Mariae Virginis Co-redemptricis in documentis Romanorum Pontificum," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 16/1939/745-778. Cf. also the periodical *Marinatum* (since 1939) for current mariological literature.

Bibliography on Pius X: Besides the above mentioned works, cf. J. M. Bover, "La mediación de la Virgen María en la Encíclica de Pio X *Ad diem illum*," *Estrella del mar* 4 (1923), 727, 741, 775, 807; id., "La mediación universal de la Virgen en los otros documentos de Pio X," *ibid.*, 5 (1924), 645 sq., 674 sq.; L. Di Fonzo, O.F.M. Conv., "B. Virgo de congruo, ut aiunt, promeret nobis quae Christus de condigno promeruit," *Marianum* 1 (1939), 418-459.

<sup>62</sup> Among the relatively few authors who claim that the teaching of Pope Pius X does not go beyond a remote co-operation of B.V. Mary in the acquisition of graces, are: W. Goosens, *De cooperatione immediata Matris Redemptoris ad Redemptionem Obiectivam* (Parisiis, 1939); H. Lennerz, S.J., *De Beata Virgine* (Editio 3a: Romae, 1939); id., "Considerationes de doctrina B. Virginis Mediatricis," *Gregorianum* 19 (1938), 419-444; 28 (1947), 574-579; 29 (1948), 118-141; G. D. Smith, *Mary's Part in Our Redemption* (New York, 1938). Cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, 2, pars 1, 255 sqq. 268 sqq; Carol, *op. cit.*, 517-524.

<sup>63</sup> Mariologists distinguish a twofold character of B. Virgin's universal mediatorship: a) her collaboration, albeit secondary and dependent, with Christ in the work of redeeming mankind—a co-operation which took place but once; b) her co-operation in the dispensation of all graces which she will continue to distribute until the last member of the human race has finished his mortal course.

or easier way than Mary for uniting all persons with Christ";<sup>64</sup> "together with her Only-begotten Son" Mary is "the most powerful Mediatrix and Conciliatrix of the whole world."<sup>65</sup>

In the exposition of his teaching on Mary's role in the economy of salvation, we will adhere as closely as possible to the logical nexus of ideas presented in the encyclical *Ad diem illum*. All other relevant Marian documents of Pius X will be brought forward to bear on the subject under consideration.

#### a. B. V. Mary—Co-redemptrix of the Human Race.

The basic mariological principle in the light of which Pius X expounds his doctrine of Blessed Virgin's universal mediationship is, what Mariologists fittingly call, the *principium consortii*,<sup>66</sup> that is, the moral union of Christ and Mary, willed by God, in the entire work of restoring fallen mankind. Mary is the universal and indissoluble associate of Christ in the redemption of the human race.<sup>67</sup> Pius X has expressed this principle in various forms. Blessed Virgin is "the partaker of divine mysteries," "sharer and companion of the sufferings of Christ";<sup>68</sup> "she was chosen by Christ to be His associate in the work of human salvation";<sup>69</sup> hence "upon her as upon a foundation, the noblest after Christ, is built the edifice of faith for all ages."<sup>70</sup>

Mary's association with Christ in the depth and breadth of the mystery of redemption is not founded on any necessity of nature. God could have redeemed us without her co-operation. But it has pleased God in His eternal counsels that we receive the Redeemer, whole and entire, only through Mary. The Holy Father is explicit on this point. He says: "Could not God have given us the Redeemer of the human race and the Founder of the Faith in another way than through the Virgin? Certainly, but since it pleased Divine Providence that we should have the God-Man through Mary, who conceived Him by the Holy Spirit and bore Him in her womb,

<sup>64</sup> ASS, 36/451.

<sup>65</sup> ASS, 36/454.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, 1.373-375; Carol, *op. cit.*, [supra n. 61], 59-70.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 36.

<sup>68</sup> Encycl. *Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36/451, 457).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, (ASS, 36/454). Cf. *infra* n. 78.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, (ASS, 36/451).



nothing remains for us than to receive Christ from the hands of Mary." <sup>71</sup>

The Sacred Scriptures bear witness to the intimate and indissoluble bond between Christ and Mary; they often speak of Mary's fellowship with Christ in the plan of Divine Providence. Pius X declares that "almost every time that the Scriptures prophesy of the 'grace that was to appear among us,' <sup>72</sup> the Redeemer of mankind is associated with His Mother." <sup>73</sup> The Holy Father brings forth eight scriptural references in which Mary was foreshadowed:

The Lamb, the Ruler of the earth, will be sent—but from the rock of the desert; the flower will blossom—but from the root of Jesse. It was really Mary crushing the Serpent's head that Adam was seeing, and so he dried the tears that the malediction had brought to his eyes. Noah, when shut up in the ark of salvation; Jacob, when seeing the ladder and the angels who were ascending and descending it; Moses, when amazed at the sight of the bush that burned but was not consumed; David, when he danced and sang while escorting the ark of God; Elias, when he looked at the little cloud that rose out of the sea—all these thought of Mary. <sup>74</sup>

From among these scriptural oracles and figures we wish to single out for closer study the text of *Genesis*, iii, 15, the *Protoevangelium*, to which Pius X referred when he said: "It was really Mary crushing the Serpent's head that Adam was seeing, etc." The Holy Father did not elaborate in his encyclical on the importance of this text for the doctrine of Mary's co-redemption of the human race. He did not need to; fifty years before him, his predecessor Pius IX had solemnly proclaimed that

by this divine oracle the merciful Redeemer of the human race, the Only-begotten Son of God, Jesus Christ, was clearly and openly pointed out beforehand, and that His Most Blessed Mother, the Virgin Mary, was

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> Cf. *Titus*, ii, 11.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, (*ASS*, 36/451).

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* The scriptural references in the order mentioned are: *Is.*, xvi, 1; xi, 1; *Gen.*, iii, 15; *Gen.*, vi–ix; xxviii, 12; *Ex.* iii, 2; *2 Reg.*, vi, 14; *3 Reg.*, xviii, 44.—Apropos of the oracles and figures of the Old Testament that bear on Blessed Virgin, St. Bonaventure writes: "Gloriosae Virginis excellens sublimitas adeo transcendit capacitatem humanam, ut non sufficiant verba ad eius explicationem; et ideo Spiritus Sanctus, qui eam replevit charismatibus virtutum, ipse Spiritus sanctus loquens per Prophetas et alios Sacrae Scripturae doctores, laudat ipsam multipliciter, non solum per verba expressa, sed etiam per figuras et metaphoras"—*Sermo 4 de Assumpt. B. M. Virginis* (*Opera Omnia* 9/695).



designated, and that at the same time an identical enmity of both against the devil was signally expressed. Hence, just as Christ, the Mediator between God and man, assumed human nature, blotted out the handwriting of the decree that stood against us, and fastened it triumphantly to the Cross, so the Most Holy Virgin, united with Him by a most intimate and indissoluble bond, was, with Him and through Him, eternally at enmity with that poisonous Serpent, and most completely triumphed over him, and thus crushed his head with her immaculate foot.<sup>75</sup>

It is Mary, therefore, who *through her Son and one with her Son* (hence directly, formally and proximately) has crushed the Serpent's head, that is, has co-redeemed the human race.<sup>76</sup> Pius IX has formally expressed, we believe, the divinely revealed truth contained in the Genesis' oracle about Mary's indissoluble association with Christ in the objective redemption of mankind. Pius X sees this principle verified "almost every time the Scriptures prophesy of the grace that was to appear among us."<sup>77</sup> Indeed, he says, "after Christ we find in Mary the end of the Law and the fulfillment of the figures and oracles."<sup>78</sup> Here, again, one can

<sup>75</sup> Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* (Acta [cf. supra n. 36] 607).—We may well quote what Roschini (*op. cit.*, 2, pars 1, 284–285) says about the contents of this papal document: "Pius IX, in Bulla *Ineffabilis Deus*, quattuor asserit, nempe: 1) quod Patres Ecclesiaeque scriptores, in divino hoc oraculo genesiaco, significatos viderunt Redemptorem eiusque SS. Matrem; 2) eosdem Patres et Scriptores insigniter expressas vidisse, in illo eodem textu, simul *ipsissimas utriusque contra diabolum sempiternas inimicitias*; 3) determinat in quamam re *in concreto*, huiusmodi triumphales inimicitiae repositae fuerunt, videlicet *in contritione capitis serpentis infernalis*, ob quam contritionem deletum est decretum mortis, id est, homines redempti fuerunt; 4) aperte asserit talem contritionem capitis serpentini effectum communem fuisse Christi et Mariae, id est, operatam fuisse non a *Christo tantummodo*, sed *simul a Christo et ab eius sanctissima Matre*. Aliis verbis: Virgo SS. contrivit caput serpentis infernalis nedum *per Christum* (seu mediante Christo, et ideo indirecte, remote), . . . sed etiam 'Una Cum Christo,' id est immediate et proxime. Contritio ista capitis serpentis infernalis, id est, redemptio nostra obiectiva, exhibetur a Patribus et Scriptoribus Ecclesiae tamquam *terminus immediatus et communis inimiciarum triumphalium a Deo positarum inter Mariam et Christum*, ex una parte, et serpentem ex alia parte."—On the scriptural value of the Genesis' text for the doctrine of Mary's co-redemption, cf. Carol, *op. cit.*, 76–97; Bittremieux, *De mediatione universali*, 180 sqq.; Lépiciér, *op. cit.*, 136–139.

<sup>76</sup> Theologians unanimously teach that the crushing of the serpent's head signifies objective redemption of the human race. Cf. J. B. Carol, "Utrum B. Virginis Corredemptio sit in S. Scriptura formaliter revelata," *Marianum* 1 (1939), 319.

<sup>77</sup> Encycl. *Ad diem illum*, (ASS, 36/451).

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, (ASS, 36/452). On Marian biblical texts and figures, cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, 154–62; 2.283–287.

readily see another aspect of the *principium consortii*: together with Christ, Mary is the center of the Sacred Scriptures, however secondarily and in dependence upon Christ. She is Christ's associate in the revelation of God's economy of salvation.

What the Sacred Scriptures have foretold and biblical figures have foreshadowed takes on a concrete realization. Mary becomes the Mother of the Savior, and by a never-broken community of life and labor, pain and will, is, through Christ and together with Christ, the Mediatrix and Conciliatrix of the whole world. She has positively co-operated with Christ toward the redemption of mankind, and that in a twofold way: first, by her collaboration in the redemptive work itself, that is, in the acquisition of graces; secondly, by her co-operation with Him in the distribution of all the graces of redemption that are granted to individual souls. The burden rests on her first mode of co-operation. St. Pius elaborates on it and clearly indicates the specific reason why B. V. Mary is Co-redemptrix of the human race. We shall quote at length the pertinent passages so that the relevant texts may appear in the full light of their context.

the most holy Mother of God had not only the honor of "having given the substance of her flesh to the Only-begotten Son of God, who was to be born of the human race,"<sup>79</sup> and by means of this flesh the Victim for the salvation of men was to be prepared, but she was also entrusted with the task of tending and nourishing this Victim and even of offering it on the altar at the appointed time. The result was a never-broken community of life and labor between Son and Mother, so that in regard to both of them the Prophet's words are equally true, "My life is wasted with grief and my years in sighs" (*Ps.*, xxx, 11). Then, when the last hour of the Son arrived, "there stood by the Cross of Jesus His Mother" (*John*, xix, 25), not merely occupied in contemplating the cruel spectacle, but rejoicing that "her Only-begotten was being offered for the salvation of the human race, and she suffered so much together with Him, that, if it had been possible, she would with greater willingness have borne all the torments that her Son suffered."<sup>80</sup> And by this community of pain and will between Christ and Mary "she merited to become in a most worthy manner the Reparatrix of the lost world"<sup>81</sup> and, consequently, the Dispenser of all the gifts that Jesus acquired for us by His Death and Blood.

Since she transcends all creatures in sanctity, and in union with Christ, and since she was chosen by Christ to be His associate in the work of

<sup>79</sup> St. Bede the Venerable, *Expositio in S. Lucam*, lib. 4, cap. 9.

<sup>80</sup> St. Bonaventure, *In 1 Sent.*, dist. 48, Dubium 4 (*Opera Omnia* 1/861).

<sup>81</sup> Eadmer of Canterbury, *Liber de Excellentia Virginis*, cap. 9 (PL 159.573).

human salvation, she merits for us congruously, as they say, what Christ has merited for us condignly, and she is the principal minister of the graces to be distributed.<sup>82</sup>

The above passages contain the substance of the Holy Father's papal pronouncements on Blessed Virgin's role in the salvation of mankind. As we have mentioned above, the Marian theology of Pius X has for its basic principle the doctrine of Mary's intimate and indissoluble union with Christ, namely, the *principium consortii*. Three times it appears in the foregoing quotation.

It appears again in the passage where Pius X explains the basic difference between the role of Mary and the right of Christ in the distribution of the graces of redemption. By strict and proper right the dispensation of the fruits of redemption belongs to Christ, "yet, by that community of pain and sorrow of the Mother with her Son . . . it was granted to the august Virgin to be together with her Only begotten Son, the most powerful Mediatrix and Conciliatrix of the whole world."<sup>83</sup>

As Christ's chosen associate in the work of human salvation Mary has variously co-operated in the objective redemption. First, *physically*: she is the Mother of the Victim for the salvation of man. She gave the substance of her flesh to the Savior, she had borne Him in her womb. Next, *morally, but remotely*: she tended and nourished this Victim knowing that He was to be immolated for the redemption of mankind. Mary collaborated *formally and proximately* in the very act of redemption, in the very sacrificial act, by offering Christ-Victim on the altar at the appointed time and, more directly, by her *compassion*. Pius X does not leave it for us to infer this for ourselves; he himself explains how the Mother of God co-operated in the act by which we were redeemed: Mary was entrusted "with the task of . . . offering it [Christ-Victim] on the altar at the appointed time. . . . Then, when the last hour of the Son arrived, there stood by the Cross of Jesus His Mother, not merely occupied in contemplating the cruel spectacle, but rejoicing that 'her Only-begotten was being offered for the salvation of the human race, and she suffered so much together with Him, that, if it had been possible, she would with greater willingness have borne all the torments that

<sup>82</sup> *Enycl. Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36.454).

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

her Son suffered.' " <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> Pius X stresses Mary's sufferings together with Christ. He has redeemed us by His Passion and Death on the Cross; Mary has co-operated in this very act by her compassion:

And by this community of pain and will between Christ and Mary she merited to become in a most worthy manner the Reparatrix of the lost world and, consequently /atque ideo/, the Dispenser of all the gifts that Jesus acquired for us by His Death and Blood.<sup>86</sup>

### Mary's Compassion

The Holy Father neatly distinguishes between Mary's immediate co-operation in the very act of redemption and her part in the distribution of the fruits of this redemption. A little before that, Pius X spoke of her remote co-operation in the salvation of man-

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<sup>84</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 80.—St. Bonaventure's doctrine on Mary's co-redemption is highly significant for the precise meaning of the Pope's teaching on Blessed Virgin's immediate co-operation with Christ in the very act of redemption. Speaking of Mary's suffering together with Christ on our behalf, the Seraphic Doctor writes: "Sic etiam piissima anima beatae Virginis dilectissimo Filio suo patienti, quantum sustinere poterat, compatiebatur. Nullo tamen modo est dubitandum, quin virilis eius animus et ratio constantissima vellet etiam Unigenitum tradere pro salute humani generis, ut Mater per omnia conformis esset Patri. Et in hoc miro modo debet laudari et amari, quod placuit ei, ut Unigenitus suus pro salute humani generis offerretur. Et tantum etiam compassa est, ut, si fieri posset, omnia tormenta quae Filius pertulit, ipsa multo libentius sustineret. Vere igitur fuit fortis et pia, dulcis pariter et severa, sibi parca, sed nobis largissima" (*log. cit.* [supra n. 80]). Elsewhere, the Seraphic Doctor teaches that Mary is the "socia Christi" in the work of human salvation, just as Eve was the "socia Adae" in the fall of mankind; just as Adam and Eve were the "peremptores" of the human race, so Christ and Mary are its "reparatorum": "Sicut illi fuerunt peremptores humani generis, ita isti fuerunt reparatorum"—*Sermo 4 de Assumpt. B.V. Mariae* (*Opera Omnia* 9/695). Mary is Co-redemptrix because she offered her Son on the Cross as our redemption and as a sacrifice: Maria "persolvit istud pretium ut mulier fortis et pia, scilicet quando Christus passus est in cruce ad persolvendum pretium istud, ut nos purgaret, lavaret et redimeret; tunc beata Virgo fuit praesens, acceptans et concordans voluntati divinae. Et placuit ei, quod pretium uteri sui offerretur in cruce pro nobis. . . . Et beata Virgo est venerativa et restaurativa honoris Deo subtracti, et mater consentiens, quod Christus in pretium offerretur. . . . beata Virgo obtulit filium ad sacrificandum"—*De Donis Spiritus Sancti. Collatio* 6, n. 15 et 17 (*Opera Omnia* 5/486). As Fr. Di Fonzo points out (*Doctrina S. Bonaventurae de Universali Mediatione B.V. Mariae* [Romae 1939] 116-123), according to St. Bonaventure, Mary is in a strict sense Co-redemptrix of the human race chiefly because of her compassion with Christ.

<sup>85</sup> *Encycl. Ad diem illum*, (ASS, 36/453).

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*



kind; here he indicates her proximate collaboration in the very sacrificial act: she co-operated by her *compassion*. By reason of her intimate share in the Passion of Christ in our behalf, Mary merited to become the Reparatrix of the human race and, consequently, the Dispensatrix of the fruits of redemption.<sup>87</sup> The title of *Reparatrix perditionis orbis* is clearly distinct from that of *universorum munerum Dispensatrix*; the former is the reason for and the basis of the latter. In virtue of her compassion she merited to become the *Co-redemptrix*; because she is Co-redemptrix, she merited to become the Dispensatrix of all the gifts of redemption.

Mary's compassion, it should be noted, did not consist in her mere feeling of sorrow and sympathy for her suffering Son; such emotions and feelings were certainly experienced by St. John and the holy women who stood by the Cross of Jesus.<sup>88</sup> As Pius X says, Blessed Virgin was not merely occupied in contemplating the cruel spectacle. Her compassion was a true, though subordinate and dependent, part in Christ's own Passion; a part offered together with His Passion for our redemption, so that the total principle of our salvation is Christ's Passion together with Mary's compassion.

To understand the nature of Mary's compassion and, therefore, the distinct co-redemptive acts of it, we must consider it in the light of Christ's Passion. Only by analogy with the Passion of Christ can Mary's co-redemption be fully explained.<sup>89</sup> While all Christ's actions were meritorious, yet we were redeemed properly by His Passion and Death on the Cross. Now, Christ's Passion has wrought our redemption by way of merit, sacrifice, satisfaction, and redemption.<sup>90</sup> Analogously Mary's compassion followed closely the four modes by which Christ redeemed us. The Encyclical *Ad diem illum* explicitly mentions two ways in which Blessed Virgin participated in the very act of redemption, namely, by way of merit

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. Bittremieux, "Adnotationes circa doctrinam B. M. Virginis Co-redemptricis in documentis Romanorum Pontificum," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 16 (1939), 762 sq.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. T. U. Mullaney, O.P., "The Meaning of Mary's Compassion," *AER* cxxv (1951) 1-6, 120-129, 196-207.

<sup>89</sup> On the principle of analogy applied to B. Virgin's universal mediation, cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, 1363-369.

<sup>90</sup> Cf. S. Thomas, *Summa Theologica* 3, q. 48, art. 1-4; cf. art. 6.



and sacrifice; the other two modes are implicitly contained in the 'principium consortii.'

### By Way of Merit <sup>91</sup>

Mary's co-redemptive compassion was meritorious of all graces for the entire human race. The Pope's encyclical leaves no room for doubt in this matter. Pius X says: "Since she transcends all creatures in sanctity, and in union with Christ, and since she was chosen by Christ to be His associate in the work of human salvation, she merits for us congruously, as they say, what Christ has merited for us condignly."<sup>92</sup> The Holy Father not only posits the fact of Mary's meritorious co-redemption, but also indicates its basis, nature, object and extension.

In the first place, Mary has merited for us in virtue of her transcendent sanctity, that is, her supereminent measure of grace and sublime dignity, and her indissoluble union with Christ in the work of human salvation. Next, her merit in the acquisition of graces is entirely different from that of her Son: she merited *congruously*, hence not according to strict justice; Christ has merited for us *condignly*, hence according to rigor of justice. The Holy Father, we believe, has given his stamp of approval to the common teaching of theologians on the nature of Mary's co-redemptive merit, when he said that Mary merited "congruously, as they say [de congruo, ut aiunt]." Thus he indicated he wishes his teaching to be understood in the sense already accepted and familiar to theologians.<sup>93</sup> The object of her merit is the graces necessary for the salvation of mankind: it embraces all the graces without excep-

<sup>91</sup> Cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, 2, pars 1, 356-360; Carol, *op. cit.*, 517 sqq.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 82.—Vain and arbitrary, we believe, is the objection of W. Goosens (*op. cit.* [supra n. 62] 62 sqq.) that the text in question does not establish Mary's merit in the order of acquisition of graces. He argues on the ground that, whereas Pius X employed with regard to Christ's merit the past tense "promeruit," with regard to Mary he used the present tense "promeret" which, according to him, refers to Mary's office only in the distribution of graces. This and other similar objections raised by Goosens are thoroughly refuted by leading Mariologists and are shown to be groundless. Cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, 2, 268-277; Carol, *op. cit.*, [supra n. 61] 517-524; Di Fonzo, *art. cit.*, [supra n. 61].

<sup>93</sup> Cf. W. G. Most, "Blessed Pius X and the Blessed Virgin Mary," *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* 52 (1952) 311-314.

tion. What Christ has merited for us condignly, Mary has merited for us congruously. In other words, Blessed Virgin's merit is as universal in its order of congruity as Christ's merit for us is in its order of condignity.

### By Way of Sacrifice <sup>94</sup>

Christ gave up His life for us in the midst of indescribable suffering; analogously, Mary, also in the midst of untold suffering, gave her consent and offered Him who was dearer to her than her own life. She offered Him on the altar of the Cross in so far as it pertained to her, namely, by her wholehearted consent to His sacrificial will and to the will of the Heavenly Father to have her Son immolated for our sins: "she was also entrusted with the task . . . of offering it [Victim] on the altar at the appointed time." Mary offered her Son and His Passion as a sacrifice for our sins; and she offered her own self and her own sufferings together with her Son for our redemption.<sup>95</sup> Hence Christ's Passion and her secondary, subordinate and dependent, compassion is the total sacrifice for the redemption of the human race. Here, again, the community of sorrow and will enters into the sacrifice of the Cross.<sup>96</sup> Mary's part

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, 2372-377; Mullaney, *art. cit.* [*supra* n. 88] 196-199.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 85. In a letter "*Ubere cum fructu*" (AAS, 3/266) Pius X wrote: "Maria enim praesente ac spectante divinum illud sacrificium perfectum est quo redempti sumus, eiusque adeo fuit particeps ut victimam sacratissimam et peperit et aluerit, martyrum regina."—Mary's proximate co-operation in the Sacrifice of Calvary is further explained by Pope Benedict XV in his Apostolic Letter *Inter Sodalitias*: "She suffered and almost died together with her suffering and dying Son, she abdicated her maternal rights over her Son for the salvation of men and, in so far as it was within her power, she immolated her Son in order to appease the justice of God, in such a manner that we rightly say that she redeemed the human race together with Christ"—(ASS, 10/181-182).

<sup>96</sup> The statement of C. Boyer, S.J. expresses very well the mind of Pius X on Mary's co-operation in the sacrifice of Calvary: "God willed that the sacrifice of His Son should be offered to Him not only by the Son, but by the Mother as well. This offering is certainly not a remote co-operation in the sacrifice. It is an essential part of it. It is true that the offering made by Christ was the only one which was absolutely required to satisfy the divine justice. But the offering of the same Victim, as performed by Mary in the selfsame sacrifice, contributed new fittingness to the offering made by Christ. This life which Jesus had received from Mary was immolated by Him in conformity with her who had given it and who retained certain rights over it. The human race offered to the Father, through Mary, the Victim which ex-

in the sacrifice of the Cross did not add anything to, nor detract anything from, the sacrifice of Christ; it rather enhanced it. For whatever merit she had in that sacrificial act, she owed it whole and entire to Christ; it was the fruit of His redemption.

### By Way of Satisfaction and Redemption <sup>97</sup>

These two modes of Blessed Virgin's co-operation in our salvation are not taught explicitly by Pope Pius X; nevertheless they are clearly implied in his doctrine of Mary's association with Christ in the objective redemption.

Mary shared in our co-redemption by way of satisfaction for the sins of mankind. Christ's reparation for our offenses has been more than adequate: His Passion and Death for our sake is of infinite value. It is also a *condign* satisfaction. On the part of His work offered as recompense for the sins of all men there is evidently more than mere equality. But it pleased God in His eternal counsels that the Most Blessed Virgin be Christ's sharer and companion in this work of reparation unto divine justice for the sins of the entire human race. He has willed that to the infinite satisfaction offered by His Son be joined indissolubly Mary's satisfaction on our behalf. Thus the total satisfaction unto God for our offenses is Christ's infinite satisfaction together with Mary's finite satisfaction.

The Blessed Virgin gave recompense unto God for our sins *by her compassion*, just as her Son, our Savior, gave by His Passion. Being immaculate, wholly innocent, full of grace, and as Mother of God, her compassion was most pleasing and acceptable to God as a reparation for the offenses of mankind. To be sure, her satisfaction was far inferior to Christ's: it was only secondary, subordinate, intrinsically dependent on Christ, and from His Passion received its moral value. Moreover, only Christ has satisfied *condignly* for our sins; hers was a congruous satisfaction, just as her co-redemptive merit was only congruous. And yet her satisfaction is universal in its effect: by her compassion she satisfied unto God for all sins of all men. In a word, Mary's co-redemptive satisfaction follows the

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piated the original prevarication and all the sins of the world"—"Thoughts on Mary's Co-redemption," *AER* cxxii (1950), 410-411.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, 2,360-364, 377-381; Mullaney, *art. cit.*, [*supra* n. 88] 125-129, 199-203.

nature and extent of her co-redemptive merit: it is congruous, but universal. Thus one can readily perceive that her satisfaction is not only inferior to Christ's satisfaction, but at the same time it is in a most eminent degree superior to any satisfaction of any other saint.

Blessed Virgin Mary shared also in our co-redemption by way of redemption considered under the aspect of a payment of a price for the deliverance of mankind from the bondage of sin and Satan into which man has fallen as a result of the first prevarication. Christ paid the purchase price by His own Passion and Death on the Cross; but Mary, because she was the sharer and companion of His sufferings, and because He was something of her as her Son, suffered with Him. Therefore, in so far as she was Christ's associate in the universality of redemption, and in so far as pertained to her, Mary paid the purchase price of our deliverance, that is, she offered her own Son and her own sufferings for our liberation. Thus the total price of our redemption was Christ's Passion together with Mary's compassion.

Finally, there is the element of charity. Just as Christ's Passion proceeded from His immeasurable love for us, so too Mary's compassion flowed from a most perfect love toward all who needed redemption. Speaking of her virtue of charity, Pius X says: "the love with which she is inflamed toward God makes of her a sharer and companion (*participem passionum Christi sociamque*) of the sufferings of Christ; and together with Him, as if forgetful of her own suffering, she asks pardon for the executioners [of her Son]." <sup>98</sup>

In the light of the foregoing analysis of the Marian Encyclical *Ad diem illum* there can be no doubt that Blessed Virgin Mary is in a true and proper sense Co-redemptrix of the human race. It may be objected, however, that nowhere in this document does Pius X call Mary the Co-redemptrix of the human race. To be sure, the term does not appear in it; but the doctrine of Mary's co-redemption does not rest on the use or non-use of a set term. The mere absence of the word "co-redemptrix" in the encyclical must not call into doubt the clear and definite teaching of Pope Pius X that Mary, by her compassion, has merited to become the Reparatrix of the lost world and, consequently, the Dispensatrix of all the fruits of redemption.

<sup>98</sup> Encycl. *Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36/457).



However, the term itself *Co-redemptrix* is not altogether foreign to the mind of Pius X; it appears three times in his official documents. By a decree of the Sacred Congr. of Holy Office, Pius X had approved and enriched with indulgences a prayer of reparation to the Blessed Virgin in which she is explicitly invoked by the title of "Co-redemptrix of the human race" (*corredentrice del genere umano*);<sup>99</sup> again, by a decree of the Holy Office he approved the pious custom of invoking the name of Mary "our co-redemptrix" together with that of Jesus.<sup>100</sup> The title also appears in a decree of the Sacred Congr. of Rites by virtue of which the Feast of the Seven Dolors of B.V. Mary was extended to the universal Church, "in order that the piety and sentiments of gratitude of the faithful may be more and more fostered toward the merciful co-redemptrix of the human race (*erga misericordem humani generis Conredemptricem*)."<sup>101</sup>

#### b. Blessed Virgin Mary—Mediatrice of all graces<sup>102</sup>

The most Blessed Virgin Mary exercises a universal and necessary role in the divine plan of dispensation of the fruits of redemption to each and every soul. She is the Dispenser of all graces which Christ acquired for us by His passion and death on the Cross. According to the teaching of Pope Pius X, B.V. Mary is the Mediatrice of all graces because she is Co-redemptrix of the human race. One with Christ in the acquisition of graces, she is likewise associated with Him in the distribution of these same graces. The Holy Father call her "the principal minister of the graces to be distributed," "the treasurer of all graces."<sup>103</sup> Her right to the dispensation of the fruits of redemption rests on her immediate and formal co-operation with Christ in the very act of redemption, or, as Pius X explicitly states, on the communion of pain and will between Christ and Mary whereby she merited to become the

<sup>99</sup> AAS, 6/108-109.

<sup>100</sup> AAS, 5/364-365.

<sup>101</sup> ASS, 41/409-410. Cf. J. B. Carol, "The Problem of Our Lady's Co-redemption," *AER*, cxxiii (1950) 32-51.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. *supra*, n. 61.

<sup>103</sup> ASS, 40/64 ('tesoriera di tutte le grazie'); ASS, 36.454 ('estque princeps largiendarum gratiarum ministra').



Reparatrix of the lost world, and merited for us *de congruo* what Christ has merited for us *de condigno*:

By this community of pain and will between Christ and Mary she merited to become in a most worthy manner the Reparatrix of the lost world and, consequently [Latin text: *atque ideo*], the Dispenser of all the fruits that Jesus acquired for us by His Death and Blood.

...  
Since she transcends all creatures in sanctity, and in union with Christ, and since she was chosen by Christ to be His associate in the work of human salvation, she merits for us congruously, as they say, what Christ has merited for us condignly, and she is the principal minister of the graces to be distributed.<sup>104</sup>

In the above texts there are several distinct but inseparable doctrinal points which call for a careful analysis if we are to grasp the full import of the teaching of Pope Pius X on Blessed Virgin's office in the distribution of all graces. The Holy Father himself lays particular emphasis on them. They are: 1) the doctrine of Mary's indissoluble union with Christ in the work of human salvation (*principium consortii*); 2) Mary's co-redemption of the human race; 3) Mary's role of Mediatrix of all graces. In the first place, the union of Christ and Mary in the salvation of man finds its concrete realization in the subjective order of redemption, that is, in the application of the fruits of redemption to each and every soul. Next, the foundation upon which rests Mary's right to be the Mediatrix of all graces is none other than her co-redemption. At the same time Pius X indicates the theological basis for her co-redemption: it is her transcendent sanctity, union with Christ, and her partnership with Him. Lastly, there is her right to the dispensation of the fruits of redemption which she, together with Christ and through Him, acquired for all mankind. Within this structure, if we may call it so, the foundation is the *principium consortii* contained in Scriptures and Tradition, and taught expressly by the magisterium of the Church. It explains her role both in the objective and subjective order of redemption. The second point, namely, Mary's co-redemption which we have explained above, is set forth by Pius X as the immediate basis for the third point, that is, for Mary's co-operation in the distribution of all graces. There is a nexus of causality and finality between the two: *causality*—because Mary's

<sup>104</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 82.

right to be Dispenser of divine graces flows from her co-redemptive role, as an effect from a cause. As Pius X states, the Blessed Virgin merited to become the Reparatrix of the whole world and, therefore, the Dispenser of the fruits of redemption. The title of Reparatrix is distinct from that of dispenser of graces, as the cause from the effect. There is also the nexus of *finality*, because Mary, as Christ's associate, merited for us that she might dispense them to us.

The Blessed Virgin's mediationship does not gainsay the Apostle's teaching that "there is one mediator of God and men, the man Christ Jesus" (1 *Tim.*, ii, 5). There is a vast difference between Christ the Mediator and Mary the Mediatrix, just as there is between Christ the Redeemer and Mary the Co-redemptrix. The Blessed Virgin's function as Mediatrix is derived from and depends on Christ. Pius X expatiates on the basic differences between the two:

We do not deny that the distribution of these gifts belongs by strict and proper right to Christ, since they are the fruit acquired for us by His Death alone, and He is in His own right the Mediator between God and man. Yet, by that community of pain and sorrow of the Mother with her Son that we have described, it was granted to the august Virgin to be together with her Only-begotten Son, the most powerful Mediatrix and Conciliatrix of the whole world. So Christ is the source, and of His fullness we have all received; from Him the whole body (being closely joined and knit together through every joint of the system) derives its increase to the building up of itself in love (*Ephes.*, iv, 16). Mary, however, as St. Bernard justly remarks, is the channel,<sup>105</sup> or she is the neck by which the Body is united with the Head, and the Head sends power and strength through the Body. "For she is the neck of our Head, through which all spiritual gifts are communicated to His Body."<sup>106</sup> From this it is certainly clear that we are very far from attributing to the Virgin the power of producing supernatural grace, which belongs to God alone.<sup>107</sup>

Pius X has indicated here some of the main differences between the role of Christ and His Mother in the dispensation of the gifts of redemption. Their distribution belongs by strict and proper right to Christ, for it is by His passion and death alone that we were redeemed. He is the one Mediator between God and man. Again, Christ alone is the fountainhead of all graces for the building up and the increase of His Mystical Body, the Church. Mary is not

<sup>105</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 31.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 32.

<sup>107</sup> *Encycl. Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36/454).

the author of grace; she is the channel through which all the graces emanating from the source flow into the whole Body.

There is yet another difference not mentioned by him, but implied in his teaching on the Blessed Virgin. Christ's mediatorship is *absolutely universal*: He is Mediator of all creatures, including His own Mother. Her sublime sanctity and dignity are due to His merits: she was, as Pius IX teaches, redeemed in a more sublime manner.<sup>108</sup> Again, His mediation is *absolutely necessary* in the present order of divine economy. Mary's mediationship extends to all, except herself; and it is only *hypothetically necessary* in the present order, because it so pleased God to associate her with His Son in the distribution of all the gifts that Christ acquired by His passion and death.

Despite these essential differences Mary is truly our Mediatrix, just as she is properly Co-redemptrix of the human race. She is the principal minister of the graces to be distributed. Her role is not partial, but total, although secondary and dependent. As Mother of God, she is in her way what Christ is in His way: both have a universal function.

Furthermore, Mary's office as Mediatrix is coextensive with her role as Co-redemptrix of the human race. She is our universal Mediatrix both as regards the distribution of the fruits of redemption—hence Dispenser of all graces without exception—and as regards the subject of these same graces: all men without exception have received, receive, and will receive graces through Mary.

The Blessed Mother of God is both *de iure* and *de facto* Dispenser of all graces to all men: *de iure*, because she co-redeemed the human race and has merited for us congruously all the graces necessary for the salvation of mankind; *de facto*, because no grace comes to any of us except through Mary: "Per ipsam enim," says Pius X, "omnia nos habere voluit Omnipotens."<sup>109</sup> She is the "Dispensatrix thesaurorum Filii [sui];"<sup>110</sup> she distributes them "by maternal right,"<sup>111</sup> for not only that Christ is her Son, but she is the Mother

<sup>108</sup> Cf. *supra* n. 35 (*Acta*, 605).

<sup>109</sup> Sermo 'Conspectus vester' (*AAS*, 2/909).

<sup>110</sup> *ASS*, 40/109.

<sup>111</sup> "ac thesauros promeritorum eius materno veluti iure administrat"—*ASS*, 36/455.

of the whole Christ, and she suffered together with Him on our behalf.

Mary co-operates in the distribution of graces by way of intercession, prayer, petition on our behalf etc. In the Marian pronouncements of Pius X only *moral causality* is attributed to the Virgin's function of Mediatrix of all graces. She watches over us and strives with unceasing prayer to complete the number of the elect;<sup>112</sup> through her intercession the Apostles have received a more copious outpouring of the gifts of the Holy Spirit;<sup>113</sup> God has bestowed abundant gifts of grace upon His Church through her intercession.<sup>114</sup>

### Mary's didactic and pedagogic mediation

There is another aspect of Blessed Virgin's universal mediation-ship upon which St. Pius X lays particular stress in his Marian encyclical. It is the didactic and pedagogic role of Mary in the plan of divine economy. As Mediator between God and man, Christ has the office not only of King and Priest, but also of a Teacher. He is the way, the life, and the truth. The Mother of God, as Christ's associate, shares in His office of Teacher. Just as Christ is our Mediator also because He has shown us the way of salvation by His absolute example of all virtues, and by the life-giving truths He taught us, so likewise the Blessed Virgin is Mediatrix of all who travel the road to God. She has been set up by God as an exemplar, the most perfect after Christ, of all virtues; she is at the same time the *magistra* of the life-giving knowledge of Christ.

a. Mary is exemplar of all virtues. "It is the divine rule," says Pius X, "that all who desire to attain eternal happiness must, by imitation, copy in themselves the picture of the patience and sanctity of Christ";<sup>115</sup> they must be moulded into the image of the Son of God, who is thus to become the firstborn among many brethren (cf. *Rom.*, viii, 29). "But since we are so weak as to be easily frightened by the greatness of the Exemplar, Divine Providence has proposed for us another model, which, though it is the closest copy of Christ that human nature is capable of, is more

<sup>112</sup> ASS, 36/458-459.

<sup>113</sup> *Exhortatio ad Clerum Catholicum* (ASS, 41/577).

<sup>114</sup> *Encycl. Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36/450); cf. ASS, 36/66, 139; AAS, 6/376.

<sup>115</sup> *Id.*, (ASS, 36/456).

suitable to our littleness. This exemplar is no other than the Mother of God."<sup>116</sup> In the words of St. Ambrose whom Pius X quotes, Mary is like a mirror that reflects most faithfully the beauty and loveliness of virtue.<sup>117</sup>

b. Mary is the most competent guide and teacher for knowing Christ. The Great Mother of God shares in the mediatorial office of Christ as Teacher in an eminent degree. She is the guardian of divine mysteries and, after Christ, the noblest foundation of our faith.<sup>118</sup> She was well fitted for this role because of the never-broken community of life and labor, pain and will between her Son and herself. Through her and chiefly through her, a way has been opened for us to acquire the knowledge of Christ. Of all people she alone was united with her Son for thirty years in domestic life and intimate converse. To her the mysteries of the origin and childhood of Christ, and above all the mystery of Incarnation, were disclosed more extensively than to any one else.<sup>119</sup> Hence "no one ever knew Christ so profoundly as she knew Him, and no one can ever be a more competent guide and teacher for knowing Christ."<sup>120</sup> She was "the Teacher of all the Apostles and Disciples of Christ";<sup>121</sup> she is, as it were, the nurse and teacher of all nations in the faith of her Son.<sup>122</sup>

The Virgin Mary, says St. Pius X, "is the greatest and most secure help we have for coming to the knowledge and love of Christ."<sup>123</sup> Hence, if according to Christ's words, "This is everlasting life, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Him whom Thou hast sent, Jesus Christ" (*John*, xvii, 3), "then by obtaining through Mary the life-giving knowledge of Christ, through Mary in like manner we obtain more easily that life of which Christ is the source and the beginning."<sup>124</sup>

In the Mariology of St. Pius X we "receive Christ from the hands

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, cf. *Encycl. Editae saepe Dei* (AAS, 2/358).

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.* (ASS, 36/456-457). Cf. S. Ambrosius, *De Virginitibus*, lib. 2, cap. 2. (PL 16.208).

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, (ASS, 36/451).

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, (ASS, 36/452).

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>121</sup> "Magistra Apostolorum omnium et Discipulorum Christi"—ASS, 40/109.

<sup>122</sup> "Nutrix . . . atque Educatrix populorum nostrorum in fide dilectissimi Filii tui"—Litt. Apostolicae *Quae ad fidei* (AAS, 2/227).

<sup>123</sup> *Encycl. Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36/455).

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, (ASS, 36/452).



of Mary,"<sup>125</sup> that is, we receive Christ the source of truth, life-giving knowledge, and of grace.

### c. The Queenship of Blessed Virgin Mary<sup>126</sup>

St. Pius X speaks of the queenship of Mary in connection with her role of Mediatrix of all graces; his teaching, however, does not go beyond the mere affirmation of her royal dignity. Mary is "our Queen and Advocate."<sup>127</sup> "Christ has taken His seat at the right hand of the Majesty on high, and Mary as Queen stands at His right hand: 'she is the safest refuge and the most trustworthy helper of all who are in danger, so that nothing is to be feared and nothing is to be despaired of, under her guidance, under her patronage, under her kindness and protection.'"<sup>128 129</sup>

### III. Blessed Virgin—Mother of the Mystical Body of Christ<sup>130</sup>

St. Pius X expounds the doctrine of Mary's spiritual motherhood of all Christians in conjunction with her office of Mediatrix in the distribution of the supernatural life of grace of which Christ is the source and the beginning. If Mary is inseparable from Christ in the work of human salvation, as indeed she is, she is also united with Him in all that belongs to Christ and, therefore, with the Mystical Body of which Christ is the Head and we are His members. Mary is the Mother of the Mystical Body of Christ because she is the Mother of Christ: "Is not Mary the Mother of Christ? She is therefore our Mother too."<sup>131</sup>

The central thought of St. Pius X in this matter may be sum-

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, (ASS, 36/451).

<sup>126</sup> Cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, 2.421-433.

<sup>127</sup> Jubilee Prayer of Pius X (ASS, 36/68); cf. AAS, 2/909, 227 ('O dulcissima et augustissima Regina nostra').

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Pius IX, Bull *Ineffabilis Deus* [cf. supra n. 35] (*Acta*, 617, 618).

<sup>129</sup> Encycl. *Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36/454).

<sup>130</sup> Cf. L. Marvulli, O.F.M.Conv., *Maria, Madre del Cristo Mistico* (Romae, 1948); S. Ragazzini, O.F.M.Conv., *La divina maternità di Maria nel suo concetto integrale* (Romae, 1948); E. Mura, *Le Corps Mystique du Christ 2* (Ed. 2a: Paris, 1937) 121-176; Roschini, *op. cit.*, 2.199-227.

<sup>131</sup> Encycl. *Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36/452).—S. Bonaventure gave precise expression to this doctrine: "ex hoc quod Virgo Maria effecta est Mater Dei, est effecta Mater omnium creaturarum"—*In 3 Sent.* dist. 9, art. 1, q. 3, ad opp. 2 (*Opera Omnia* 3.305).

marized in the following proposition: Mary is the Mother of the Savior of the human race; but the Savior of the human race is the whole Christ—Head and Body whose members we are; therefore Mary is the Mother of Christ, Head of the Body, and the spiritual Mother of His Mystical Body. In successive strides Pius X unfolds the intimate union between Mary's divine maternity and her spiritual motherhood of redeemed mankind. Jesus Christ, the Word made Flesh, is the Savior of the human race. As the God-Man, He took a body, just like the rest of men; but as Savior of our race, He received a certain spiritual and, as it is called, a mystical body, which is the society of those who believe in Christ.<sup>132</sup> But the Blessed Virgin conceived the Son of God not only that He might become man by taking His human nature from her, but also that by means of that nature assumed from Mary He might become the Savior of mankind. Therefore in one and the same womb of His Mother, Christ took to Himself human flesh and at the same time united to Himself the mystical body built up of those who were to believe in Him. "Accordingly," says the holy Pontiff, "Mary, who had the Savior in her womb, may also be said to have given birth to all whose life was contained in the Savior's life. Therefore all of us who are united to Christ and who, as the Apostle says, 'are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones' (*Ephes.*, v, 30), have come forth from Mary's womb, like the body attached to the head. For this reason, in a spiritual and mystical sense, we are called children of Mary and she is the Mother of all of us."<sup>133</sup>

Mary's spiritual motherhood with regard to all the members of Christ's Mystical Body is not a mere figure of speech, nor is it to be understood in a metaphorical sense. She is truly our spiritual mother in the supernatural order of grace. In the words of Saint Augustine whom Pius X invokes as a witness to this Catholic teaching, Mary is "the Mother in spirit . . . but truly the Mother of the

<sup>132</sup> Cf. *En cycl. Vehementer Nos* (ASS, 39/3-16) where Pius X writes: "Scriptura enim eloquitur et tradita a Patribus doctrina confirmat, Ecclesiam mysticum esse Christi corpus pastorum et doctorum auctoritate administratum, id est societatem hominum, in qua aliqui praesunt ceteris cum plena perfectione regendi, docendi, iudicandi potestate . . ." (*ibid.*, 8).

<sup>133</sup> *En cycl. Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36/453). Cf. ASS, 37/724-725 (O Maria, Madre di tutti); ASS, 39/372 (Maria Addolorata, Madre di tutti i Christiani, pregate per noi); AAS, 2/227.

members of Christ, which we are.”<sup>134</sup> She may be said to have conceived us with regard to supernatural life when she conceived the Savior of mankind, the Head of the Mystical Body, the Church; she has brought us forth spiritually as her children on Calvary. For it was on Calvary that the redemption of the entire human race was consummated; it was on Calvary, too, when Christ hung glorified on the Cross, that He completed the building of his mystical temple of the Church.<sup>135</sup> Pius X is explicit on this point: “Just as the most holy Virgin is the Mother of Jesus Christ, so too she is the Mother of Christians whom she has brought forth on Mount Calvary amidst the excruciating pains of the Redeemer; and Christ is, as it were, the firstborn of all the Christians who are His brothers by adoption and redemption.”<sup>136</sup>

As the spiritual Mother of all Christians, Mary exercises her mediatorship in behalf of the members of Christ’s Mystical Body. There can be no doubt, says the Holy Father, that “she makes every effort to bring it about that Christ, ‘head of His body, the Church’ (*Col.*, i, 18), infuses His gifts into His members, and above all that we might know Him and live through Him.”<sup>137</sup> She is the woman of the *Apocalypse* (xii, 1-2) whom St. John saw clothed with the sun, and yet travailing in a kind of mystical childbirth. “No one is ignorant,” writes the Marian Pope, “that this woman signified the Virgin Mary . . . St. John saw the most holy Mother of God already enjoying happiness, yet travailing in a kind of mysterious childbirth. What birth was it? Certainly, it was the birth of us who are still detained in exile and are yet to be born to the perfect love of God and to eternal happiness. And the labors in the childbirth show the desire and love with which the Virgin on her throne watches over us and strives with unceasing prayer to complete the number of the elect.”<sup>138</sup>

The doctrine of Blessed Virgin’s universal motherhood receives greater clarity and fulness in the light of the *principium consortii*.

<sup>134</sup> *De sancta Virginitate* 6 (PL 40/398); Encycl. *Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36/453).

<sup>135</sup> Cf. Pius XII, Encycl. *Mystici Corporis* (AAS, 35/204).

<sup>136</sup> *Epistola Quamquam pluribus* (cf. *Actes de Sa Sainteté Pie X* 2 [Paris s.d.] 254).

<sup>137</sup> Encycl. *Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36/453).

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, (ASS, 36/458-459).

Preordained by one and the same decree with the Incarnation of Divine Wisdom,<sup>139</sup> she was predestined by God to be Christ's partner and companion in the length and breadth of human salvation. *Objectively*, the work of redemption has been completed once for all on the Cross; *subjectively*, it is continued in the Mystical Body of Christ through the centuries until the end of time when the number of the elect will be completed. Mary, as we have seen, is Mediatrix in this twofold phase of redemption. She is the *alma socia* of the whole Christ: she is the Mother of God and the Mother of all Christians. As the life of Christ is prolonged here on earth in His Body, which is the Church, so too the role of Mary is prolonged. She co-operates with Christ, both as His associate and as Mother of us all, in the building up of the Body of Christ "unto the measure of the age of the fulness of Christ" (*Ephes.*, iv, 13).

#### IV. Pius X and Devotion to Blessed Virgin Mary<sup>140</sup>

We conclude the exposition of Mariology of St. Pius X with his teaching on the devotion to the Mother of God. It lies at the very heart of his Marian encyclical; it is the means whereby he endeavored to restore all things in Christ.

If Pope Pius X has discoursed at length on the function of the great Mother of God in the divine economy of salvation, it was to furnish solid foundation upon which genuine piety to Blessed Virgin should rest, and to explain why the faithful should progress daily in their love and cult of the Immaculate Mother of God. He did not merely leave us a beautiful memorial of his own deep interior devotion to the Most Blessed Virgin; as the supreme teacher and infallible exponent of Catholic doctrine he has clarified the vital role of Blessed Mary in the life of the faithful and in the whole Church.

##### a. Dogmatic Basis for Marian Devotion

First of all, Mary is the Mother of God. It has pleased Divine Providence that we should have the Redeemer of mankind through

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Pius IX, Bulla *Ineffabilis Deus* (*Acta* [supra n. 35] 599).

<sup>140</sup> Cf. A. Biskupek, "Saint Pius X and Devotion to Mary," *Sponsa Regis* xxv, n. 11 (July, 1954) 283-288; W. G. Most, *art. cit.*, [supra n. 93].

Mary, who conceived Him by the Holy Ghost and bore Him in her womb. For thirty years she was most closely united with Him in domestic life and intimate converse, sharing His thoughts and secret desires. Between Mother and Son there was an unbroken communion of life and labor, of sorrow and will: she may be said to have lived the life of her Son. As a result no one ever knew Christ so profoundly as she knew Him, and no one can ever be a more competent guide and teacher for knowing Christ. Hence it follows that no one is more powerful than the Virgin for uniting men with Christ; at the same time there is no easier or surer way than Mary for the acquisition of the knowledge of Christ.<sup>141</sup>

But Mary is not only the Mother of God; she is also our Mother, the Mother of the members of the Mystical Body of Christ: "We are children of Mary, and she is the Mother of us all."<sup>142</sup> Furthermore, Mary is our Co-redemptrix: she has co-operated with Christ in the acquisition of all graces necessary for our salvation; she has merited congruously for us what Christ has merited for us condignly. Consequently she is the Dispensatrix of all graces, and is most eager to distribute them to save the souls of those whom she has co-redeemed. As a matter of fact, it is the will of God that we receive all graces through Mary.

These are the mariological principles upon which true devotion to the August Mother of God rests.

### b. Genuine Devotion to the Blessed Mother of God

"After having laid down these principles," declares St. Pius X, "who can not see that We have justly and rightly affirmed that Mary . . . is the greatest and most secure help we have for coming to the knowledge and love of Christ?"<sup>143</sup> He censures those who, "either through diabolical deceit or false opinions, presume to do without the help of the Virgin. Miserable and unhappy are they; they neglect Mary under the pretext of honoring Christ! They are unaware that the Child is not found elsewhere than with His Mother

<sup>141</sup> *Encycl. Ad diem illum* (ASS, 36/451-452).

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.* (ASS, 36/453).

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.* (ASS, 36/455).



Mary."<sup>144</sup> He then proceeds to discuss the nature of genuine devotion to Mary, its object, importance, and practice.

The primary purpose of Marian devotion is to know and love God and to keep His commandments. "No honor," says the Marian Pope, "is more desirable or more pleasing to Mary than that we should rightly know and love Jesus Christ."<sup>145</sup>

Genuine devotion to the Mother of God must proceed from within, that is, from the heart. External acts, manifestations and solemnities are no small means for fostering piety; but, he warns, they must be animated by the spirit. If external celebrations and manifestations are not accompanied by the consent of the will, if they remain merely external acts, we shall have mere formalities, which present only the semblance of religion. "The only genuine devotion to the Mother of God is that which flows from the heart; the acts of the body, when separated from the soul, have absolutely no value or utility in this matter."<sup>146</sup>

The first condition of genuine devotion is that the acts of the soul should aim solely in making us obedient in all things to Mary's Divine Son. The reason for this is evident: the only genuine love is that which is capable of uniting wills. Now, it is the will of Mary that her children be obedient in all things to her Son. But the will of Christ is this, "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments" (*Matth.*, xix, 17). Hence the basic postulate of true devotion toward Mary is the avoidance of sin and the keeping of God's commandments. Pius X points out "that the first duty of everyone who earnestly desires to win the favor of Mary by his homage, must be that of amending his sinful and corrupt habits and of subduing the passions which urge him on to forbidden things."<sup>147</sup> This is confirmed by the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. God detests sin so much that He willed the future Mother of His Son to be free not only from every stain of voluntary sin, but also from the stain of original sin. Everyone should be fully convinced of this: "if the devotion he professes toward the Most Blessed Virgin does not keep him from sin or inspire in him the desire to amend

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<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. AAS, 2/909.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.* (ASS, 36/456).

his evil ways, it is a lying and deceitful devotion, since it lacks its own natural fruit." <sup>148</sup>

### Amending Sinful Habits

The amendment of sinful and corrupt habits is but the first condition of true Marian love and devotion. Whoever desires that his devotion to Mary be worthy and in every way perfect, he must make progress and strive by the imitation of her virtues to reproduce in himself the likeness of Christ. "It is a divine rule," St. Pius X states, "that all who desire to attain eternal happiness must, by imitation, copy in themselves the form of the patience and sanctity of Christ." <sup>149</sup> Conformity to the image of the Son of God (cf. *Rom.*, viii, 29) is the ultimate goal of perfect devotion. But lest we be deterred from this noble objective due to our human frailty, on one hand, and to the loftiness of the Divine Exemplar, on the other, "Divine Providence has proposed for us another model, which, though it is the closest copy of Christ that human nature is capable of, is more suitable to our littleness. This model is no other than the Mother of God." <sup>150</sup>

True love and devotion to the Blessed Mother of God does not consist in mere admiration of her virtues and supernatural beauty; it seeks to express itself in effective imitation. To this end St. Pius X writes: "It is becoming that her children should not fail to imitate any of the virtues of their most holy Mother." <sup>151</sup> In his Marian encyclical the Holy Father singles out three virtues of Mary in which her children should particularly imitate her; they are, so to say, the nerves and sinews of Christian perfection, namely, faith, hope, and charity toward God and man. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception is proposed as an inspiration and help for the practice of these theological virtues.

Faith in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception is the antidote against the great and pernicious errors of rationalism which denies original sin and its consequent evils, and the necessity of Redemp-

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<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.* (ASS, 36/455).

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.* (ASS, 36/456).

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.* (ASS, 36/457).

tion, thereby leaving no room for Christ or the Church, or grace or any order that transcends nature.<sup>152</sup> Faith in the Immaculate Conception is a tower of defense against these errors: it presupposes the doctrine of original sin, of redemption of mankind by Christ, of the Gospel and of the Church, and even of the law of suffering. By means of all these truths whatever rationalism and materialism there exists, is torn up by the roots and destroyed.<sup>153</sup> There is also the error of those who reject or profess to reject "all reverence and obedience to the authority of the Church, in fact to every human authority, in order the more easily to tear the faith from the hearts of men."<sup>154</sup> This source of anarchism, which is equally destructive of civil and Christian society, "is destroyed by the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. For by it we are all constrained to recognize in the Church a power to which one must submit not only the will but also the intellect."<sup>155</sup> Rightfully, therefore, the Church attributes to the Immaculate Mother of God this that she by herself destroyed all the heresies in the whole world.

The Immaculate Conception arouses our hope. If, as St. Paul teaches (*Hebr.*, xi, 1), faith is "the substance of things to be hoped for," it is not difficult to see that by the Immaculate Conception our faith is confirmed and our hope is revived. Hope arouses strong desires for the riches of God's grace, by which He wants to raise men to the heights of holiness. The Blessed Virgin is a model of holiness: she was exempt from original sin, because she was to be the Mother of Christ; and she was the Mother of Christ in order that the hope of eternal happiness might be revived in our souls.<sup>156</sup>

Lastly, the contemplation of the Immaculate Conception will spur her children on to keep holy that mandate which Christ called peculiarly His own, namely, of loving one another as He loved us. Out of love for us Mary offered her Only-begotten Son for our salvation, and she suffered so much together with Him, that, if it had been possible, she would with greater willingness have borne all

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<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.* (*ASS*, 36/458).

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*

the torments that her Son suffered. The thought of Mary's compassion on our behalf, and her love for us, will doubtless spur our love for her and for our fellow men, since she suffered for them as she suffered for us, and she loves them as she loves us.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

## ST. FRANCIS AND MARY

JOACHIM DALEIDEN, O.F.M.

An order traditionally devoted to the Blessed Mother of God could not but have got its inspiration from its founder. The Franciscan order certainly received its love for Mary from St. Francis. As the scholars uncover and/or establish more and more texts about St. Francis, they confirm the fact that the Poor Man of Assisi was not only the Herald of the Great King but was also the faithful Knight of the Great Queen, "Mistress of the world."

In this paper I shall attempt merely to set down the undoubtedly historical texts that evidence the solid devotion of Francis for the Blessed Mother. For the historicity of the texts I shall rely on the work of Raphael Brown, Franciscan Tertiary who is on the staff of the Library of Congress. His work is entitled *Our Lady and St. Francis—all the earliest texts compiled and translated*.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. The Portiuncula

We might say that the Portiuncula chapel is the symbol of St. Francis' love for Mary. There his love for Mary blossomed and bore fruit. And one might add that the restoration of St. Mary of the Angels betokened the revival of devotion to Mary and a return to Christ.

While we do not know that the 25 x 15 foot chapel of "St. Mary of the Little Portion," also called "St. Mary of the Angels" was given to St. Francis by the abbot of Monte Subasio (above Assisi), we do know that during the second or third year after his conversion (c. 1210), Francis after repairing two churches near Assisi next

went to another place not far from that town, called the Portiuncula, where there was a church built in former times<sup>2</sup> to honor the most

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<sup>1</sup> (Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago 9, 1954), I-X, 1-80.

<sup>2</sup> There are only two documentary references to the Portiuncula before Francis' time: one a sales deed of the "place called Porzuncle" in 1045; the other a list of churches in 1165, which includes "S. Maria de Porzuncula." Vide Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 6.



glorious Virgin Mary, Mother of God. But it was then deserted and no one took care of it.

When Francis saw it thus ruined and abandoned, he was moved with pity, because his heart burned with especially fervent devotion toward the Mother of all goodness and the sovereign lady of the world. And he began to stay there all the time in order to repair it.<sup>3</sup>

For he perceived that, in accordance with the name of that church, which had in former times been called St. Mary of the Angels, a number of angelic visitations took place there. And he remained there on account of his reverence for the angels and his special love for the Mother of Christ.<sup>4</sup>

And while he stayed in the church of the Virgin Mother of God, with continuous longing he prayed to her, who had conceived the Word, full of grace and truth that she should deign to become his advocate. And by the merits of the Mother of mercy he himself conceived and gave birth to the spirit of gospel truth.<sup>5</sup>

The happy Father used to say that it had been revealed to him by God that among the other churches in the world built in her honor, the Blessed Virgin loved this church with a special love. Therefore the Saint loved it more than the others.<sup>6</sup>

Francis, the shepherd of a little flock, led his band of twelve brothers to St. Mary of the Portiuncula—and the graces of heaven went before them—so that where the Order of the Minors had by the merits of the Mother of God had its beginning, it might develop with her help.<sup>7</sup>

The saint loved this place more than all the others in the world, for here he began in humility, here he advanced in virtue, here he came to his end in joy, and when he was dying, he recommended it to the brothers as most dear to the Virgin.<sup>8</sup>

Although he knew that the kingdom of heaven had been established in every place on earth, and he believed that divine grace can be given to the elect of God everywhere, yet he knew by experience that the "place" of the church of St. Mary of the Portiuncula was filled with more abundant grace and frequented by the visitation of heavenly spirits.

Therefore he often used to say to the brothers:

"My sons, see that you never leave this place . . . For this place is truly holy and the home of Christ and of His Virgin Mother. Here when we were few, the Most High increased us. Here He enlightened the souls of His poor by the light of His Wisdom. Here He inflamed our wills with the fire of His love. Here whoever prays with a devout heart will obtain what he asks for, and if he offends, he will be more heavily punished. Therefore, my sons, hold this place worthy of all reverence and honor as

<sup>3</sup> Thomas of Celano, *Vita Prima*, 21. All quotations are from Brown's translation, unless otherwise noted.

<sup>4</sup> St. Bonaventure, *Legenda Major* in *Analecta Franciscana*, X (Quaracchi, Florence), 2,8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 3,1.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas of Celano, *Vita Secunda*, 19.

<sup>7</sup> St. Bonaventure, *Op. cit.*, 4,5. Celano says there were eleven.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 2,8.

truly a dwelling place of God which is uniquely cherished by Him and His Mother."<sup>9</sup>

And yet despite his great love for the little place, Francis would rather sacrifice its ornaments than abandon poverty and would rather give away its *New Testament* which the brothers needed for their lessons at matins than leave unaided the poverty of others.<sup>9b</sup>

Once the Saint's vicar, Brother Peter of Catani,<sup>9c</sup> saw that St. Mary of the Angels was crowded with brothers who had come from a distance, and there was not enough alms to provide them with what they needed. So he went to St. Francis and said to him,

"Brother, I don't know what to do, because I haven't enough to provide for these troops of brothers arriving from everywhere. Please let some of the property of the novices entering the Order be set aside, so that we can turn it for our expenses in time of need."

St. Francis, whose counsel was inspired by heaven, replied, "My very dear brother, put away that kind of piety which acts against the rule for the sake of any man at all."

And Peter asked, "Then what shall I do?"

He said, "Strip the altar of the Virgin and take away its various ornaments, since you cannot provide for the needy in any other way. I would rather have you strip the altar of the glorious Virgin, when necessity requires it, than to make even the slightest move against our vow of poverty and the observance of the gospel. Believe me, the Blessed Virgin would prefer the gospel of her Son to be perfectly kept and her altar to be stripped than that the altar be adorned and her Son scorned. The Lord will send someone who will restore to His Mother what He has loaned to us."<sup>10</sup>

At another time, at St. Mary of the Portiuncula, a lamb was brought to St. Francis, and he gratefully accepted it because of his love for the innocence and simplicity which are natural to lambs.

He told the little lamb both to pay attention to the divine praises and to avoid bothering the brothers in any way. And the lamb, as though it sensed his saintliness, carefully obeyed his instructions.

For when it heard the brothers chanting in the choir, it also went into the church and, without being told what to do, would kneel down. And it would bleat before the altar of the Virgin Mother of the Lamb of God as though it wanted to greet her.<sup>11</sup>

St. Bonaventure narrates also the cure of Brother Morico, who before he entered the order, was cured when dying by some crumbs

<sup>9</sup> Celano, *Vita Prima*, 106.

<sup>9b</sup> Celano, *Vita Secunda*, 91.

<sup>9c</sup> Was it Peter Catani?

<sup>10</sup> Celano, *Vita Secunda*, 67. Vide Brown, *Op. cit.*, pp. 14,15, re the giving away of the *New Testament*.

<sup>11</sup> St. Bonaventure, *Op. cit.*, 8,7.

of bread which St. Francis sent to him mixed with "the oil taken from the lamp that burned before the altar of the Virgin."<sup>12</sup>

## 2. Why St. Francis Loved Mary

"He loved the Mother of the Lord Jesus with a love that cannot be described, because she had made the Lord of Majesty our brother, and through her we have obtained mercy."<sup>13</sup>

Unquestionably St. Francis loved Mary in the first place because she is the Mother of God. And he must have honored her other privileges and titles, as one must infer from his statement that "through her we have obtained mercy," and from Celano's assertion that "Francis' devotion was to the mother of all goodness and the sovereign lady of the world."<sup>14</sup> Thomas of Celano was perhaps poetic, but he did unquestionably reflect the reasons for and the spirit of St. Francis' love of Mary.

Was St. Francis the first to call the Portiuncula by the name of St. Mary of the Angels? We do not know. But the name does suggest two more reasons why Francis must have honored the Blessed Mother: her Queenship of the universe and presumably of heaven.

## 3. St. Francis Sings to Mary

In the last chapter of the "First Rule" Francis incorporated the following "prayer, Praise and Thanksgiving."<sup>15</sup>

Almighty,  
Most High,  
Most holy and sovereign God,  
Holy and just Father . . .  
We give thanks because,  
Just as through Your Son  
You created us,  
So by that true and holy love of Yours,  
With which You have loved us,  
You caused Him to be born  
True God and true man  
From the glorious ever Virgin

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>13</sup> Celano, *Vita Secunda*, 198; St. Bonaventure, *Op. cit.*, 93.

<sup>14</sup> Celano, *Vita Prima*, 21.

<sup>15</sup> *Vide* Raphael Brown, *Op. cit.*, pp. 20, 21.

Most blessed holy Mary,  
 And You wished  
 Us prisoners to be redeemed  
 By His cross and Blood and death.<sup>16</sup>

Francis, besides frequently mentioning Mary's part in our redemption also composed two, and possibly three, prayers to her. Celano says that St. Francis "rendered special praises and poured forth prayers and offered his devotion to the Mother of Jesus—in how many and in what ways, it is not humanly possible to tell,"<sup>17</sup> and St. Bonaventure says that "after Christ, he placed his trust especially in her."<sup>18</sup> His first companion, Bernard, before joining the order, "often had him as his guest in his home. And he used to see him praying all night, very rarely sleeping, praising God and His Mother, the glorious Virgin."<sup>19</sup>

In the last chapter of the "First Rule," St. Francis besought the "glorious Mother, the most blessed Mary ever Virgin . . . to give thanks"<sup>20</sup> to the Lord for all that the Savior has done for us.

In the Office of the Passion, which he had composed and which he recited daily, St. Francis began and ended each of the seven parts with the following antiphon:

Holy Virgin Mary  
 There is none like you  
 Born in the world among women.  
 Daughter and handmaid  
 Of the most high King  
 And heavenly Father,  
 Mother of our most holy Lord  
 Jesus Christ,  
 Spouse of the Holy Spirit—  
 Pray for us  
     with St. Michael the Archangel  
         and all the Virtues of Heaven  
         and all the Saints  
 To your most holy beloved Son,  
 Our Lord and Master.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *The Words of St. Francis*, ed. James Meyer, O.F.M. (Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago), 1952, 345 pp.

<sup>17</sup> Celano, *Vita Secunda*, 198.

<sup>18</sup> St. Bonaventure, *Op. cit.*, 9,3.

<sup>19</sup> Celano, *Vita Prima*, 24.

<sup>20</sup> *The Words of St. Francis*, p. 281.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

The "Salutation of the Blessed Virgin" is certainly the most beautiful hymn to Mary from the lips of St. Francis:

Hail, holy Lady,  
Most holy Queen,  
Mary,  
Mother of God!  
You are forever Virgin,  
Chosen by the most holy Father in heaven,  
Whom He consecrated,  
With His most holy beloved Son  
And the Paraclete Spirit!  
You in whom was and is  
All plenitude of grace  
And all good!  
Hail, His Palace!  
Hail, His Tabernacle!  
Hail, His Dwelling!  
Hail, His Vesture!  
Hail, His Handmaid!  
Hail, His Mother—  
And all you Holy Virtues  
That by the grace and light  
Of the Holy Spirit  
Are infused into  
The hearts of the faithful,  
That from faithless Souls  
You may make them faithful to God! <sup>22</sup>

An organic sequel to the previous "Salutation of the Blessed Virgin" is the "Salutation of the Virtues," with its probably historical subtitle "with Which the Blessed Virgin Mary Was Adorned and with Which a Holy Soul Must Be Adorned." <sup>23</sup>

Hail, Queen WISDOM!  
The Lord save you  
with your Sister,  
Holy pure SIMPLICITY!

Holy Lady POVERTY!  
The Lord save you  
with your Sister  
Holy HUMILITY!

Holy Lady CHARITY!

<sup>22</sup> Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 34. (Brown's source is not mentioned.)

<sup>23</sup> *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 31,32.



The Lord save you  
 with your Sister,  
 Holy OBEDIENCE!

All your very holy VIRTUES—  
 The Lord save you,  
 who proceed and come from Him.

There is not a single man  
 in the whole world  
 Who can have one of you,  
 Unless first he dies.

Whoever has one  
 and does not offend the others  
 Has all.  
 And whoever offends one  
 Has none and offends all.

\* \* \*

And each one confounds vices and sins.

Holy WISDOM  
 Confounds Satan  
 and all his malice.

Pure holy SIMPLICITY  
 Confounds all the wisdom  
 of this world and of the flesh.

Holy POVERTY  
 Confounds all greed and avarice  
 and anxiety about earthly things.

Holy HUMILITY  
 Confounds pride  
 and all the men of this world  
 and everything that is in the world.

Holy CHARITY  
 Confounds all diabolical and sensual temptations  
 and all sensual fears.

Holy OBEDIENCE  
 Confounds all selfwill  
 and all sensual will,  
 And keeps its body  
 obedient to the spirit  
 and obedient to the neighbor,  
 And makes man subject  
 to all the men of this world.

And not only to the men  
 but also to all animals and wild beasts,  
 So that they can do with him  
 whatever they wish,  
 As far as God from above allows them.<sup>24</sup>

St. Francis not only frequently <sup>25</sup> prayed to the Blessed Mother, but also "in her honor he used to fast with great devotion from the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul until the feast of the Assumption." <sup>26</sup>

#### 4. St. Francis Especially Loved the Poor Virgin

In stressing the grand concept of all-embracing and all-pervading poverty—a poverty that is well reflected in the spurious "Prayer for Peace," Francis termed poverty "the companion of the Son of God," <sup>27</sup> and Pius XI was inspired to add, "Francis loved poverty so much because he regarded her as the companion of the Mother of God." <sup>28</sup>

St. Francis often recalled with tears the poverty of Jesus Christ and his mother. And he declared that this virtue was the queen because it shone with such superior brilliance in the King of Kings and in the Queen, His Mother." <sup>29</sup>

#### 5. St. Francis Preaches to all the Poverty of Mary

Because Francis considered poverty the queen of virtues, he naturally tried to communicate his ideal to all men. In his "Letter to All The Faithful," he pointed out to them that Jesus, "though He was rich above all things, nevertheless wished with His most Blessed Mother, to take poverty as his choice." <sup>30</sup>

To the Poor Clares, St. Francis wrote shortly before his death, "I, little Brother Francis, wish to follow the life and poverty of our

<sup>24</sup> *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 32,33. (Brown's source is not mentioned).

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>26</sup> St. Bonaventure, *Op. cit.*, 9,3.

<sup>27</sup> Celano, *Vita Secunda*, 55.

<sup>28</sup> Pius XI. "Rite Expiatis," encyclical (1926).

<sup>29</sup> St. Bonaventure, *Op. cit.*, 7,1; Celano, *Vita Secunda*, 199.

<sup>30</sup> *The Words of St. Francis*, p. 185.

most high Lord Jesus Christ and of His most holy Mother, and to persevere in it to the end.”<sup>31</sup>

To a brother who had expressed the suspicion that a certain poor man was “rich in will,” St. Francis said, after making the brother apologize to the man and ask him to pray for him, “Brother, when you see a poor person, a mirror of the Lord and of his poor Mother is set before you.”<sup>32</sup>

And in chapter 9 of his “First Rule,” Francis urged all the brothers in their begging

to strive to follow the humility and poverty of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . And if it is necessary, let them go begging. And they should not be ashamed, but let them rather remember that our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living almighty God . . . was not ashamed and was poor and homeless and lived from alms—He and the Blessed Virgin and His disciples.”<sup>33</sup>

One day when he was sitting at a meal, a certain brother recalled the poverty of the Blessed Virgin and told about the destitution of Christ her Son, saying to him that the Blessed Virgin Mary was such a poor little woman that she had nothing to give her little Son to eat.

When St. Francis heard this, he immediately rose from the table, sighing with intense grief and groaning and sobbing with pain. He left the table and ate the rest of his bread on the bare ground, weeping very much.<sup>34</sup>

When Francis exhorted everyone to feed the birds on Christmas, in honor of the birth of the Christ Child, he recalled

not without tears how on that day the poor little Virgin was surrounded with poverty and need—how on that night the most Blessed Virgin Mary laid the Son of God down in the manger between an ox and a donkey.<sup>35</sup>

In all the poor he saw the Son of the poor Lady. He bore naked in his heart the One whom she bore naked in her hands.<sup>36</sup>

## 6. Relics of St. Francis' Devotion to Mary

It is not certain with just how many Blessed Virgin churches and chapels St. Francis was associated in his work. In Wadding's

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>32</sup> Celano, *Vita Secunda*, 85 and St. Bonaventure, *Op. cit.*, 8, 5.

<sup>33</sup> Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 23; *The Words of St. Francis*, p. 261.

<sup>34</sup> Celano, *Vita Secunda*, 200.

<sup>35</sup> *Loc. cit.*, N.B. Although St. Francis was not the first to reenact the Crib scene, yet he did popularize a nativity group at Christmas time—another evidence of his tender devotion to the poor Mother of God.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

*Annales* Father Bierbaum found evidence of at least twelve which the Saint either acquired or built.<sup>37</sup>

There are tiny chapels usually named Santa Maria in several of St. Francis' favorite hill-side hermitages, such as Monte Alverna,<sup>37b</sup> Monte Luco (above Spoleto), the Carceri (above Assisi), and the Eremita di Cesi between Todi and Terni. In the Eremita chapel St. Francis had fifteen brief inscriptions painted on the walls, including one which read: AVE MARIA, GRATIA PLENA, DOMINUS TECUM.<sup>38</sup>

Among the relics of St. Francis himself which are preserved in his basilica in Assisi is a small crucifix 5½ by 3½ inches, made of walnut and probably dating from the twelfth century, which the Saint is believed to have used. The Blessed Virgin figures in five of the scenes sculptured in relief on its broad sides, representing the Annunciation, the Visitation, the Crucifixion and the Entombment.<sup>39</sup>

Mr. Raphael Brown intends to study and write on *The Hermitages of St. Francis*<sup>40</sup> and from him we shall expect to have authoritative decisions on the history of the Madonna which disappeared from Santa Maria degli Angeli centuries ago, of the Byzantine Madonna which the Capuchin Fathers residing in Celle, near Cortona, say St. Francis venerated, and of the Madonna in San Francesco trans Tevere.<sup>41</sup>

## 7. The Portiuncula Indulgence

Whether St. Francis obtained the Portiuncula indulgence from our Lord through the intercession of our Lady we do not know. The vision and the request of St. Francis are not mentioned in the

<sup>37</sup> A. Bierbaum, O.F.M., *Der hl. Franziskus von Assisi und die Gottesmutter* (Paderborn, 1904), pp. 49-52.

<sup>37b</sup> The first documentary source for the name appeared in 1568. *Vide* Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>38</sup> *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (Quaracchi), XXI, 1928, p. 456.

<sup>39</sup> Beda Kleinschmidt, O.F.M., *Die Basilika San Francesco in Assisi* (Berlin, 1915), v.i, pp. 264, 274, 275; plates 313, 314.

<sup>40</sup> Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. III.

<sup>41</sup> Brown, *Op. cit.*, p. 41, quotes N. Cavanna, O.F.M., *L'Umbria Francescana* (Perugia, 1910), p. 122, "In the tiny original oratory of Santa Maria dei Carceri, there is an ancient Madonna and Child painting before which, according to the local tradition, St. Francis often prayed."

earliest documents. However the concession by the newly elected Pope Honorius III to St. Francis at Perugia, in late July 1216, is supported by documentary evidence. The following dialogue brings out the main points of the Pope's concession:

And at once, taking Brother Masseo with him as companion, he went to Perugia, where the Lord Pope Honorius was staying at that time.

And when he was in the presence of the Lord Pope Honorius, after bowing reverently to him, he said to him very humbly, "Very holy and blessed Holy Father, may Your Holiness know that I recently repaired for you in honor of the Virgin Mother of God a church for which I would like to have, if it pleases Your Holiness, an indulgence without any donation to be offered.

The Lord Pope replied, "Francis, that cannot properly be done, since whoever seeks an indulgence should earn it, and in order to earn it should make a sacrifice."

And the Pope added, "How much of an indulgence do you want? Do you want one year or several?"

And then St. Francis did not answer him.

Then the Lord Pope, perceiving that St. Francis was not satisfied, said to him, "Do you want three years?"

And St. Francis did not give him any answer.

And the Lord Pope repeated again, "Do you want seven years?"

And then St. Francis answered and said, "Very blessed Father, I am not asking for years but for souls."

And then the Lord Pope said to him, "And in what way do you want souls?"

St. Francis said to him, "Very holy Father, may it please you and Your Holiness, through the merciful heart of Jesus, to grant *THERE* a plenary indulgence of all sins—to be confirmed by you in heaven and on earth—from the day of baptism until the day assigned by us and the hour of entering the church—and this for every penitent who is well confessed and contrite and has made full satisfaction. For great are the marvels that God continuously performs there."

And then the Lord Pope replied and said, "Francis, you are asking for a great thing, nor is it the custom of the Roman Church to give such an indulgence."

Then St. Francis answered, "Very holy Father and Lord, what I am asking is not on my own behalf, but on behalf of Him who sent me here, that is, my Lord Jesus Christ! And of this I have many witnesses, that is, the glorious Virgin Mary and the heavenly angels who were present then!"

And after the Lord Pope heard this, he could not raise an objection against him. But marveling at those words he repeated three times with intense emotion, "It pleases me that you have a plenary indulgence. And so be it as you request—in the name of Jesus Christ—and as you wish!"

And then the Cardinals, hearing this, said to the Lord Pope, "Take care, very holy Father, not to grant such an indulgence to Brother Francis, for if you do so, you will dissolve the one for beyond the sea, and also you will completely annul the Indulgence of the Apostles Peter



and Paul. Therefore we beseech you to revoke it or otherwise to modify it, so that the fore-mentioned ones may not be destroyed."

And then the Lord Pope replied, "We have given and conceded it, so it is not right to destroy it but rather to confirm it. For you do not know the intimacy and friendship which this poor little Brother Francis has with the Lord Jesus Christ."

And he added, "And who is he who would dare to set himself between those two, that is, Christ and Francis? And who could separate them?"—as if he were saying, no one.

Therefore the Cardinals then said to the Supreme Pontiff, "Very Blessed Father, if this Indulgence cannot in any way be revoked, let it at least be modified."

And then the Lord Pope said, "That is agreeable to me and is right."

And when St. Francis had been called into the presence of the Cardinals, the Lord Pope said to him, "Francis, we concede to you the Indulgence which you requested, so that whoever truly penitent and confessed shall come and enter the Church of St. Mary of the Portiuncula—it is our wish that he have a plenary indulgence of all his sins. And we grant it to you only for a single natural day for all the years of the world, beginning at the first vespers and lasting through the whole day, until the second vespers of the following day."

And then St. Francis merrily and joyfully gave thanks to God, and bidding the Supreme Pontiff farewell at once, he began to leave.

Seeing this, the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Lord Pope Honorius, called him and said to him, "O you simple fellow, why are you thus going away, and what did you come for? Tell me, are you taking away with you anything about the Indulgence which you requested? Don't you see that, although the Indulgence has been granted to you, nevertheless it has not been confirmed for you by the testimonial of a bull?"

St. Francis replied and said, "Holy Father, for me your word is sufficient, and I want nothing else. If this is the work of God, He Himself will manifest His work and preserve it in the hearts of faithful persons. Therefore I do not want any other document or charter except the Blessed Virgin Mary; and Jesus Christ will be the notary and the angels will be the witnesses!"

And after saying this, St. Francis left and went to Assisi.<sup>42</sup>

### 8. Mary Picks Francis to Aid Dominic

The Bollandists considered the following vision probably historical because it is found in two thirteenth century sources.

Once when St. Dominic was in Rome seeking to obtain the confirmation of his Order from God and the Lord Pope, during a certain night while he was watching and praying in a church, as was his custom, he saw in a vision the Lord Jesus, sitting at the right of the Father, rise up

<sup>42</sup> A. Fierens, *De Geschiedkundige Oorsprong van Aflaat van Portiuncula* (Gent, 1910), pp. 81–87.

in anger to slay all the sinners on earth and destroy all who were committing iniquity.

He stood in the air with a terrifying expression, brandishing three arrows against the world sunk into evil: one with which He would transfix the haughty necks of the proud; another with which He would cast out the entrails of the greedy, and a third with which He would pierce the flesh of those who yielded to concupiscence.

While no one could withstand His anger, the gracious Virgin Mary appeared. And falling to her knees she embraced His feet and begged Him to be merciful to those whom He had redeemed and to temper justice with mercy.

The Son said to her, "Do you not see how many outrages they inflict on Me? My justice does not permit so many evils to be unpunished."

Then the Mother said to Him, "As You know—who know all—here is the way by which You will bring them back to You. I have a faithful servant whom You shall send into the world to announce Your words. And they will be converted and seek You, the Savior of all. And I shall give him another servant as an assistant who will do similar work."

Then the Son said to His Mother, "I am appeased and I accept your plan. Nevertheless, show Me these whom you wish to assign to so great a task."

Then the Lady Mother showed St. Dominic to the Lord Jesus Christ.

And the Lord said to her, "He will perform well and zealously what you said."

Likewise she showed Him St. Francis also, and the Lord similarly praised him.

St. Dominic therefore carefully studied his companion in that vision, for he did not know him.

The next day he met him in church and recognized him from among those whom he had seen during the night. Running up to him, he embraced and kissed him saying, "You are my companion. You are to run along beside me. Let us stand together, and no opponent shall prevail against us!"

He also told him about the vision.

And henceforth they were like one heart and one soul in God.<sup>43</sup>

## 9. The Blessed Mother Confirms the Stigmata

One hundred and fifty years after the death of Francis Bartholomew of Pisa imagines the scene that must have taken place at the moment of St. Francis' death.

It is to be believed that the Mother of the highest King Christ, herself, whose custom it is to go to her dying devotees, undoubtedly came to meet her devotee St. Francis, who was marked with the stigmata of her Son. For she showed during his life that she loved him with special affection, by manifesting herself to him many times; so it is all the more

<sup>43</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. v.1, pp. 441 and 572.

plausible that she gave him the grace of meeting him when his soul left his body and of conducting him into heaven.<sup>44</sup>

Fifty years after the death of Francis, the Blessed Virgin intervened to reconfirm the fact of the stigmatization. Although a private revelation, it was fully attested by several Franciscan superiors. Brown quoting the *Acta Sanctorum* tells the story.

St. Francis is reported to have appeared to a certain friar on Mount Alverna and to have described to him in some detail the stigmatization, bidding him to make this revelation known. But as the friar delayed in making it known, an angel commanded him to disclose it. Still he hesitated and prayed to Mary for guidance. Then the Mother of God appeared to him, accompanied by angels, and said,

"Consider certain the words about the stigmata of St. Francis which you asked me to obtain for you from my Son. And do not fear or delay to reveal them, because it is the will of my Son that they be disclosed."<sup>45</sup>

### 10. The Blessed Virgin Honors St. Francis

Several interventions of Our Lady and St. Francis also occurred after his death.

A certain woman in the district of Arezzo in Tuscany had endured the pains of labor for seven days and was already turning black. Everyone had given up hope for her.

She made a vow to St. Francis. And as she was dying, she began to call upon him for help.

After making the vow, she quickly fell asleep. And St. Francis appeared to her in her sleep, and called her by her name, Adelasia. He spoke to her in a kind way and asked her whether she recognized his face.

She answered, "Indeed I recognize you, Father!"

The Saint added, "Do you know how to say the "Salve Regina, Mater Misericordiae?"

She replied, "I know it, Father."

The Saint said, "Begin it—and before you finish it, you will safely bear your child."

In saying this, the Saint cried out in a loud voice and disappeared.

At this call, the woman awoke and fearfully began to say the "Salve Regina."

And when she was praying the words "Thine eyes of mercy" and mentioned the Virgin's womb, all of a sudden, before she finished the prayer,

<sup>44</sup> Bartholomew of Pisa, *De Conformitate Vitae Beati Francisci ad Vitam Domini Jesu*, p. 456.

<sup>45</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Oct. v.11, p. 861, in Brown, *Op. Cit.*, p. 70.

she gave birth to a handsome baby safely and with joy, uttering thanks to the Queen of Mercy who had deigned to have piety on her through the merits of St. Francis.<sup>46</sup>

\* \* \*

The Lord Transmundo Anibaldi, a Roman Consul, at the time when he was exercising that function in the city of Siena in Tuscany, had a certain blind servant Nicolo whom he liked very much and who was very efficient in serving him. The latter suddenly developed a serious infection in his jaw, and the doctors predicted that he would soon die.

While he was taking a little sleep, the Virgin Mother of Christ appeared to him and urged him to make a vow to St. Francis and to visit his tomb without delay.

When he arose in the morning, he told his master about the vision. The master marveled, but followed after him in order to see what happened.

When the master reached Assisi, he found his friend before the tomb of St. Francis, where he had been suddenly cured.<sup>47</sup>

\* \* \*

A certain woman in Apulia had for a long time lost her voice and the faculty of breathing freely. When she was sleeping one night, the Blessed Virgin appeared to her and said,

"If you want to get well, go to the Church of St. Francis in Venusia, and there you will receive the good health which you desire."

The woman arose, and as she could not breathe or speak, she indicated to her parents by gestures that she wanted to hasten to Venusia. Her parents consented and traveled there with her.

When the woman entered the Church of St. Francis, while she was praying fervently, she vomited a mass of flesh and was freed from her affliction, before the sight of everyone.<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Thomas of Celano, *Tractatus de Miraculis*, in *Analecta Franciscana*, v. X., pp. 269-330.

<sup>47</sup> *Analecta Franciscana*, v. III, pp. 208, 209.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 205.

## FEASTS OF MARY IN THE FRANCISCAN ORDER

RONALD LAWLER, O.F.M.Cap.

Saint Francis willed to his Order his own deep devotion to the Mother of God. Pope St. Pius X, in a *Motu Proprio* of September 8, 1910, speaks not only of the "incredible devotion of St. Francis toward the most blessed Mother of God," but also of the earnestness with which he intrusted his brethren to her. "He made her the patroness of his Order and he placed in her care the sons whom he was about to leave, to be cherished and protected unto the end." From the very beginning he led his little flock to the Church of St. Mary of Portiuncula "so that where the Order of Friars Minor had by the merits of the Mother of God had its beginning, it might develop with her help."<sup>1</sup>

Francis had a complete devotion to Mary, "after Christ, trusting most of all in her."<sup>2</sup> He loved her not only because "she made the Lord of glory our Brother,"<sup>3</sup> but also because she is the inseparable companion of Christ in his poverty and suffering. Even when Francis speaks of his beloved poverty, it is not simply the poverty of Christ. It is "the poverty of our most high Lord Jesus Christ and of his most holy Mother"; the poverty that shone "in the King of kings and the Queen, his Mother"; the poverty which Christ "with his most blessed Mother wished to take as his choice."<sup>4</sup> Mary was to him the model of all virtues.<sup>5</sup> "It is not possible for the tongue to tell how frequently and in what a way he poured forth prayers to the Mother of God and offered to her his devotion."<sup>6</sup> This burning devotion he commended to his sons.

The Franciscans have been influential in advancing the liturgical cult of Mary because they have tried to imitate their founder's

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<sup>1</sup> *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Vol. 2 (1910) p. 718 ff.

<sup>2</sup> St. Bonaventure, *Legenda Major*, Ch. 9, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Raphael Brown, *Our Lady and St. Francis, All the Earliest Texts Compiled and Translated*, pp. 22 and 23.

<sup>5</sup> See the introduction of his "Salutation of the Virtues." Cf. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Celano, *Vita Secunda*, n. 198.



devotion. They could not have imitated much of Francis without imitating his love of Mary. As he sent them forth, coals kindled by his love to warm the hearts of a world that was growing cold, they went forth with the soul of Francis to plant his love of Mary in the world. It was inevitable that they would play a large part in that growing devotion to our Lady which was to cause so great an increase of Marian feasts in the Church. The very greatness of the number of the Friars and the popular affection with which they were always blessed made them highly influential in every phase of Church life. They had an especially strong influence on the liturgy,<sup>7</sup> and their Marian spirit would not fail to leave traces as they exercised this influence.

### Increase of Marian Feasts from the Time of Francis

In the Lateran breviary of the thirteenth century, and in the breviary of the Franciscans for about 1230, there were only four feasts of the Blessed Virgin: the Annunciation, the Purification, the Nativity of Mary, and the Assumption.<sup>8</sup> There were, of course, some local feasts of Mary at the time, but they were not numerous. Now there are nineteen feasts of Mary celebrated in the universal church—if we count as Marian feasts the feast of the Holy Family and January first, "Mary's Christmas." Another feast will be added this year, when the Holy Father establishes the feast of the Queenship of Mary. Franciscans of all branches also have special feasts of our Lady. The number of local feasts is now immense. Holweck listed 459 feasts in the index of his *Fasti Mariani*.<sup>9</sup>

### Desirability of Many Feasts of Mary

Pius XI, in his encyclical *Quas Primas*, pointed out the reasons for and the immense value of the multitude of feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary. "History shows us that feasts have been instituted down through the ages to meet the needs of the faithful. . . . At

<sup>7</sup> Hyacinth Workman, O.F.M., "Liturgy and the Franciscan Order," in *Franciscan Educational Conference Report*, pp. 1-53, 1921.

<sup>8</sup> Arsene LeCarou, O.F.M., *L'Office Divin Chez les Freres Mineurs au XIII<sup>e</sup> Siecle*, p. 153 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Frederick George Holweck, *Fasti Mariani*, pp. 353-367.

times too when there was a call for a deeper consideration of some mystery of the faith, the Church answered that call by instituting a special feast. . . . St. Augustine says 'that the feast of the martyrs (was established to) incite men to martyrdom.' And so in peaceful times, the liturgical honors paid to confessors, virgins and widows produce greater piety and zeal among the members of God's household."<sup>10</sup>

The feasts of Mary, the Holy Father said, produced still more remarkable effects. They made men "grow in devotion to the Mother of God." Further, it planted in their hearts "love for her as a mother willed to them by their Saviour." Finally, "the public honor paid to our Lady and the Saints has been the protection of the Church at all times against error and heresy."

These festivities of Mary had to be truly liturgical celebrations to have had their splendid effects. "For people are taught the truths of faith more effectively by the annual celebration of the sacred mysteries than by official pronouncements of the Church. . . . Feasts reach all the faithful. . . . Feasts speak every year, in fact forever. . . . Feasts influence both mind and heart, affecting the whole of man's nature. For man is made up of body and soul and needs these external functions. These sacred rites in all their varied beauty stimulate man to a deeper penetration of the truths God has revealed. Thus they become a part of his very life."<sup>11</sup>

### Liturgical Objections

There have, however, been liturgical objections to the multiplication of feasts of Mary. Many of these feasts are held to be liturgically inferior. Liturgy itself is said to be "the sacramental presence of Christ's living work." This, it is said, was better expressed in the "purer" liturgy of earlier days, when the major feasts of Christ and the most important church seasons stood out more sharply for lack of competition from fringe feasts of lesser importance. The modern feasts objected to (certainly not only Marian feasts; some other feasts especially appealing to Franciscans, as that of Christ the King, are included) are not in line with the central ideas of

<sup>10</sup> Encyclical Letter *Quas Primas* (on Kingship of Christ), *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Vol. 17 (1925), p. 603-604.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

liturgy: Christ's saving work relived in its major mysteries. Rather liturgy is made a dogma class; or its feasts are made to be of too "reflective" a type; or there are attempts at too much pragmatism in liturgy. Some begin to believe that the popularity of a feast alone determines its importance. But the liturgy was not meant for mere moralizing, or defense of dogma. When the feast of Corpus Christi was instituted "something happened . . . something which had nothing to do with liturgy and the church year and its holy seasons. . . . The feast was instituted because of the heresies which doubted one aspect of the Sacrament, which as such is really secondary on Maundy Thursday, because Christ is the primary object of its liturgy."<sup>12</sup>

Undoubtedly, the objections are poorly summarized here; and there is surely much to be said for them. But some answer can be given also. First of all, though the liturgy is not primarily directed at moralizing, that has been extremely important in the liturgy from the first. According to St. Augustine, the introduction of feasts of martyrs—so loved in the classical ages of liturgy—was basically a "moralizing" reason. Further, the attitude toward the "dogma" feasts, the reflective feasts, seems overharsh. The dogma is put in its worst light. The liturgical object of Corpus Christi is certainly not the wording of a dogmatic phrase; that which is honored is not a facet of truth, or a mere abstract truth at all. It is Christ at whom it is directed; Christ instituting the Sacrament, Christ our food, our eternal sacrifice, our pledge of eternal life. Besides, it can hardly be said that dogmatic feasts are so new. The very able Mariologist, Roschini, claims that the oldest feast of Mary is really that of her Maternity—which would seem to be as dogmatic a feast as any.<sup>13</sup> It is true that the more "reflective" feasts, feasts that would consider Christ precisely as King or would consider the love of his Sacred Heart or of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, were certain to come only after other sorts of feasts. They are derived from other feasts, and can be called "secondary" if that word means "liturgi-

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<sup>12</sup> H. A. Reinhold, in "More or Less Liturgical," *Orate Fratres*, Vol. 13 (1938-1939), p. 215. The article as a whole contains a very moderate statement of the position criticized.

<sup>13</sup> Gabriel M. Roschini, O.S.M., *Mariologia*, Tome 2, part 3, p. 166.

cally not quite so important." But if the implication is that they are rather unworthy intruders, some objection must be made.

A full treatment of the question is certainly impossible here. But it would seem that a major fault of the opposition to many newer feasts is a certain excessive purism. The whole of liturgy is defined as that which is indeed most precious in it; it is defined to include only certain more venerable feasts and seasons. All else automatically become poor liturgy. The church herself, whose official prayer is liturgy, has found room for much more. Men of different ages will have different kinds of minds; they will have different kinds of needs; they will need new and different feasts to help express their union with their Saviour and their worship of the Creator of every type of man.

A final reason must be given for the appropriateness of the addition of feasts of Mary in later ages. In discussing the significance of the expression "*legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*," the present Holy Father added that it is equally true that "*lex credendi legem statuat supplicandi*." The Church has constantly developed and enriched the liturgy with new beauty and splendor.<sup>14</sup> Undoubtedly a chief source of the enriching of the liturgy has been the development of theology: the progress of the Christian mind in the faith. Especially in later centuries has a more explicit awareness of Mary's importance in the plan of salvation come about. This was bound to have an impact on liturgy.

Mary has a preeminent, a unique position. She is mediatrix of all graces. That life of grace which is imparted in the liturgy, that Christ life which is its highest fruit in the life of souls, the very grace to worship God well through the liturgy: all these are obtained by souls through Mary. Even graces conferred *ex opere operato* are in some way obtained through Mary.<sup>15</sup>

But, more important still, Mary is co-redemptrix. It is as Redeemer that Christ is the core of the liturgy. But Mary is co-redemptrix,<sup>16</sup> inseparably united with him. Because with him,

<sup>14</sup> Encyclical Letter, *Mediator Dei* (on the Sacred Liturgy), *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, Vol. 39 (1947), p. 541.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the feast of Mary Mediatrix. Note the Invitatorium: "Christum Redemptorem, qui bona omnia nos habere voluit per Mariam, venite adoremus."

<sup>16</sup> For the most thorough treatment of this doctrine, cf. Juniper B. Carol,



though secondarily, she redeemed us, she must be with Christ the secondary core of the liturgy. The whole life of Mary is seen as an exemplar cause and a secondary efficient cause of the holiness of all men. Her mysteries are the more important and the more worthy of celebration the more her importance is known. Her frequent interventions in history will be more honored when the importance of her unending intercession for us is better grasped. The more it became evident how great a part Mary plays in the most essential part of the liturgy, in enabling us to worship well and in the effecting of our redemption, the more important it was that her life, mysteries, and mission become also the subject of liturgical feasts.

### The Origin of Feasts

Undoubtedly many things work together in the creation of a new feast. Feasts are the work of the Church, acting under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. But we may pick out certain partial causes that work toward the formation of new feasts, in order to show better how an Order can play a part in the development of feasts.

1. *Development of theology.* The development of theology, as noted before, is a prime factor in the origin of new feasts. Mary would naturally be the subject of more feasts when the knowledge of her active part in the liturgy became better known. Hence the development of Mariology was a step toward the origin of a multitude of feasts.

2. *Preaching.* The creation of popular interest in a saint or in some event or mystery intimately connected with our salvation is another cause of the origin of feasts. Liturgy is the public worship of the whole household of the faith. A new feast will hardly be instituted until some desire for the feast has been instilled in the people by preachers and teachers.

3. *Individual, personal devotion.* The devotion to a saint or mystery that is consequent upon preaching and teaching is another cause of the origin of feasts. Especially the contagious love of the saints would produce in others that love of the object of a possible feast that calls out so insistently for liturgical fulfillment.

4. *Directly petitioning the feast.* This is only the final stage of



a long process. Before a feast is instituted there will be some devout longing for it, or there will exist some doctrinal or moral need for the feast, as mentioned in the quotation from Pius XI above. A Marian feast would be created to meet such a need when devoted sons of Mary recognize the necessity and work actively for the concession of the particular feast.

### Franciscan Contributions to Marian Feasts

Development of theology, preaching, and devotion may be called the indirect contributions to the development of a feast. Directly petitioning a feast may be called a direct contribution. Franciscans have certainly played an important part in the development of Marian feasts both directly and indirectly. But in neither can their part be exactly measured.

Of the direct activity of the friars for the feast of Mary, of the feasts originating in the Order or in the origin of which they had an active role, we shall say more later. But in this nothing approaching completeness can be given. It would be much too large a task for one small paper. Besides, the record simply is not clear enough. The majority of feasts began on a very small and local scale. Many began to be celebrated in various places with no clear connection of causality between them. When we read that a bishop or local council instituted a feast, it certainly is not always clear who urged the celebration, who is the true apostle of the feast.

The indirect contributions are really the more important ones. When the knowledge and love of Mary have stimulated a desire to honor her in every way, liturgical feasts are an almost natural growth. But all of these indirect contributions are essentially unmeasurable. We cannot claim that just this or just that much is due to Franciscan influence. Franciscan theologians have certainly done much to develop Mariology and prepare the way for all the new feasts. But their efforts have always intermingled with the efforts of others; they have helped other theologians and other theologians have helped them. While Franciscans have always preached Mary much, they certainly have not been alone in rousing the love of our Lady in the hearts of the faithful. And while the devotion of Francis and all his sons distinguished for their holiness has been Marian in

character, there is no measuring, weighting, and comparing of such spiritual realities or of their effects.

Here then there will be no attempt to compare Franciscan influence with that of any other group. But, only in a most summary fashion, it is to be pointed out that the part of the Franciscans has been very considerable in the whole development of that love of Mary which has created so many Marian feasts. Franciscan theologians have always had a profound interest in defending the glory of Mary, in heaping honors upon her. The greatest Franciscan Mariologists, men like St. Bonaventure, St. Anthony, Duns Scotus, St. Bernardine of Siena, St. Lawrence of Brindisi, have had worthy successors in every generation of Franciscans. But Franciscans have been even better known for their preachers than for their theologians; and much of the immense influence of their preaching has been directed to the spreading of devotion to Mary.<sup>17</sup> And the devotion of the Order, as pointed out in the beginning of this paper, has always been Marian in character.

Another reason for the influence of the Franciscans in spreading feasts of Mary was the popularity of the Franciscan breviary.<sup>18</sup> The Franciscans often adopted feasts of Mary long before they were used in the universal church, and through their breviary these new feasts were then widely disseminated. In the late Middle Ages there was not so much standardization in liturgical offices; individual dioceses would institute feasts by the authority of the bishop without any recourse to Rome. The Franciscans' use of a feast would be a powerful incentive for others to take it, for it to grow and eventually become universal. This is true because the Franciscan breviary was used by many outside the Order. It was much used even by laymen of the Third Order, particularly the great ladies and gentlemen who could be very influential in securing the spread of Marian feasts.<sup>19</sup>

Another reason is this. The Franciscans were most influential in those countries in which liturgical feasts most commonly originate, especially in Spain and in Italy.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Cf. the *Franciscan Educational Conference Report*, 1927, on preaching; especially "The History of Franciscan Preaching and Preachers," by Anscar Zawart, O.F.M.Cap.

<sup>18</sup> Arsene LeCarou, *op. cit.*; H. Workman, *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> Workman, *op. cit.*, p. 27-29.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Holweck, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

### A Much-Quoted Mistake

An interesting and much-quoted error on the history of Marian feasts is found in Wadding. Writing of the General Chapter of 1263 at Pisa under St. Bonaventure, he had the following: "It was commanded that these new festivities should be introduced in the Order, namely of the Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, her Visitation, that of St. Anne her mother, and of the Virgin Martha."<sup>21</sup> Naturally the Friars would be proud to believe that their Order introduced these feasts at so early a date, long before they became universal feasts. But this claim cannot be admitted. In 1911, Jerome Golubovich, O.F.M., published a critical text of the statutes of the General Chapter of 1263, and demonstrated that the statement of Wadding on this point is completely in error.<sup>22</sup> It was much later that these feasts were actually established in the whole Order. More shall be said of the Immaculate Conception below. Roschini states that the Franciscans adopted the feast of the Visitation between 1380 and 1389, the latter year being the date when it became a feast of the universal church.

Unfortunately, even after it became clear that the information given by Wadding was incorrect, many have continued to claim that the Franciscans instituted the feasts of the Visitation and Immaculate Conception in 1263. In the field of Marian devotion we have so much to speak of that is factual that we certainly should not be reduced to claiming honors that we do not have!

### The Immaculate Conception

The feast of the Immaculate Conception ("Conception of St. Anne") was first celebrated in the East. The first document we have to demonstrate the existence of the feast is the canon of St. Andrew of Crete (660-740?). The feast spread quickly through the East, and was introduced into Italy at least by the ninth century.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Annales Minorum*, Tome 4, p. 244. Anno 1263, N. 218, XV.

<sup>22</sup> Jerome Golubovich, O.F.M., "Statuta Liturgica seu Rubricae Breviarii auctore Divo Bonaventura in Generali Capitulo Pisano anno 1263 Editae," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, Vol. 4 (1911), p. 62-63. Cf. also AFH 45 (1952), p. 299-322. This correction is referred to by the Quaracchi editors of Wadding. A very recent study by Michael Briek, O.F.M., to be referred to below, confirms this correction.

<sup>23</sup> Roschini, *op. cit.*, p. 129 ff.

The Franciscans, of course, had a large part to play in the triumph of this feast, just as Franciscan theologians cleared the way for the infallible definition of this dogma by solving the doubts raised against it by many prominent theologians, especially of the Paris school. But the introduction of this feast into the Order is hard to trace, because the feast was introduced by a gradual and progressive evolution rather than by any special decree. The most recent study of this matter is contained in an article by Michael Briek, O.F.M., in a recent issue of *Antonianum*.<sup>24</sup> He refers to the erroneousness of Wadding's statement that the feast was instituted by the General Chapter of 1263 at Pisa. But he points out that there are indications of the celebration of the feast within the Order from the end of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. For example, in the *calendar* of a missal of the Friars Minor of the late thirteenth century there is noted: *6.I.Decembris, Conceptio beatae Mariae Virginis*.<sup>25</sup> The statutes of a certain society that flourished among the Friars Minor at Reggio Emilia (1295-1321), "The Society of the Blessed Virgin and Saint Francis" imposed on its members the obligation of offering one candle at the church of the Friars Minor on the feast of the Conception of the Virgin "which falls on the first Sunday after the feast of Saint Nicholas."<sup>26</sup> There are a good many other indications of an early celebration of this feast among the Friars; but it is not certain how long it took the feast to spread throughout the entire Order. The juridical texts speaking of the feast in the whole Order really belong after the decree of the pseudo-council of Basle in 1439, which held that the Immaculate Conception must be held, embraced, and celebrated everywhere. Though this decree lacked juridical authority, it had a great influence on Franciscan legislation for the feast. Fr. Briek's article refers to many of these decrees made for the whole Order. They treat especially the question of which office ought to be used, so that it is clear that the feast had by then become universal among Franciscans.

<sup>24</sup> Michael Briek, O.F.M., "Legislatio Ordinis Fratrum Minorum de Immaculata Conceptione B.V.M.," in *Antonianum*, Vol. 29, January, 1954.

<sup>25</sup> Briek, *loc. cit.*, gives this reference: "Missale Fratrum Minorum cum Kalendario (sub fine saec. xiii), Padova, Bibliotheca Capitolare, ms. D. 34 in Kalendario: '6. I. Decembris Conceptio beatae Mariae Virginis.'"

<sup>26</sup> *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, Vol. 14 (1921), p. 136, n. 23.



This feast was recommended to the universal church in 1474 by Sixtus IV, a Franciscan pope. This was during the period in which the doctrine was still being vigorously denied by many. The manner in which Sixtus instituted this feast has been much disputed. Fr. Cherubim Sericoli, O.F.M., reached the following conclusions in his recent exhaustive study of the problem: 1) In his constitution of 1474 on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, Sixtus became the first to recognize and confirm the feast by the apostolic authority. 2) He saw to the greater solemnity of the feast and to a more active participation in it in the papal curia. 3) Most important, he commended it to *all* the faithful, and urged its general celebration even with the indulgences of Corpus Christi, though he did not make it compulsory for the whole church.<sup>27</sup>

In 1693, Innocent XII extended the feast to the universal church, and in 1708, Clement XI made it a holy day of obligation.

### Portiuncula: Our Lady of the Angels

The feast of Portiuncula is the anniversary of the consecration of the Church of Our Lady of the Angels, the mother church of the Franciscan Order. Its great importance comes chiefly from the celebrated Portiuncula indulgence, obtained by Saint Francis from Honorius III at the bidding of our Lord, probably in 1216. The feast was celebrated at the mother church from the beginning, and spread to other churches of the Order and outside the Order as in the course of years the indulgence was permitted to be gained in more and more places. Certain limited extensions had been granted earlier, but in 1622 Gregory XV decreed that all the faithful could obtain the indulgence in any church of the Observant and Capuchin branches on the feast day. This same privilege was extended to churches of the Third Order Regular in 1643 and to those of the Conventual branch in 1670. In 1685, all churches aggregated to the Seraphic Order were given the same privilege.<sup>28</sup>

### Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin

This feast is now celebrated by the Conventual and Observant

<sup>27</sup> Cherubim Sericoli, O.F.M., *Immaculata B. M. Virginis Conceptio juxta Xysti IV Constitutiones*.

<sup>28</sup> Holweck, *op. cit.*, p. 162; *Lexicon Capuccinum*, col. 1388ff.



Franciscans, and in many places as a local feast. The sacred joys of Mary had long been honored in the Church. A feast honoring the joys of the Blessed Virgin grew up in many scattered places around the beginning of the sixteenth century and thereafter. Within the Order, the feast has a close connection with the Franciscan Crown of the seven joys. According to Wadding this began to be prayed in the Order from 1422, having its origin in a vision of our Lady to a young Friar.<sup>29</sup> The seven joys are: the Annunciation, the Visitation, the birth of Christ, the adoration of the three kings, the finding of Jesus, the Resurrection, and the Assumption. Pius X, in 1906, granted a proper Mass and Office in honor of the Seven Joys, and added new indulgences to the praying of the Franciscan crown.<sup>30</sup>

### Mother of the Divine Shepherd

This feast is celebrated by the Capuchins, and is a popular local feast particularly in Spain and Spanish America. It owed its origin to the work of the Capuchin Isidore of Seville. On August 15, 1703, the Blessed Virgin is said to have appeared to him in the clothing of a shepherdess and surrounded by sheep, and to have asked, "Do you wish to convert the whole world to the doctrine of my Son in an easy way? Ask a patroness and leader for missionaries: I am the shepherdess of souls. Picture me to the people as you now see me, and let the missionaries entrust their flocks to me. You may hold it for certain that sinners, even obstinate ones, will return as meek and docile lambs."<sup>31</sup> On the feast of the Nativity of Mary, in 1703, Fr. Isidore began to call Mary by this title. He had a picture of Mary the divine shepherdess painted to bear about with him on his popular missions. The devotion was most fruitful and spread rapidly, especially in Spain, Spanish America, and Italy. The Capuchin Blessed Didacus Joseph of Cadiz (died 1801) is known as the second founder of the feast because of his zealous furthering of the devotion. He secured from the Holy See approval for an office and Mass in honor of the Virgin Mother of the Good Shepherd in 1795. In 1885, the Sacred Congregation of Rites gave

<sup>29</sup> *Annales Minorum*, Vol. 10, p. 72. Anno 1422, N. 62, VIII.

<sup>30</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum*, col. 465-466.

<sup>31</sup> Roschini, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

to the whole Capuchin Order the faculty of celebrating this feast on the second Sunday after Easter. It is now celebrated on the Saturday before that second Sunday.<sup>32</sup>

### Queen of the Friars Minor

This is the newest feast of our Lady in the Franciscan Order. The Sacred Congregation of Rites granted it simultaneously to the three branches of the Friars Minor on July 14, 1949. The invocation, "Queen of the Friars Minor," had been introduced into the Litany of Loreto for the whole Franciscan Order by Pius X on September 8, 1910. This feast honors the queenship which our Lady always held over the Order of St. Francis.<sup>33a</sup>

### Espousals of Mary

John Gerson, chancellor at the University of Paris (died 1429) played an early part in the introduction of this feast. The feast as he instituted it, however, was rather a feast of Saint Joseph than of the Blessed Virgin, and it remained geographically very restricted. The Friars Minor were the first to really establish and promote this feast, and to make it almost exclusively Marian in character, celebrating more the mystic bond of grace between Mary and God than the bond between Mary and Joseph. The Friars obtained this feast first for the nuns of the Congregation of the Annunciation under Jean of Valois, which had been under their care, in 1517. In 1537, this feast was received for the whole Order of Friars Minor. From around the end of the seventeenth century, after a number of difficulties, the feast spread rapidly to many parts of the world outside the Order, and it is now one of the most widespread local feasts of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>33b</sup>

### The Saturday Feast

The dedication of Saturday to Mary goes back at least to the

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<sup>32</sup> *Lexicon Capuccinum*, c.1041 ff. gives a fine bibliography. Cf. also Melchior a Publadero, O.F.M.Cap., *Historia Generalis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum*, Vol. 2, p. 217 ff.

<sup>33a</sup> *Analecta O.F.M.Cap.*, vol. 26 (1910), p. 314; vol. 65 (1949) p. 147-154.

<sup>33b</sup> Roschini, *op. cit.*, p. 169, 170; Campana, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 251-259.

tenth century; from the testimony of St. Peter Damian (born 1007) it is clear that even the Saturday Mass and Office of Mary were said in the tenth century.<sup>34</sup> The practice was quickly taken up by the Friars Minor. There is no evidence from earliest documents that St. Francis ordered a Mass of our Lady to be said every Saturday, although this is frequently repeated, often with the extreme addition that he ordered an Immaculate Conception Mass to be said each Saturday.<sup>35</sup> The General Chapter at Assisi in 1269 ordered that a Mass in honor of the Blessed Virgin should be celebrated each Saturday when this could be done in a "good way."<sup>36</sup> In 1553, the Capitulum Salmaticense Ultramontanorum speaks even of the office of the Conception of the Virgin Mary, both for the canonical hours and for the Mass. In 1609, Paul V conceded the recitation of the office of the Immaculate Conception for all Saturdays unless a feast of nine lessons intervened. A like privilege was conceded to the Capuchins in 1612.<sup>37</sup> Present legislation permits priests of all three branches of the first Order to say the Immaculate Conception Mass on almost all Saturdays, even those on which occurs a feast of double or double major rank.

### Feasts of Mary Now Celebrated Among Franciscans

Here is to be given only a brief sketch of the various feasts of our Lady celebrated in the universal church, or in one or more of the three branches of the first Order. All the great mysteries of Mary's life, her dignity, holiness, and mission are commemorated in these feasts. The outline of a standard Mariology course can be filled richly with feasts of our Lady, indicating the thoroughness of the knowledge of Mary that could be gained among the Friars and all the faithful if these feasts were always given the reverent consideration they deserve. In our sketch here we shall list the feasts in a rough outline of this sort.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Roschini, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>35</sup> Briek, *op. cit.*, p. 34; Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>36</sup> Briek, *loc. cit.*

<sup>37</sup> For Observants: Briek, *op. cit.*, p. 34-35; for Capuchins: Melchior a Pobladura, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 182.

<sup>38</sup> There is no special feast of the virginity of Mary in this list; but her virginity is honored in the Annunciation, and in the office of most of the feasts. The history of the feasts in this list is taken principally from the fol-

## I. Dignity of Mary as the Mother of God

1. *Annunciation*—*March 25*. A celebration of the historical moment when Mary's consent "made the Lord of Glory our brother." This is one of the ancient feasts of Mary. The Bollandists and Benedict XIV believed that this feast was instituted by the apostles themselves.<sup>39</sup> A sermon of a certain Bishop Abraam of Ephesus in the mid-sixth century is our first *certain* record of the celebration of the feast in the East. It was *certainly* celebrated in Rome in the late seventh century under Sergius I.

2. *"Mary's Christmas"*—*January 1*. The octave of Christmas has for so long a time in the church honored Mary's glorious part in the feast of Christmas that Holweck, in his *Fasti Mariani*, expresses no hesitation in calling this a feast of Mary. The oration of the day is definitely a Marian prayer, as are most of the responsories at Matins and the antiphons of Lauds and the small hours. Holweck gives to this feast the same early history that Roschini gives to the feast of the Maternity below.<sup>40</sup>

3. *Maternity*—*October 11*. This celebrates the greatness of Mary's dignity in *being* God's Mother: the overwhelming importance of this Mother-Son relationship. Roschini holds that this should be called the oldest feast of Mary, because her maternity was celebrated liturgically as early as the beginning of the fifth century. After the middle of the century this feast ceased, and gave way to the feast of the "Memoria," "Dormitio," or the assumption of Mary. But even when there was no explicit feast for the divine maternity, this remained the fundamental reason for celebrating any feast of Mary. Thirteen centuries later, in 1751,

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lowing sources: Roschini, *op. cit.*: ch. 4, art. 2, "De Festis B. M. Virginis," p. 129-173; Holweck, *op. cit.*; Emilio Campana, *Maria nel Culto Cattolico*, 2 vol.; Abbot Gueranger, *The Liturgical Year*, 15 vol.; Benedict XIV, *Tractatus de festis Domini nostri Jesu Christi et beatæ Mariæ Virginis*.

<sup>39</sup> This opinion has been abandoned, because it seems certain that only Easter and Pentecost were celebrated as feasts in the first three centuries. The lenten date may then have caused some delay in the origin of this feast. But March 25 was accepted as the true date of the Annunciation by Gabriel from very early days. Cf. Damianus Lazzarato, *Chronologia Christi* for certain strong arguments for the genuineness of this date, March 25, for both the Annunciation and the Crucifixion, and also of the genuine historicity of the December 25 date for Christmas.

<sup>40</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 3.

Benedict XIV conceded this feast to Portugal. From that time it spread rapidly. Pius XI made it universal in 1931, on the fifteenth centenary of the Council of Ephesus.<sup>41</sup>

## II. The Sanctity of Mary

1. *Immaculate Conception—December 8.* Mary's perfect holiness, and specifically her preservation from original sin, flow from her dignity as God's Mother and her consequent position as his companion in our redemption and in the total conquest of Satan. Some history of the feast was given above.

2. *Immaculate Heart of Mary—August 22.* This feast honors the heart of Immaculate Mary, especially as a symbol of her intense love: towards almighty God, the God-man her Son, and towards all men. As in the feast of the Sacred Heart, the thought of reparation is prominent in this feast. The modern apparitions at Fatima have popularized this devotion much, but it has a long history. St. Luke's Gospel refers twice to Mary's heart.<sup>42</sup> A classical study of the devotion is that of St. John Eudes.<sup>43</sup> Among Franciscans the most prominent promoter of this devotion was St. Bernardine of Siena, who is widely known as the "Doctor of the Immaculate Heart."<sup>44</sup> This first liturgical celebration was in 1648, with a Mass that St. John Eudes formed chiefly from the works of St. Bonaventure and St. Bernardine of Siena. The feast spread locally with the approval of various bishops, but certain difficulties caused the Sacred Congregation of Rites to express disapproval of the office in 1699 and of the liturgical cult in 1729. The difficulties were approximately the same as those advanced against a feast of the Sacred Heart; and after Rome granted a feast of the Sacred Heart to the bishops of Poland in 1765, the way was opened for particular concessions of this feast of Mary.<sup>45</sup> In 1855, this feast, under the

<sup>41</sup> Roschini, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

<sup>42</sup> *Luke*, 2, 18; 2, 51.

<sup>43</sup> St. John Eudes, *The Admirable Heart of Mary*. Pius X called this saint "the first apostle of the liturgical cult of the Hearts of Jesus and Mary." Roschini, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

<sup>44</sup> Roschini, *op. cit.*, p. 157; Diomedè Scaramuzzi, O.F.M., "Il Dottore de Cuore Immaculato di Maria: San Bernardino da Siena," in *Il Cuore Immaculato di Maria*.

<sup>45</sup> Roschini, *op. cit.*, p. 158.



title of the Most Pure Heart of Mary, was established with a proper office and Mass, and was permitted to all who asked for its celebration. Pope Pius XII, in memory of his consecration of the whole human race to the Immaculate Heart on October 31, 1942, extended this feast to the universal church on May 4, 1944, and gave as its date August 22, the octave of the Assumption.

### III. Mary's Mission and the Cult of Mary

Because of Mary's sanctity, and her official position eternally foreordained by God, all the mysteries of her life are worthy of profound veneration for the part they played in the working out of our salvation.

#### 1) HER MEDIATION ON EARTH IN THE WORK OF REDEMPTION

##### *A) In her holy life in general*

1. *Nativity of Mary—September 8.* The nativity of only three persons is celebrated in the church: the nativity of Christ, of Mary, and of John the Baptist—the three who were born holy and already worthy of veneration. This feast is one of the oldest feasts of Mary.

The first *certain* indication of the feast in the East is found in the sermons of St. Andrew of Crete (died 720). In Rome the feast was certainly celebrated at the time of Pope Sergius I (687–701). The date for this feast had varied until the date of the Immaculate Conception was fixed on December 8; this was then placed at nine months later.

2. *Presentation of Mary—November 21.* This feast honors the presentation of Mary to God by her parents, their offering of her to almighty God. This feast seems to go back as far as the year 583 in Jerusalem.<sup>46</sup> From the time of Gregory XI it spread rapidly in the West, but it was not made a universal feast until 1585, by Sixtus V.

3. *Espousals of Mary—January 23.* This feast celebrates the espousals of Mary with St. Joseph, but even more it honors the mystic union of Mary with God through grace. The history of the feast has been given above.

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<sup>46</sup> Roschini, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

4. *Visitation of Mary—July 2.* This feast celebrates Mary's visit to Elizabeth spoken of in Luke 1, 22ff. It is celebrated on about the date that Mary would have arrived back in Nazareth after the three months' visit, which had its beginning immediately after the Annunciation. We have noted Wadding's error on the history of this feast above. The first record of this feast speaks of its celebration at Le Mans in 1247. It spread rapidly, especially among religious orders, in the late fourteenth century. Boniface IX declared that it should be a universal feast in 1389, but it did not become universal in fact until after the decree of the Council of Basle in 1441.

5. *Purification—February 2.* St. Luke's Gospel (2, 22–39) describes the proper object of this feast: the presentation of the Infant Jesus in the temple, the legal purification of Mary, and her meeting with Simeon and Anna. This feast was probably celebrated in Jerusalem as early as the middle of the fourth century. It was called "Quadragesima Epiphaniae," and was celebrated very solemnly on the fortieth day after Epiphany (hence on February 14), since the birth of Christ was also honored on Epiphany in the East. It was certainly introduced into the West by the time of Sergius I (687–701). Some have tried to prove a Roman origin for the feast, and make it a substitution for the Lupercalia festivities, or for one of several other pagan festivals; but their arguments are not convincing.<sup>47</sup>

6. *Holy Family—Sunday after Epiphany.* Clearly, this is not exclusively a feast of Mary. But the special Marian tone to the feast is emphasized by the fact that the psalms at Matins and Vespers are taken from the common of the Blessed Virgin. In 1865 official approval was given for the old custom of celebrating this feast in Montreal, which goes back to the late seventeenth century. Leo XIII approved a new office for the feast in 1895, part of which he had composed himself. The feast had spread considerably before Benedict XV made it universal in 1921.

7. *Seven Joys—August 26–27.* The sacred joys of Mary's life are considered in this feast. An account of its origin has been given above.

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<sup>47</sup> Roschini, *op. cit.*, p. 138f.

### B) *In the chief work of Co-Redemption*

The two feasts of the sorrows of Mary honor the sufferings of Mary with Jesus, especially at the time of his crucifixion, when she shared with him the sufferings that brought about the redemption of the world.

1. *The Transfixion of Mary—Passion Friday*. Though this is officially called a feast of the seven sorrows, it is concerned exclusively with the agony of Mary beneath the cross of her Son. Devotion to Mary's sorrow here goes back to the earliest days of the church. This feast is first noted by the Council of Cologne in 1423. By the end of the sixteenth century some celebration of Mary's sorrows was universal, but the feast had different dates and different names: e.g., Commemoration Angustiae et Doloris B.V.M., Festum Spasmi, Festum Compassionis, Festum Transfixionis, and many others. In 1727 Benedict XII gave the feast its present date and name universally.<sup>48</sup>

2. *Seven Sorrows—September 15*. This feast was first celebrated in the Servite Order, from 1688. It is intended to honor all the principal sorrows of the Blessed Virgin: Simeon's prophecy; the flight into Egypt; the loss of Jesus; the meeting on the way to Calvary; the Crucifixion; receiving Jesus from the cross; the burial of Jesus. The feast was extended to the universal church by Pius VII when he returned in 1814 from his captivity under Napoleon.

## 2) MARY'S HEAVENLY MEDIATION

### A) *Her position*

1. *Assumption—August 15*. This is *the* feast of the Blessed Virgin, the feast of her entrance into glory. It too is an ancient feast; and its origin, certainly in the East, is somewhat obscure. Roschini gives the following history.<sup>49</sup> There was a feast of "com-

<sup>48</sup> Franciscan devotion to the Sorrowful Mother certainly had a great influence in the origin of this feast. The sequence *Stabat Mater*, which has been incorporated into the liturgy of the feast, was probably written by the Franciscan poet Jacapone da Todi, though this is not certain (cf. Roschini, *op. cit.*, p. 180). The sequence was written around the end of the thirteenth century; by the end of the next century it was popular almost everywhere.

<sup>49</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 146 f.

memoration" of Mary in Jerusalem on August 15th about the middle of the fifth century. Of itself this contained only generically the "dormitio" or the assumption of Mary; but in the sanctuary of Gethsemani, near the sepulchre of Mary, very probably it contained a special remembrance of the Assumption of Mary from the beginning. From this there arose in the East the date of August 15 for the Assumption. In Syria this feast seems to have arisen under the influence of the apocryphal "Transitus Mariae"; the feast evolved by the changing of a December 26 feast of the commemoration of Mary in general to a specific celebration of her corporal assumption into heaven. The interpretation of a liturgical hymn of the Syrian Bishop, James of Sarug (451-521), plays an important part in determining the history of the feast in Syria. In the West the feast first came to Rome; thence it went successively to England, France, and Spain. Sergius I, of a Syriac family that had migrated to Sicily, included the "Dormitio Matris Dei" among the four feasts of Mary in the Roman calendar for his time. From the sacramentary of Adrian I it is evident that the name of this feast was changed to the Assumption of Mary by the end of the eighth century.

2. *Queenship of Mary—December 15.* The feast of Mary's Queenship now celebrated is that of Mary, Queen of the Friars Minor. But the universal feast of her queenship will be promulgated by the present Holy Father on November 1. The date for that feast is still uncertain, but a May 1 date is hoped for by many: not only to counteract the present Communist defiling of that date, but also to consecrate to Mary the first day of the month that has so long been held sacred to her.

### *B) Her Universal Mediation*

1. *Mediatrix of All Graces—May 31.* Mary, who with Jesus won us all graces, rightfully became the one through whom all graces are distributed. Cardinal Mercier was most influential in obtaining this feast from Benedict XV for all the dioceses of Belgium; and the Sacred Congregation of Rites was authorized to grant it to all who asked for its celebration. It has spread very rapidly in recent years.

2. *Mother of the Good Shepherd—Second Saturday after Easter.*

The history of this feast was given above. It honors Mary as the divine shepherdess, who with Christ exercises continual care over the whole flock of the elect. Because of her unending interest in the stray, she has been invoked as a patroness of mission work.

3) FEASTS INSPIRED BY MARY'S INTERVENTION IN HUMAN HISTORY

1. *Our Lady of the Snows—August 5.* This feast commemorates the dedication of the Church of St. Mary Major (called also the Liberian Basilica and St. Mary of the Crib). It is the church's central and greatest church of Our Lady. The legend given in the office, concerning the request of Mary in a vision that a church be built at the spot to be covered by a miraculous fall of snow during the days when Rome's summer heat is usually at its worst, cannot be given much critical support. From the title of the feast another significance is given to it in a sixteenth century oration for the feast. It asks that, as snow fell in summer time to honor Mary, so "we, following her steps, may be cooled from the heat of concupiscence and be made whiter than snow with the brightness of innocence."<sup>50</sup> The feast was celebrated from 435 in the basilica itself; in the fourteenth century it was given to other churches of Rome and other dioceses; and Pius V extended it to the universal church at the end of the sixteenth century.

2. *Portiuncula—August 2.* This feast commemorates the dedication of the Church of Our Lady of the Angels. See its history above.

3. *Our Lady of Ransom—September 24.* Our Lady appeared in 1218 to St. Peter Nolasco, St. Raymond of Pennafort, and James, King of Aragon, requesting the formation of a new order to deliver Christian captives from the Saracens. The royal, religious, and military Order of Our Lady of Ransom was founded. In 1615, the religious of that order were granted this feast of Our Lady, which was extended to the universal church by Innocent IX in 1696. To this particular intervention of our Lady for the help of her children in a special crisis the church gives a more general significance to this feast: the oration asks that "we ourselves, by her merits and

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<sup>50</sup> Quoted in Holweck, *op. cit.*, p. 164.



intercession, may be delivered from all sin and from the bondage of the evil one."

4. *Most Holy Rosary*—October 7. This feast was formerly known as the feast of "St. Mary of Victory," or "Our Lady of Victory." It was instituted by Pius V in 1572 in thanksgiving for the signal victory of the Christian forces under Don John of Austria over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571. This was the first significant naval victory over the infidels; and it was won at the very time the rosary confraternities in Rome were having processions praying for the victory. The triumph seemed directly due to Mary's help. In 1573, Gregory XIII gave the feast its present name. Clement XI extended it to the universal church in 1716, shortly after another distinguished victory over the Turks, at Peterwardein in Hungary. This too took place while rosary processions were asking Mary for victory. The Franciscans have this much in the origin of the feast: the Friars who were chaplains on the boats at Lepanto played so heroic a part in rousing the spirit of the men and caring for the wounded that they deserve much credit for the victory that occasioned the feast.<sup>51</sup>

5. *Most Holy Name of Mary*—September 12. This feast was first instituted in Spain to honor Mary's holy name in 1513. In 1671 it was extended to all Spain and to the Kingdom of Naples. Innocent XI extended the feast to the universal church in 1683, in thanksgiving for the great victory of Sobieski over the Turks in Vienna that year. The Franciscans can claim some credit for the origin of the feast in as much as the great Capuchin Mark of Aviano played an heroic role in the victory that made this a universal feast.<sup>52</sup>

All these feasts which speak of the care of Mary for her children in the long wars against the Turks (Our Lady of Ransom, Most Holy Rosary, Most Holy Name) have a very living significance today. The Communist threat is of a parallel nature; the protection and care of the Blessed Mother will surely be the same if it is sought as anxiously.

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<sup>51</sup> For the work of the Capuchin chaplains in this battle, cf. Melchior a Pobladora, *op. cit.*, vol. 1, p. 294; Fr. Cuthbert Hess, *The Capuchins*, vol. 1, p. 189-190. They were not only chaplains; they also did heroic work in rousing the spirit of the men to battle and in caring for the wounded.

<sup>52</sup> *Lexicon Capucinum*, col. 1035-1038.

6. *Our Lady of Mt. Carmel—July 16.* This feast was instituted to honor the Blessed Virgin for all the favors conferred by her on the Carmelite Order and its dependent confraternities. It should be noted that, according to better historians, not only is the legend which traces the Order of Carmelites back to Old Testament times unhistorical, but the popular attribution of the Carmelite scapular to a vision of our Lady to St. Simon Stock—a scapular said to bear the promise of eternal salvation and liberation from purgatory on the first Saturday after death—is also unhistorical.<sup>53</sup> But Roschini notes that the blessings attributed to the scapular are in fact those to be expected of all true devotion to Mary: for it is a sign of predestination and a pledge of Mary's help always, certainly even in purgatory, and doubtless in a special way on the day consecrated to her. In the Carmelite Order this feast goes back to 1387. In 1726, Benedict XII extended the feast to the universal church, adding to the order's legendary history the words "*ut pie creditur.*"

7. *Holy House of Loreto—December 10.* For many years there has been a sharp discussion on the authenticity of the "Holy House of Loreto." This is the small building, thirty-one by thirteen feet, made of rough stone, which has long been believed to be the very home in which Mary lived at the Annunciation, and in which the Holy Family lived at Nazareth. The inscription on the building speaks its claim to honor: "*Hic verbum caro factum est.*" Angels are said to have borne it first to Tersato in Illyria; to Italy near its present place in 1294; and finally to its precise present place in 1295. Among others, Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis has written in defense of the truth of this history;<sup>54</sup> and, despite immense negative difficulties, there is a striking amount of corroborative testimony. The Capuchins have been associated in some way with this shrine from 1588; in 1934, they were given care of it by the Holy See. The liturgical feast was first granted in 1632, and from that time the celebration of it has spread to many parts of the world. The Capuchins celebrate this feast, and Roschini notes that, though it is not universal, it is found on the calendar of nearly all churches. The Litany of Loreto derives its name from this church.

<sup>53</sup> Roschini, *op. cit.*, p. 191 and 218.

<sup>54</sup> P. R. Kenrick, *The History of the House of Loreto.*

8. *Immaculate Mary of the Miraculous Medal—November 27.* On November 27, 1830, Mary appeared for the second time to St. Catherine Laboure. In that vision she asked to have a medal made according to the model she gave in the vision: the present miraculous medal. In thanksgiving for the many favors granted by Mary through the use of this medal, Leo XIII instituted this feast in 1894. It is celebrated in the Conventual branch of the Order.

9. *Apparition at Lourdes.* This feast celebrates the apparitions of Immaculate Mary ("I am the Immaculate Conception") to St. Bernadette in 1858. This feast was first granted to the diocese of Tarbes in 1890. It was extended to the universal church by Pius X in 1907.

### Utilizing the Feasts of Mary

The friar in the active apostolate today is richly blessed in having so many feasts of our heavenly Mother to help him stir the devotion of the faithful. It has always been easier to draw souls to God through Mary. The present abundance of feasts should certainly popularize devotion to Mary. But it does not excuse the friar today from using labor and ingenuity to draw the most from these precious assets. The friars of old were resourceful in arousing popular devotion. Not only did they help spread the feasts of Mary; they would labor to make them fruitful in every way. They would carry statues and pictures of our Lady from town to town. They had a large part to play in developing the practice of crowning statues of Mary, and in dedicating the month of May to her in a special way.<sup>55</sup> They have willed to us a tradition of seeking in every way to make all men love Mary.

It will always be fruitful to spend many sermons in praising Mary, in honoring her and teaching others to honor her. "O very dear brothers, together with Gabriel let us salute the most blessed

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<sup>55</sup> The Capuchin Jerome a Forli (1552-1620) is often said to have been the first to establish the practice of publicly and solemnly crowning images of Mary, such as is now practiced in May crownings. (*Lexicon Capuccinum*, col. 745; Melchior a Pobladora, *op. cit.*, p. 181). The Capuchin Lawrence a Schniffis, chiefly through his book *Mirantische Maienpfeiff, oder Marianische Lobverfassung* (1692), played a very early and very important part in making May the "Month of Mary." (*Lexicon Capuccinum*, col. 932f.)

Virgin, and she, for her graciousness, will salute us much more richly in return. For among all nations, even barbarous ones, it has been customary to return greetings with richer greetings; if one is wished a happy day, he wishes in return a blessed day and a year. Do not all know this? Would it be possible then that the most holy Virgin, who is at the same time most humble and most gracious, would not have a good word for those who greet her? Let us say to her, *Ave!*; let us give and announce to her peace, declare her blessed, praise her, and she will return to us a peace that is much more abundant. Let us praise her, and her perpetual peace and perfect friendship with God, celebrating her charity and holiness. . . . Then Mary herself will return to us the peace of grace and consolation, concerning which it is said: 'Peace is the work of justice.' 'There is much peace for those who love thy name.' " <sup>56</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> St. Lawrence of Brindisi, O.F.M.Cap., *Mariale*, p. 171.

## OUR LADY OF THE ATONEMENT

TITUS CRANNY, S.A.

The sons of the Poverello have always been known for their devotion to the Mother of God. Following the example of their Seraphic Father who placed his whole apostolic movement under the guidance and protection of Our Lady, friars of every age and in every land have honored Mary with scholarly tomes and inspiring sermons, with verse and song and works of art; they have formed organizations and activities under her banner and dedicated projects to her glory; they have used every form of communication to spread the praises of their Queen; they have enkindled in the souls of millions a deeper love and a more enduring loyalty for the Mother of God and the Mother of men.

In our own beloved country too the Franciscans have propagated devotion to Mary from the first Spanish friars who came with the *conquistadores* down to zealous priests and brothers of the present day. They have erected churches to the Immaculate, spread devotions in her honor, established associations of learning and piety—all in an effort to contribute their share of homage to the glorious Queen of paradise.

Remarkable among the sons of Francis in many noble ways was a modern friar, not a member of the first order, but a Franciscan to the innermost depths of his soul—Father Paul James Francis, S.A., Founder of the Society of the Atonement at Graymoor, Garrison, New York (1863–1940). His life was replete with many achievements for the glory of God and the good of souls such as the inauguration and promotion of the Chair of Unity Octave, a world-wide crusade of prayer for the conversion of unbelievers and the re-union of Christendom; the establishment of the Union-That-Nothing-Be-Lost through which he gathered millions of dollars for the missions all over the world; the publishing of magazines and literature for the cause of the Church; the use of the radio and the press to bring God's truth to men; the erection of St.



Christopher's Inn for homeless men; and other charitable and zealous works for the honor of God and the benefit of souls.

### Fr. Paul's Love for Mary

But chief among his virtues was a deep and abiding love for the Virgin Mother of God. Father Paul loved Mary with a tender, filial devotion and what St. Bonaventure said of St. Francis might be predicated, to some degree at least, of the founder of Graymoor: "He loved with an unspeakable affection the Mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, for as much as that she made the Lord of glory our Brother, and that through her we have obtained mercy. In her, after Christ, he put his chief trust, making her his own patron and that of his brethren." Needless to say, Father Paul paid tribute to Mary under her various titles such as Mediatrix of all Grace, the Divine Motherhood, the Seven Sorrows; he rejoiced in her feast days such as the Immaculate Conception, the Visitation, the Nativity, Seven Joys of Mary, and the Assumption. But the title he loved most of all was that which he originated, Our Lady of the Atonement.

It is significant and remarkable that this title for Our Blessed Mother began outside the Catholic Church in the Anglican communion. Father Paul and Mother Lurana (foundress of the Sisters of the Atonement, also at Graymoor) started the Rosary League of Our Lady of the Atonement on the feast of the Rosary (October 7) 1901. But as far as this writer can ascertain, they first used this name for Our Lady in 1900.<sup>1</sup>

But even though he was not yet a Catholic, Father Paul's love for Mary was very profound. He would recite the rosary, preach on her glories, and defend her prerogatives. In an early issue of his

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<sup>1</sup> It would seem that the Graymoor Founders conceived the title for Mary from the name given their religious institute, the Society of the Atonement. They first used the name 'Atonement' in 1893 and came to Graymoor in 1898 and 1899 respectively, but whether they used the name Our Lady of the Atonement prior to 1900 is unknown. Father Paul did speak of 1900 as the date in this way: "Not only was the Name of our holy Society specially revealed to the Father Founder seven years before it developed into a religious institute (i.e., 1893-1900) . . . but simultaneously with that formation for the first time . . . was the Blessed Virgin, the Immaculate Mother of God, addressed by the title, Our Lady of the Atonement."

publication, *The Lamp*, he wrote the following reply to a person who expressed difficulty in honoring Our Lady.

There is no lie forged in hell more in conflict with the will of God expressed in Scripture and Catholic tradition than the Protestant conceit that they honor Christ best, who most ignore the existence of His Mother. "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," and there is no divorce more horrible as a flagrant violation of the *fiat* of Almighty God than the divorce made by the Protestant reformers between Christ and the Blessed Virgin. The fruit of such violence to revealed truth must of necessity be all sorts and kinds of heresy and goes far to explain the skepticism and unbelief which honeycomb the Church of England today.

What English and American churchmen need to realize, in order to become the same zealous lovers of Mary that our forefathers were, is that in Mary we have a Mother, who like her divine Son "can be touched with the feeling of our infirmities," and by the side of our great high priest ever stands "to make intercession for us." We need to know that her knowledge is great enough, her love is boundless enough, and her power vast enough to embrace us everyone, so that whosoever among us cries to her sets reverberating the heart strings of a maternal love that has at its command the inexhaustible resources of heaven.<sup>2</sup>

Father Paul was emphatic in his support of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, stating that "this dogma is no new thing, invented by Pope Pius IX, no one ought to know better than those who call themselves English Catholics. The greatest theological champion the dogma ever had . . . was an Oxford professor, who flourished six hundred years ago, the Franciscan Doctor, John Duns Scotus."<sup>3</sup> Elsewhere he eulogized Scotus for his defence of this Marian doctrine.

The Rosary League of Our Lady of the Atonement was formed with the purpose "to pray and work for the restoration of Mary's Dowry (England) to our Virgin Queen, the Holy Mother of God."<sup>4</sup> Later, of course, the object of the League became more extensive, for Graymoor's founder wished not only for the conversion of England, but for the whole world. As a publication for the Rosary League, Father Paul began *Rose Leaves*, to promote devotion to

<sup>2</sup> *Lamp*, 3:8 (August, 1905) 113.

<sup>3</sup> *Lamp*, Dec., 1904.

<sup>4</sup> He also said: "To help win back for Our Blessed Mother in heaven the love that once burned for her in the hearts of her English people is the *main object* of the Rosary League of Our Lady of the Atonement."

Our Lady and to inspire people to pray for the conversion of souls through the intercession of Mary.

The little magazine, no larger than a pamphlet, was instrumental in the establishment of the Catholic University of Tokyo. It happened in this way: Mother Lurana sent a copy of *Rose Leaves* to the Rev. Arthur Lloyd, president of St. Paul's College in that city, making him interested in so-called "corporate reception" suggesting a donation for the Peter's Pence collection. When Dr. Lloyd sent his offering at the close of the Russo-Japanese War (1905) he suggested that Pope Pius X send a letter to the Emperor of Japan to thank him for the considerate treatment that Catholic soldiers had received during the conflict. The Holy Father accepted the suggestion and asked Bishop William O'Connell to deliver the message. As a result of the visit the Jesuits began their University in Tokyo, a project which can be traced, to some extent, to the influence of the little publication from Graymoor devoted to Our Lady of the Atonement.<sup>5</sup>

Several years after the formation of the Rosary League, Father Paul and his little band of followers entered the Catholic Church on October 30, 1909. At the same time they received permission to carry on their manner of life and to promote their works. And so they continued the Rosary League and sought to develop interest among Catholics in the title of Our Lady of the Atonement. In less than a decade after their entrance into the Church, the Society of the Atonement received approval from authorities in Rome (April 10, 1919) to observe the feast of Our Lady of the Atonement on the Saturday following the seventh Sunday after Pentecost.<sup>6</sup> Today this feast is annually celebrated on July 9th as a double of the first class for the Friars and Sisters of the Atonement.

Perhaps the most singular characteristic of the representation of Mary under the Atonement title is the red mantle, symbolizing the Precious Blood of which she was its Immaculate Source and by

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<sup>5</sup> See David Gannon, S.A. *Father Paul of Graymoor*, (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 123.

<sup>6</sup> The seventh Sunday after Pentecost is called Atonement Sunday, or the Feast of the Atonement. It is a special feast for the Graymoor communities for on this Sunday in 1893 Father Paul discovered the name Atonement, as he believed, by divine inspiration.

which she was made immaculate. To a person who asked: "Why the red mantle?" Father Paul made this reply:

The connection of the red mantle with the Atonement is very obvious. It was during the shedding of the most Precious Blood of her Divine Son, the very Blood He had derived from her own Immaculate Heart, that the redemption of the world was wrought and an atonement made for the sins of the world by the Lamb of God. Our Lady of the Atonement stood by the Cross when the Atoning Sacrifice was enacted and it is most fitting that she should wear a red mantle accepting our homage and devotion under the title of the Atonement.<sup>7</sup>

The same idea is brought out in one of the stanzas of the hymn to Our Lady of the Atonement:

Remind us by thy mantle  
All steeped in crimson red  
The Precious Blood of Jesus  
To save men's souls was shed.<sup>8</sup>

Our Lady of the Atonement  
O! show thyself to be  
A mother to thy children  
Who have recourse to thee.  
Obtain for us, dear Mother  
A faith and love sincere:  
Midst trials and temptations  
The grace to persevere.

Remind us by thy mantle,  
All steeped in crimson red,  
The Precious Blood of Jesus  
To save men's souls was shed;  
Remind us of thy sorrow  
Thy sense of bitter loss,  
When thou, Atonement Mother  
Didst stand beneath the Cross.

From strife and vain contention  
From passion's evil sway,  
Our Lady of the Atonement  
Protect us day by day.  
When earth-born storms fast gather  
Around the Church, may He  
Hark to thy voice, dear Mother  
And send swift help through thee.

O! when this life is ending  
And its last feeble ray  
Is fading in the twilight  
That comes at close of day,  
Then hasten, O dear Mother,  
And close our weary eyes  
And bear us up rejoicing  
With thee, to Paradise.

by Bro. Philip, S.A.

In addition to the red mantle Our Lady wears a blue inner tunic and holds the Infant Christ in her arms. He holds a cross in His right hand for, as Father Paul explained, he is not the Child of Bethlehem, but the Child of the Atonement. In some representations Our Lady wears a crown, in others she does not; while in some

<sup>7</sup> *Lamp*, 22:8 (September, 1925) 285.

<sup>8</sup> The complete hymn is the following:

paintings she is shown with a crown of twelve stars, evidently derived from the *Apocalypse*, (12:1).

### Two Aspects of Atonement

The concept of Our Lady of the Atonement includes two aspects: first, Mary's role in the mystery of the Cross, and secondly, her part in effecting the unity or At-one-ment of men with God as the fruit of the sacrifice of Calvary. For just as Mary had a prominent part as companion, helpmate, co-sufferer with Christ in the mystery of His suffering and death by which man was restored to the friendship of God, so also she exercises a special mission in the plan of salvation and sanctification, applying the merits of the Atonement to the souls of men.

Theologically speaking, the notion of Our Lady of the Atonement includes Mary as Co-Redemptrix and Our Lady of Sorrows suffering with Christ which authors call *objective redemption*; it includes also the idea of Mary as Mediatrix or Dispensatrix of all grace, called *subjective redemption*, and especially of that grace by which men are members of Christ and enjoy the unity of the Church. Thus we may say that Our Lady of the Atonement means both Our Lady of the Cross and Our Lady of Unity.

In speaking and writing of Our Lady of the Atonement, Father Paul emphasized both aspects. In regard to Calvary he declared: "When she saw her Son rejected, cruelly mocked, and spit upon and bearing His heavy cross to Calvary and saw Him nailed to the tree, while she herself stood by in anguish, her heavy heart was beating in union with Him as the crucified Redeemer of the world."<sup>9</sup> In the mystery of divine mercy by which the world was saved, Mary was no mere spectator. She did not stand by passively while the great Act took place; she did not only grieve with Him and for Him. Mary exercised a unique role and she gave singular cooperation, so that in the words of Arnold of Chartres: "Jesus and Mary offered their sacrifice similarly to God: Jesus in the blood of His body, Mary in the blood of her heart."<sup>10</sup> Although Mary's co-redemptive act was dependent upon and subordinate to the sacrifice

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<sup>9</sup> Sermon for the feast of Our Lady of the Atonement, 1925.

<sup>10</sup> *De laudibus B.M. Virginis*, as given in Migne, PL 189:1726.



of Christ, it was still salvific in character. Mary was so united with her Son as to effect in some way the restoration of mankind to God. Or to quote the Graymoor Poverello again: "By her cooperation with the divine will and by her participation in the chalice of Our Lord's suffering and His agony, she became our glorious Lady of the Atonement."<sup>11</sup> Christ is the one Mediator restoring all men to charity with God, but in an auxiliary role Mary is the "mediatrix of the human family when she stood at the Cross as our Lord was lifted up that He might draw all men to Himself."<sup>12</sup>

In a thought similar to that of St. Cyril of Alexandria who said: "Take away Mary and the cross falls," Father Paul declared: "The slain Victim taken down from the Cross is laid in the arms of His Mother, all covered with His own Blood, and that Blood stains the garments of the Blessed Virgin. How impossible to disassociate either our Lord or Our Lady from the Precious Blood."<sup>13</sup>

Father Paul believed that Our Blessed Mother had a special fondness for this title, first because of her role in the sacrifice of Calvary and secondly through her the Incarnation and Atonement were accomplished and she became the Mother of all who live the life of grace. This was his explanation: ". . . among these reasons [why the name must be a favorite with her] must be her own devotion to the mystery of the Atonement, for it was by the death of her Son on the Cross, which cost Him the last drop of His Blood and made her preeminently the Mother of Sorrows, that the wall of division between God and man was broken down and both were made one (*Eph.* 2:14) through Christ's Atoning Sacrifice. As the Blessed Virgin is inseparably associated with our Divine Redeemer in the mystery of His Incarnation, so is she closely associated with Him in the great Act of the Atonement. Thus she is always represented in the gospel and in the liturgy and thought of the Catholic Church as standing by the Cross when Christ was crucified thereon. *Stabat Mater dolorosa, Juxta crucem lacrymosa, Dum pendebat Filius.*

"There is a second reason hardly less weighty than the first, why the title, Our Lady of the Atonement, should powerfully appeal

<sup>11</sup> Sermon, feast of Our Lady of the Atonement, 1925.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Lamp*, 9:7 (July, 1911), 180.

to the Mother of God. It was through the Incarnation that she became the Mother of Christ, but through the Atonement that she became the new Eve and the Mother of all the regenerate, who being redeemed by the Precious Blood are predestined to eternal life. . . . The third time Our Lord spoke upon the Cross it was to emphasize this phase of the Atonement, when he said to His Mother: 'Woman, behold thy son,' and to St. John: 'Behold thy Mother.' Thus by virtue of the Atonement Mary is the Mother of all who live through Christ."<sup>14</sup>

"It was not only her creation without fault or stain of sin," explained Father Paul, "but the Atonement sacrifice that brought her into wonderful relationship with the Three Persons of the Adorable Trinity."<sup>15</sup> He then went on to give the following interpretation of Our Lady of the Atonement:

She is necessarily "of the Atonement" since it was the will of God that she play a necessary part in the Atonement or Redemption. This is not to say that without her man would have remained unredeemed, but that God's plan gave her a large share in the redemptive work. When we address the Blessed Mother as "of the Atonement," we mean then, that there is some very close bond between the Atonement and her, that she belongs to the Atonement and the Atonement to her. Mary, although her part is in no way similar in nature to that of her Divine Son's, co-operated with Jesus Christ, as no other creature did, in His work of reconciling man with God.

Her claim to this high title rests most solidly on the fact that she consented to become, and became, the Mother of the Redeemer; that she suffered with Jesus during the Passion; and that all graces merited for mankind by Christ have come to us through Mary.<sup>16</sup>

On another occasion, while referring to Mary's Immaculate Conception, Father Paul said that Our Lady, above all others, must have the greatest appreciation of the mystery of the Atonement. "Just as the sacrifice of the Old Law took away sin by anticipation of the sacrifice of the Lamb of God upon Calvary, so it endowed the Blessed Virgin with the wonderful privilege of being conceived without sin which came to be hers through the Atoning Sacrifice of the Cross. Consequently, she must have a keen appreciation of her dignity and glory as 'blessed among women' and she must have

<sup>14</sup> *Lamp*, 17:7 (August, 1919), 503.

<sup>15</sup> Sermon for feast of Our Lady of the Atonement, n.d.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

tremendous respect and affection for the Atonement of Calvary because it means so much to her."<sup>17</sup>

During the Novena to Our Lady of the Atonement (held monthly as beginning on the first Saturday and the special one in preparation for the feast day beginning June 30) Father Paul said that his followers should be inspired with a deeper devotion to both Jesus and Mary.<sup>18</sup> "On the Cross," he asserted, "we know Our Lord spoke to Our Lady of the Atonement and said 'Behold thy Son' and to the typical Son of the Atonement, He said: 'Behold thy Mother.' So there is a very real way in which we can look up to that Mother, bless and love her for the great gift to us, the gift of her Child, not only to die for us, but to live for us and in us, so that we might say with St. Paul: 'It is no longer I that liveth, but Christ that liveth in me.' Our Hearts go out therefore in deepest gratitude and love to Mary for the great and unspeakable gift of her Son to us, even as Christ, the Son, in His death upon the Cross, gave her to us to be our Mother."<sup>19</sup>

### Sharing Mary's Experience

This modern friar of Francis and lover of Mary stated too that those who are children of Our Lady must expect to suffer even as she did, they must share in the mystery of the Atonement. "The Mother of the Atonement is marked with the Passion of Christ, as are all the children that reign with Him in glory. . . . All of them must in some form or other drink of the chalice of the Lord's Passion and be associated with Him in His battle and struggle for the redemption of mankind."<sup>20</sup> He said that Our Lady watches over the faithful who bear the cross and wage war against the powers of darkness: ". . . looking down upon them is Our Lady of the Atonement, Our Lady of the Red Mantle, the Mediatrix who suffered with Our Lord upon the Cross as He was transfixed with the nails in His hands and feet. For even as she brought Him as a child into the temple to present Him to God with all the joy and

<sup>17</sup> Sermon July 9, 1939.

<sup>18</sup> Radio talk, March 9, 1936. See *Words of Father Paul*, 1:123. Afterwards indicated by *WFP*.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *WFP*, 1:23.

gladness of a Mother's love beating in her heart, even as she was told by the prophecy of Simeon that a sword should pierce her heart, so as children of the Atonement we must realize that we are called to some degree or another to enter into the sufferings of Christ and into the sufferings of His Mother, for Our Lord Himself said: 'Except a man take up his cross and deny himself he cannot be my disciple.'"<sup>21</sup>

Father Paul called attention to the possibility of Mary's exemption from suffering because of the absence of original sin. But she suffered, he taught, because of "the sins of others" and "the sorrow of her Son" when men rejected His teaching. "So we must realize," he continued, "that we must in some measure be willing to share in Our Lord's chalice of suffering and one of the greatest consolations to us is the invocation of Our Lady of the Atonement, or Our Lady of the Red Mantle."<sup>22</sup> He proceeded to show that the crown of glory will come through Mary: ". . . because we have tasted of the suffering and anguish of Christ and found the struggle and battle of this world to be good and holy and have resisted the powers of darkness in the spiritual combat, we shall be crowned in heaven, and all this will be the triumph of grace through the intercession of our glorious Mother, Our Lady of the Atonement."<sup>23</sup>

Father Paul taught that Mary cooperated in a special way in the salvation of souls because of her unique role in the mystery of the Incarnation and Redemption. For as St. Paul said that Christ is the "head of the body which is the Church"<sup>24</sup> so Mary is the Mother of the Head and the spiritual Mother of all the members, born in the Church because of Mary's love, as St. Augustine declares. Centuries ago St. Irenaeus cited Mary as *causa salutis* and writers of every age have noted the role of God's Mother in the economy of salvation. The sufferings and sorrows of Mary was so completely and inseparably united with those of Christ that, in the words of Pope Benedict XV ". . . she suffered and almost died with her suffering and dying Son . . . in such a manner that we may rightly say that together with Christ she redeemed the human race."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *WFP*, 1:25.

<sup>23</sup> *WFP*, 1:27.

<sup>24</sup> Eph., 5:23.

<sup>25</sup> *AAS*, 10 (1918) 181.

Many times Father Paul said that the Friars and Sisters of the Atonement and the members of the Rosary League should be pre-eminent in their devotion to Our Lady of the Atonement.<sup>26</sup> Mary, he said, is an advocate in heaven exercising her great power with God on behalf of the distressed and those who have recourse to her in their needs here on earth. "When we speak of her as Our Lady of the Atonement" he added, "we think of her standing by the Cross, and there our Lord in the person of St. John gives over to her all the redeemed as her children, so that she is the New Eve, the Mother of all that live in Christ. Consequently, she has the Mother-heart and we are her children. When she was at Cana in Galilee, perhaps this young couple were relatives of hers and she was interested in them as relations; she comes and entreats for them. But we are her children and she loves us as a Mother; she is interested in us as her children. With what confidence ought we not to turn to her, knowing that she will be interested and plead for us in heaven, not just because we are her friends or acquaintances, but we are her children."<sup>27</sup>

Many more instances from his writings might be shown to indicate his appreciation of Mary's spiritual motherhood. We will conclude this section with an explanation given in the early days of his career, obviously written for the month of May:

During this, the month of Mary, the Motherhood of the Blessed Virgin is emphasized, not only because by virtue of the Incarnation she forever has become the Mother of God, but by virtue of the Atonement she is also the New Eve and the Mother of that vast multitude which has been regenerated in baptism and born anew into the Kingdom of God. In other words, she is the Mother of us all. Now the Atonement lays special stress on this glorious fact. It was from the altar of His Atoning Sacrifice that Jesus, the New Adam, spoke to Mary, the New Eve, saying: "Woman, behold thy Son" and to St. John, the ideal Son of the Atonement: "Behold thy Mother." Therefore in adopting the title, *Children of the Atonement*, for the members and associates of the Society of the Atonement we are emphasising a great and wonderful truth—a Child of the Atonement is a Child of God and of Mary, born again of the Holy Ghost, sprinkled with the Precious Blood of the Redemption and destined for citizenship in the heavenly Jerusalem.

In thus calling ourselves, Children of the Atonement, we, of course, do

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<sup>26</sup> Sermons and meditations. Cf. *Words of Father Paul*, vol. 1, *passim*.

<sup>27</sup> *WFP*, 1:119-20.



not claim a monopoly of the title, as though no others than ourselves were Children of the Atonement, but we use it to bring home to ourselves a livelier realization of the birthright that in Mount Calvary and its Cross and our spiritual lineage in Jesus and Mary of the Atonement, even as the widespread sodalities of the Children of Mary are not meant to imply that no one else than they who belong to the Sodality are Mary's children, but by reason of the sodality and its name they are helped to realize more vividly that they are of a truth Children of Mary.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *WFP*, 1:147a.

Frequently Father Paul would say that the name Atonement means so much to Our Lady and on the text from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: "We joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ by whom we have now received the Atonement" from which he derived the name, he would comment in this way: "Although penned by St. Paul under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost not even the great Apostle himself can even now in heaven pronounce these words with such fulness of joy, love, and gratitude, as the Blessed Virgin. Consider what the Atonement means to her. The end or purpose of Christ's sacrifice of Himself upon the Cross was the reconciliation of man to God and the establishment of a condition of at-one-ment or oneness between the Divine Nature and the human which has no equivalent in the relation of God to the angels or to any other creature."<sup>29</sup>

Graymoor's Founder was confident that the feast of Our Lady of the Atonement would some day become universally celebrated in the Church. He asserted that "the peculiar contribution which the Society of the Atonement is to render to the honor and devotion of the Blessed Virgin is that of the Atonement, by and through which we participate in that grace which was given by sharing in Christ's sacrifice on the Cross, to the Blessed Virgin, to spare her from sin to be His Mother."<sup>30</sup> Then as he stated on the feast of the Immaculate Conception in 1938: "Our Lady manifested herself as our Atonement Mother, and it is not only personally that we should render devotion to her, but we should have great zeal to propagate that devotion throughout the length and breadth of the Church Universal."<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:12.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:98.

<sup>31</sup> *WFP*, 1:98.

### Our Lady of the At-one-ment

It is true to say that the title of Our Lady of the Atonement emphasizes Mary's role in the mystery of the Cross as a participant in the sacrifice; in fact, this is obvious from the very name. But there is another truth to be considered, not so immediately obvious, viz., Mary's part in the great work of reuniting all men, unbelievers, schismatics, heretics, pagans, Protestants, Jews, and all others separated from the Church, of bringing them back to the one fold of the one Shepherd. Thus Mary is Our Lady of Unity, Our Lady of the At-one-ment. Father Paul made it clear that "When therefore, as Children of the Atonement we address the Blessed Mother under that title, let us think of her as 'Our Lady of Unity,' and let us consecrate ourselves afresh at her altar to contribute what lies within our power of prayer, sacrifice, and charitable endeavor to bring our separated brethren into the unity of the One Fold under the One Shepherd."<sup>32</sup>

For just as the devil entices a person to commit sin, separating him from Christ, destroying the unity of God and the soul, so also has Satan brought about schism, heresy, and indifferentism by which millions are cut off from unity with their Redeemer and with His members. But Father Paul confidently predicted victory over the powers of hell—victory through Our Lady. "Satan by fomenting strife and fostering heresy and schism has separated many millions from the Unity of the Church . . . but Our Lady of the Atonement will yet crush the serpent's head even where until now he has achieved his greatest victories."<sup>33</sup> Following the principle of St. Augustine that God permits evil only to draw forth a greater good, Father Paul looked to the ultimate triumph of Mary who should win back the erring to the unity of the Church. "Through her all-prevailing intercession," he declared, "the Holy Spirit will bring about such a world-wide movement of dissident Christians to the center of Catholic Unity that the return of the Wandering Sheep to communion with the Apostolic See will far transcend in magnitude and importance the lapse of the Greeks from unity in the tenth century and the Protestant defection in the sixteenth century combined. We dare to make this prophecy not because we

<sup>32</sup> *Lamp*, 21:2 (March, 1926), 93.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

have the vision of the Seer but because we believe that God the Father Almighty will answer the prayer of His Son, Jesus Christ, and Our Lady of the Atonement will have a leading part to play in this glorious accomplishment.”<sup>34</sup>

Mary is the Mother of all men and in a special way she is the Mother of the baptized who have been marked with the character of the sacrament as belonging to her Son. Even those separated from the Church still have a claim upon her charity and as the Divine Shepherdess she longs to unite them in the Church where alone is truth, light, and peace. “When, therefore, we address the Blessed Virgin as Our Lady of the Atonement, we conceive her to be our Mother and we her Atonement Children. Nor, because we are Catholics do we assert that she is the Mother of Catholics only; she is the Mother of all the baptized, whether they be within the fold of Peter or belong to the ‘other sheep’ mentioned by the Good Shepherd, abroad in the desert places of heresy and schism, yet dear to Jesus and to the Mother heart of Mary.”<sup>35</sup>

Father Paul then referred to the parable of the Prodigal Son and stated that just as the Father’s heart went out to his son in forgiveness and love “so we can conceive the Heart of Mary going out in yearning over her children who have wandered far from the Holy Father’s House, and from the fold of Peter, the Universal Shepherd.”<sup>36</sup> On another occasion he employed the same parable, saying that the work of Unity surely pleases the heart of Mary. She prays constantly for the return of those cut off from unity with the Church. “Our Lord revealed the Father’s love for the prodigal son and of course Mary’s heart is a reflection of the Father’s heart. Nothing is said about the mother at home, but she must have been praying for the wandering boy as well as the father and rejoicing with him at the feast, and prepared the fatted calf just as mothers usually prepare feasts today. So we can very well imagine what love and devotion Our Lady of the Atonement has for her wandering sheep, the heretics and schismatics, and she longs to bring them into union with our Divine Lord into One Fold under One Shepherd.”<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *WFP*, 1:17.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> *WFP*, 1:41.

As the New Eve, the Mother of all who live in the Mystical Body of Christ, Mary is also a symbol and ideal of the unity that should exist between God and men. In the words of Father Paul: "When we . . . give to our Blessed Mother the title Our Lady of the Atonement we mean: Our Lady of Unity. As she sits enthroned she represents to the universe the high possible approach of a creature to intimate and exalted union with God. . . . But Our Lady of the Atonement is not alone the Mother of God, she is also the new Eve, the Mother of redeemed mankind; she is the center of that family unity which Christ prayed and willed might flourish among His Sons and Daughters of the Atonement."<sup>38</sup>

### Society of the Atonement

Father Paul affirmed that the Society of the Atonement was to prepare the way like St. John the Baptist for those souls outside the Church that they might readily enter. He referred to Mary in the words of the breviary: *Gaude, Virgo Maria, cunctas haereses sola interemisti in universo mundo*—Rejoice, O Virgin Mary, Thou alone hast destroyed all heresies throughout the world." Then he added: "Our Lady has long been known as the Destroyer of all heresies; let her now be looked up to and invoked as the Mother who will not rest until her children, long estranged from each other by schism, shall sit down together at the same table, knowing and loving each other as true brethren, and realizing the glorious fellowship of the one household of the faith, the answer of our Divine Lord's prayer: "That they all may be one as Thou Father in Me and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us, that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me." Then he applied the text of the prophet to Mary: "It was of Our Lady of the Atonement Isaias prophesied long ago under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost: 'They that be of thee shall build up the old waste places; thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called the Repairer of the Breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in' (58:12).<sup>39</sup>

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> *WFP*, 1:41. I quote the text used by Father Paul, taken in the accommodated sense to apply to Our Lady. I do not wish to go into a formal exegesis of the text, but whatever translation is used, there is the notion of

Father Paul also spoke of Mary's influence as the Spouse of the Holy Spirit in this manner: "Our Lady of the Atonement is herself the 'Seat of Wisdom' as the Spouse of the Holy Ghost, and supported by countless legions of angels, we may rely upon her maternal heart never to rest until the words of her Divine Son have been fulfilled: 'Other sheep I have that are not of this fold them also I must bring and they will hear my voice and there shall be one fold and one shepherd.'"<sup>40</sup>

At the Shrine of Our Lady of the Atonement on the Convent grounds at Graymoor, (now also the tomb of Mother Lurana) Father Paul delivered a sermon for the feast of Our Lady of the Atonement in which he developed this theme of Our Lady of Unity (July 9, 1930). He began by stating that the Latin title for Our Lady of the Atonement, which is *Dominia nostra Adunationis*, conveys the idea of unity, that Mary cooperated with Christ in the salvation of the world by suffering with Him; and that the purpose of the Incarnation and Atonement was "to render infinite satisfaction for man's sins to the Divine Majesty and to bring man back to more than his primal rectitude."<sup>41</sup> Next he spoke of the disunity of Christendom, for though the Church is one, there have been "vast lapses from the Fold." It is this "vast multitude outside the Unity of the Apostolic See (which Unity is the test of Catholicity) for whose return we must unceasingly invoke Our Lady of the Atonement, whom we call in her litany 'Pillar of Unity' and 'Shepherdess of the Wandering Sheep.'"<sup>42</sup> He went on to explain the use of the word *adunare* in the liturgy and pleaded: "Let us then—and we

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return and reclamation. Thus in Knox: ". . . this thy task shall be, to repair the broken walls, to reclaim the byways; "Your people shall build the ancient ruins, you shall raise up the foundations of many generations; and you shall be called 'The rebuilder of broken walls, the restorer of streets to dwell in'" (Goodspeed); "The places that have been desolate for ages shall be built in thee; thou shall raise up the foundations of generation and generation; and thou shalt be called the repairer of the fences, turned the paths into rest" (Confraternity). May Our Lady hasten the day of the return of the 'prodigals' to the Church.

<sup>40</sup> *WFP*, 1:18-9.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:45.

<sup>42</sup> It is used in the Roman rite in the *Te igitur* prayer after the Sanctus, in priest's prayer before communion; Thursday of Passion week in the *oratio*; *oratio* of Thursday in Easter week; *oratio* of Ash Wednesday; and in the old liturgy of Holy Saturday, the *oratio* after the tenth prophecy.



cannot stress it too often—invoke and make known Our Lady of the Atonement as Shepherdess of the Wandering Sheep and Pillar of Unity. Let us never doubt that, by her powerful assistance and with our cooperation she will draw men back into Unity with God and with each other in the One, Holy Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church.”<sup>43</sup>

His final thought was an appeal to Our Lady in paradise to win back her estranged children to the true fold. “Let us look up to her all radiant on her throne, apparelled in the crimson robe of the Precious Blood, interceding at this moment for the great At-One-ment. And may we never cease to unite our prayers with hers that the scales may fall away from the eyes of our separated brethren and that they may understand that the Great Shepherd whom Our Lord has appointed as His Vicegerent on earth is *their* Father and *their* Shepherd.”<sup>44</sup>

And so Father Paul of the Atonement, the apostle of Unity, made Our Lady the principal patroness in the work of reunion. He was not aware perhaps of all the difficulties that separate men from the true Church but he was firmly convinced that all the obstacles, perplexities, and complications could be swept away by the benign influence of the all-holy Mother of God. The prejudices of centuries, the misunderstandings that men can invent and develop, the differences of nationality and race—all these will disappear through the power of the Immaculate Virgin. As long as souls are separated from the Church Mary will minister in the work of “gathering into one the children of God.” Her role is inseparably bound up with the purpose of the Church: to make men saints and to bring them to heaven. As Pope Pius XII declared in that little gem of Marian teaching at the end of the encyclical, *Mystici corporis*:

It was she who was immune from all sin, personal and inherited, and ever most closely united with her Son, offered Him on Golgotha to the Eternal Father together with the holocaust of her maternal rights and motherly love, like a new Eve, for all the children of Adam contaminated through his unhappy fall, and thus she, who was Mother of our Head according to the flesh, became by a title of sorrow and glory the spiritual Mother of all His members. She too it was who by her most powerful intercession obtained for the new-born Church the prodigious Pentecostal

<sup>43</sup> *Lamp*, 28:10 (Nov. 1930), 321.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 323.

outpouring of that Spirit of the Divine Redeemer who had already been given on the Cross. She, finally, true Queen of martyrs, by bearing with courageous and confident heart her immense weight of sorrow, more than all Christians, filled up those things that are wanting in the sufferings of Christ, for His body which is the Church.<sup>45</sup>

Mary is the incomparable woman, the unconquerable woman. She will overcome the forces of division and separation and bring all men into that harmony of peace and love which is a reflection of the unity and blessedness of the Divine Trinity. Those who know the power of Mary and have experienced her love will appreciate the following thought from Bishop Leon Suenens:

In this immense struggle all the forces of God must unite for the salvation of humanity. That is why, no doubt, the Church is experiencing, at present, with renewed keenness, a longing for the return of our separated brethren to unity. This problem dominates all others: now or never is the time to remember that Jesus Himself bound up Christian unity with belief in His mission—*Ut sint unum!* "That they all may be one, as Thou Father in Me and I in Thee . . . that the world may believe that Thou hast sent me."

Frequently in history, attempts have been made to resolve this problem by learned and skillful discussions; often they have brought bitterness into differences; they have never achieved lasting results.

Here again it seems that Mary's hour has come. When children have left their home and no longer understand one another, does not the memory of their tenderly loved mother remain the strongest link between them and the best hope of seeing the family reconciled.

Mary is a Mother like no other; she is the warmth of the home. She calls her children to press themselves against her heart. Close to her they will realize how much they are brothers, one of another.

Return to the unity of the Church through return to the common love of Mary. What a wonderful dream! Why should it be forbidden to believe that rivalry in active devotion towards Our Lady will one day reunite our separated brethren? It would be a task greatly after a Mother's heart. Is that Utopian? Not at all, for Marian devotion, which is finding among Anglicans willing expression and is returning to certain Protestant groups, has remained vigorous and profound in the immense world of the Orient with Russia as its principal stronghold.

Not without reason, Pius XII spoke of this people who hid their ikons of Our Lady but still venerated them lovingly.

Mary, the beloved of all, what hope there is in that!

Mary offers herself to us as the connecting link between Eastern and Western Christianity. She is a common blessing, a priceless treasure, passionately beloved. Let each then, open his soul to her that she may take possession of it. Mary will lead her children with a sure and gentle

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<sup>45</sup> *AAS*, 35 (1943) 247-8.

hand to the one fold where the whole truth is to be found, the fulness of life, Jesus Christ, Our Lord.<sup>46</sup>

Father Paul would surely echo these sentiments. He believed that just as in centuries past Mary overcame the hostile military forces attacking the Church at Lepanto and Belgrade, so in the present era when Christ is assailed in His Church by the enemies of truth, peace, and love and the ranks of those who profess to follow Him are divided more than ever, then Mary will come to bring back and to unite in the Church these groups which are so unfortunately separated. For in the words of this zealous priest: "Who so much as Our Lady of the Atonement might be expected to propagate and extend an association . . . especially devoted to the fulfillment of the prayer of the Sacred Heart for the return of non-Catholic sheep to the Unity of the One Fold and the salvation through His Atoning Blood of the heathen world."<sup>47</sup> Again he declared: "Only the Eve of the New Covenant, the Queen of the Holy Rosary, as we carry her personally bestowed prayer, petitioning the mercy of God, shall bring about the solution of that condition expressed in the words of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles when he said: ' . . . there were also false prophets among the people, even as there shall be among you lying teachers who shall bring in sects of perdition and deny the Lord who bought them, bringing upon themselves swift destruction.' "<sup>48</sup>

On another occasion he spoke of Our Lady's longing for unity in this way. The vast numbers of the Church are still incomplete to satisfy the love of Mary for the souls of men. "Mary is the New Eve, the Mother of the regenerate, of all those who live to God in Christ Jesus: the sons and daughters of the Atonement. Vast as is the number of those Children, they are not sufficient to satisfy the maternal Heart of Mary. She will not be satisfied until all the Children of Eve, dwelling upon the face of the earth in all parts of the world, have been born again into the Kingdom of Heaven and numbered among the elect Children of the Atonement."<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> *Theology of the Apostolate of the Legion of Mary*, (Cork: Mercier Press, 1953), 137-8.

<sup>47</sup> *WFP*, 1:128.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:158.

<sup>49</sup> *WFP*, 1:178.

### Mary's Intercessory Power

As the founder and promoter of the Chair of Unity Octave annually observed from January 18 to January 25 in many parts of the world, Father Paul was especially fond of speaking of Mary's intercessory power. He asked the faithful to recite the rosary daily during the Octave, or at least a decade of it, for the fulfillment of Christ's prayer for unity. He seemed to suggest that this time of concerted prayer for unity would be effective in direct proportion to man's devotion to the Mother of God. Perhaps he recalled St. Dominic and his achievements in conquering heresy in the thirteenth century by means of the rosary and he thought his own crusade of prayer for the defeat of heresy and schism would be efficacious insofar as Mary received her favorite prayer.

Christian Unity work always lends itself to a special emphasis upon Mary's role in saving men. She is the Refuge of Sinners, the Help of Christians, the Mother of Mercy. More than any other being, except God, she desires men to be saved. When Pope Pius XII announced the Marian Year on the feast of Mary's Nativity (Sept. 8) 1953, he made a special appeal to those cut off from the Church. To the schismatics he said: "We call on those who are separated from Us by an ancient schism and whom nonetheless we love with paternal affection, to unite in pouring forth these joint prayers and supplications, knowing full well how greatly they venerated the Mother of Jesus Christ and celebrated her Immaculate Conception."<sup>50</sup>

Then to the Protestant groups he made this appeal: "May the same Blessed Virgin look down on all those who are proud to call themselves Christians, and who, being united at least by the bond of charity, humbly raise to her their eyes, their minds, and their prayers, imploring that light which illumines the mind with heavenly rays, and begging for that unity by which at last there may be 'one fold and one shepherd.'"<sup>51</sup> Even those who do not invoke Mary still receive grace from her loving Heart.

There is one further point of teaching that Father Paul brought out in his last talk on the Feast of Our Lady of the Atonement (July 9, 1939). He said that Our Lady of the Atonement does not

<sup>50</sup> *Fulgens corona gloriae*, AAS, 46 (1954).

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

mean just Our Lady of Sorrows, but that her title implies the concept of joy, the joy of attaining at-one-ment with God. Sorrow is for a time, but joy is eternal. He said that "the sorrows are only incidental to the Atonement." He spoke in the following manner:

I daresay Our Lady values with different degrees the titles that are given to her in the Litany of Loretto, and I am satisfied that there is none that appeals to her more than that of the Atonement. One of the popular devotions to the Blessed Virgin is that of Our Lady of Sorrows—but the sorrows are only incidental to the Atonement. One of the incidents connected with the Atonement was sorrow, for though she brought forth her first-born Son in Bethlehem with joy, she had to travail with sorrow in bringing forth the Children of the Atonement, because they were conceived in sin and this new birth in God involved the very death of the Redeemer of the world. All the sorrows of Our Lord by perfect sympathy were expressed in the heart of Mary. Our Lord in death was pierced by a spear and Mary's heart was pierced by a sword of anguish. But sorrow was incidental. It was not the great thing of the Atonement and would result from the Atonement even as Our Lord said to the Apostles before He took His departure from them: "In a little while you shall see Me because I go to the Father." Your sorrows are for a little while, your joys are eternal. . . . "A woman when she is in travail hath sorrow but when the child is born, she remembereth no more the sorrow because of the joy that a son is born into the world." So the sorrows of the Blessed Virgin are transitory. They are not permanent, but the joy that comes to her through the Atonement—that is eternal. In sorrow she brings forth the Children of the Atonement but when that is past she forgets the sorrow as the Children of the Atonement are brought into the kingdom of God in eternal glory.<sup>52</sup>

### Personal Devotion

Although most of the time Father Paul spoke of Our Lady of the Atonement in connection with the Cross of Calvary and in the vast work of reunion, there were other instances of his speaking of Mary in a very personal way when he sought to instill within souls a deep filial love of the Mother of God. "Did anyone else ever call you a Child of the Atonement except the writer of these letters?" he asked the members of the Rosary League. He gave his own answer: "Others have called you repeatedly, and you have called yourself—a Child of Mary—but a Child of the Atonement, never, perhaps. Yet it was by reason of the Atonement that the Blessed Virgin became your Mother and you became her child. No words of mine can adequately describe the grandeur of Mary's Atonement Mother-

<sup>52</sup> *WFP*, 1:65.



hood and the sublime dignity which has befallen us by virtue of our Atonement Birthright.”<sup>53</sup>

On Mother’s Day, May 14, 1939, after explaining the meaning of the title, Our Lady of the Atonement, he concluded his sermon with sentiments that he must often have experienced in his own soul. “She is such a wonderful Mother! How you ought to love her and how you ought to trust her and invoke her, remembering that this beautiful stainless Mother in heaven wishes her children to be pure and holy on earth and to obey God as she obeyed Him. So—let us not only cultivate a beautiful devotion to the Blessed Virgin, but strive ourselves to be saints, reflecting not only the image of Christ in our soul and His conduct in our life, but that of our altogether lovely Mother, the stainless one, the Queen of Heaven, and the consort of Jesus Christ upon His throne.”<sup>54</sup>

Thus in the providence of God, Father Paul of Graymoor was not only an Apostle of Unity in the twentieth century, or a modern Poverello by his strict adherence to the Franciscan spirit of poverty for the love of God, but he was a devoted Son of Mary, confident of her intercession in all his trials and difficulties and in all his plans and projects. Mother Lurana used to remark about his burning devotion to Our Lady of the Atonement. Such love gave him that loyalty to the Church, that love of Christ, that appreciation of the holy priesthood, that zeal for souls that characterized his entire life. And if Father Paul is known for his Unity vocation, for his compassion for the outcast, for his love of St. Francis and all that Franciscanism implies, he should justifiably be known as a friar devoted to Mary, as a priest preaching her glories, as a founder dedicated to the cause of Unity through Mary’s intercession but especially as the originator and promoter of a title and a devotion that he loved and fostered so well—Our Lady of the Atonement.

Father Paul believed that his Society was obliged to promote devotion to Mary under the Atonement title. For when the Sisters began their little magazine, *The Candle*, in 1924 to promote the Rosary League of Our Lady of the Atonement he made this statement:

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<sup>53</sup> *WFP*, 1:67.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:63.

As far as the Society of the Atonement is concerned it has profoundly impressed us that our mission is not only to preach Christ Crucified, but also to promote and extend devotion to Our Lady of the Atonement, . . . until a vast number of the faithful shall be united with Our Lady of the Atonement, our Mother in heaven, in the work of prayer and intercession for the conversion of the whole world to Christ, so that the Passion and Atoning Sacrifice of our Divine Redeemer may be made effectual to the fullest extent in the salvation of souls and in the completion of the number of God's elect.<sup>55</sup>

In a number of letters towards the last years of his life, Father Paul said that he hoped that devotion to Our Lady of the Atonement would become universal. Thus in a letter to Bishop Caruana, Apostolic Nuncio in Cuba, he related: "We pray that like Church Unity the devotion to Our Blessed Lady as our Atonement Mother will spread more universally from the Graymoor hearth to the four corners of the earth, and that by its influence the Atoning Sacrifice of the New Law will the more speedily dominate the children of the earth in accordance with Our Lord's prayer: 'That all may be one.' " <sup>56</sup>

Today the red mantle of Our Lady of the Atonement can be seen in the chapels and churches of friaries and convents of the Friars and Sisters of the Atonement. There are a number of houses of both communities dedicated to Our Lady under this title <sup>57</sup> and several houses of other religious in Ontario, Rome, India, Philippine Islands, Czechoslovakia (as far as we know) which have a painting or statue of Our Lady of the Atonement. Some conduct novenas in her honor, beginning on the first Saturday of the month as at Graymoor. There are various prayers in honor of Our Lady of the Atonement at the

<sup>55</sup> Candle.

<sup>56</sup> Archives, Friars of the Atonement.

<sup>57</sup> Chapels and places named in honor of Our Lady: (1) Our Lady of the Atonement Novitiate, Valley Falls, Rhode Island; (2) Our Lady of the Atonement Retreat House, Gardiner Mines, Nova Scotia, Canada; (3) Our Lady of the Atonement Church, Kinston, N.C.; (4) Our Lady of the Atonement Shrine, Smokey Lake, Alberta, Canada; (5) Our Lady of the Atonement Orphanage, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada; (6) Our Lady of the Atonement Church, Baguio, Philippine Islands; (7) Our Lady of the Atonement Chapel, Indian Lake, Graymoor, N.Y.; (8) Our Lady of the Atonement Chapel, Atonement Seminary, Washington, D.C.; (9) Our Lady of the Atonement Convent, Monte de Gallo, Rome, Italy; (10) Our Lady of the Atonement Chapel, Washington Retreat House, Washington, D.C.; (11) Our Lady of the Atonement Pilgrimage Chapel, Graymoor, N.Y.; (12) Our Lady of the Atonement Friary, Graymoor-in-Japan, Tsurumi, Yokohama, Japan.

present time,<sup>58</sup> but the most frequently used is that composed by Father Paul in the early days at Graymoor, the Threefold Salutation.

The Office for the feast is taken from the common of the Blessed Virgin, with the exception of the lessons of the second and third nocturns and the antiphons for Vesper psalms which are also proper. The antiphons are from the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows, but one special antiphon for the *Benedictus* conveys the idea of Unity. It is the passage from *Isaias*, 58:12, about "raising up foundations from generation to generation." In the Mass the Introit and the Epistle are the same as those used for the feast of Our Lady of Sorrows, while the gospel is taken from the seventeenth chapter of St. John, or unity as has been mentioned.<sup>59</sup> The lesson from the book of Judith is quite appropriate. For while the words of praise "Blessed art thou among women . . . thou hast prevented the ruin of thy people" are addressed to the holy woman of the Old Testament by the grateful inhabitants of Bethulia after she had slain Holofernes, they apply in a fitting manner to Our Lady whom God used to save the human race from the depths of its own wickness. The *oratio* for the feast asks Our Lady to pray for unity.<sup>60</sup>

Other prayers used by the Society of the Atonement for this special Marian title include the litany of Our Lady of the Atonement, written about 1925 and approved for private devotion; the Act of Consecration to Our Lady of the Atonement, indulgenced under date of April 23, 1948, for the members of the Atonement Society. In the patronal prayer of the community listing the various

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<sup>58</sup> The salutation, reminiscent of the prayers of St. Francis, is the following: "We salute Holy Mary, Daughter of God the Father and entreat thee to obtain for us a devotion like thine own to the most sweet Will of God.

"We salute Thee, Virgin Mother of God the Son, and entreat Thee to obtain for us such union with the Sacred Heart of Jesus that our own hearts may burn with love for God and an ardent zeal for the salvation of souls.

"We salute Thee, Immaculate Spouse of God the Holy Ghost, and entreat Thee to obtain for us such yielding of ourselves to the blessed Spirit, that He may in all things direct and rule our hearts, and that we may never grieve Him in thought, word, or deed." (Indul. 300 days)

<sup>59</sup> The gradual implies the notion of Unity: "Salvos nos fac Domine, Deus noster: et congrega nos de nationibus."

<sup>60</sup> "Deus, qui dispersos congregas et congregata conservas: quaesumus, per intercessionem beatissimae Virginis Mariae, super Ecclesiam tuam unionis gratiam clementer infundas."

saints whose special assistance is invoked, Our Lady is given first place as *Domina nostra Adunationis*.

In the providence of God it seems that the relation between Mary and the Church awaits new development and appreciation both in study and in devotion. Mathias Scheeben has made this statement which is surely provocative of much investigation:

In general, there exists between Mary's motherhood and that of the Church so close, complete, and mutual a relation, rather so intrinsic a connection and likeness that one can be known only in and with each other. The two are connected and resemble each other by the very fact that they depend upon the Holy Spirit for their fecundity and life, and are thereby intended to communicate a holy and spiritual life. In both cases, moreover, the spiritual motherhood over the redeemed includes a motherhood over Christ Himself and indeed owes its perfection to this factor. For, all other maternal functions of the Church center round that by which she brings forth in her womb the Eucharistic Christ as Head, the sacrifice, and the food of the members of His mystical body. But the very fact reveals very specially the more sublime and fundamental character of Mary's motherhood in comparison with that of the Church, and at the same time the organic connection between the two, as a result of which the Church's maternal activity is exerted because of and by virtue of Mary's motherhood while Mary carries on her maternal work in and through the Church.<sup>61</sup>

The idea of Mary uniting men to Christ is not new. St. Augustine stated that Mary is "spiritually the Mother of the members of our Head; by her charity she cooperated in bringing forth the birth of the faithful in the Church."<sup>62</sup> Elsewhere he called her *Mater unitatis*.<sup>63</sup> St. Cyril of Alexandria in a grand paean of praise at the Council of Ephesus declared Mary's function in the Church in this way:

Hail Mary, Mother of God

By whom every creature is brought to the knowledge of the truth;  
By whom holy baptism and the oil of exultation reaches the faithful;  
By whom churches are established all over the world;  
By whom nations are brought to penance;  
What more shall I say?—By whom the only begotten Son of God  
Enlightens those who were sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>61</sup> *Mariology*, 2 vols. (St. Louis, Herder, 1947), 2, 250–1.

<sup>62</sup> *De sancta virginitate*, 6, 6.

<sup>63</sup> "Populos parti, sed unius membra sunt, cuius ipsa corpus et coniunx, etiam in hoc similitudinem gerens illius Virginis, qui et in multis est *mater unitas*." Sermon 192. Migne, P.L. 38:1012.

<sup>64</sup> *Hom. 4*, in Migne, PG, 77:992.



Some mediaeval writers have spoken of Mary as uniting the Head to the Body, Christ to His Church, the Bridegroom and his Spouse;<sup>65</sup> all men are united in her chamber, i.e., in her womb;<sup>66</sup> and she has united those who are separated and holds together those who are in the Church.<sup>67</sup> Gerohus of Reichersberg declared: "Mary is the Mother of the Apostles, of whom it was said to one: Behold thy Mother. That which was said to one was said to all the Apostles and Fathers of the Church. And because Christ prayed for those who would believe through their word that they all may be one (*ut omnes unum sint*), it was said to all the faithful who love Christ with all their souls."<sup>68</sup>

It seems indeed that the "Age of Mary" which St. Grignion de Montfort prophesied has come to pass. Surely the increasing number of societies in Our Lady's honor and the deepening of learning and devotion, the emphasis given to her role in the economy of salvation and holiness indicates the beginning of this era in the life of the Church. We are witnessing that period of which St. Grignion wrote in this way:

Mary must shine forth more than ever in mercy, in might and in grace in these latter times: in mercy, to bring back and lovingly receive the poor strayed sinners who shall be converted and shall return to the Catholic Church; in might, against the enemies of God . . . who shall rise in terrible revolt against God to seduce all who shall be contrary to them, and to make them fall by promises and threats; and finally, she must shine forth in grace, in order to animate and sustain the valiant soldiers and faithful servants of Jesus Christ who shall battle for His interests.<sup>69</sup>

Indeed Our Lady will defeat the powers of disunity that disrupt the world at the present day. Her apparitions within the past hundred years have all been directed toward prayer, penance, and atonement for the sins of the world. At Fatima she predicted the fall of the monster Communism which threatens the existence of the whole human race. "Russia will spread her errors throughout the world," she said, "fomenting wars and persecutions against the

<sup>65</sup> Amadeus of Lausanne, *Hom.* 3, P.L. 188:1311.

<sup>66</sup> Herman of Tournai, PL, 180:34.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>68</sup> *Sermo 46 de S. Joan. Evang.*, PL, 144:868.

<sup>69</sup> *True Devotion*, (Bay Shore, N.Y., 1951), 40.



Church. The good will be martyred, the Holy Father will have much to suffer; and many nations will be destroyed. In the end, my Immaculate Heart will triumph. The Holy Father will consecrate Russia to me; Russia will be converted, and there will be an era of peace."

### Conclusion

Thus the position of Our Lady in bringing men back to God, in restoring them to the religious unity for which they thirst and which she desires so ardently, is most important. We believe that the title and concept of Mary as Our Lady of the Atonement has theological and devotional implications that will add new lustre to the tribute that the faithful pay to her. Whether in time to come this feast will be extended to the universal Church, as Father Paul believed, is a question to which God alone has the answer. Rather than being able to predict future events, it is more essential to realize Mary's place in the scheme of the world's salvation, in the work of the Church, and in the spiritual life of each soul. The thought of St. Pius X is of eternal value: "There is no surer or easier way of uniting men to Christ than Mary."

Through his teaching on Our Lady of the Atonement Father Paul has contributed a new chapter, however small, to American Franciscana and to the development of Marian devotion in our beloved land. He is the herald, the knight, and apostle of Our Lady of the Atonement. His writings are not scholastic treatises or literary masterpieces, but they form the basis of any understanding of the notion of our Lady of the Atonement and they point the way to further elucidation by his followers. It is to the everlasting glory of Father Paul that he began this title and developed this notion of Marian teaching; it is the present responsibility of his sons and daughters to put into practice his principles and his example; it is their duty to spread devotion to the august Queen and Mother under this new and distinctive name. It is their privilege and high calling to win others to prayer, work, and sacrifice for the cause of Christian Unity so that this triumphant chorus of prayer will ascend to the throne of the Mother of God:

"Our Lady of the Atonement, intercede for us  
That the prayer of your Divine Son may be fulfilled:  
That all may be one."

## DISCUSSION

AIDAN CARR, O.F.M.CONV.:—Fr. Titus' paper possessed unity, coherence and emphasis. He set before us a penetrating study of the meaning of Our Lady's title "of the Atonement." Several aspects of the paper that perhaps warrant exploration are these:

1. In view of the apostolate of the Society of the Atonement, what is the function of devotion to Mary in the Ecumenical movement? Has our approach been too negative here, *defending* our veneration of Mary? What avenues are open to a more positive emphasis on the place of Mary in Christian life?

2. There seems to be a need to develop and to elucidate the generic concept of Mary's mediation as related to the mediation of Christ. Although of course His mediatorship is more fundamental and is pre-eminent in every way, yet it remains attached to her motherhood. So Patristic references speak of her as "the throne of atonement" on which God meets His creatures. She is Mediatrix with God only by Christ. Christ is first of all the representative of the influence of God on creatures; only in the second place is He representative of creation in association with God. Mary, on the contrary, is the first among mere humans to whom God approaches; she it is who receives the communication of God most directly.

3. Fr. Titus spoke about the red mantle of Mary on her statue of the Atonement. This emphasizes, of course, her role in the mystery of the Cross: her part in effecting the at-one-ment of men with God as the fruit of Calvary. As Cyril of Alexandria said somewhere: "Take away Mary and the Cross falls." We can stress, in this connection, a kind of twofold aspect of Our Lady of the Atonement: her place on Calvary and her part in the distribution of its merits. As she stood beneath the Cross, Christ poured forth all His redeeming Blood into the heart of the Mother from whom He had received It, so that, through her as through a channel, It might flow over all mankind. She is the *propinatrix salutis*. In the Franciscan tradition of the Pieta, she is the depository of the sacrificial fruit, and herein she represents the Church (Peter not being on Calvary!).

4. Perhaps the most significant statement in Father's splendid paper was that taken from the writings of Fr. Paul, revered founder of the Society of the Atonement: "It was not her creation without fault or stain of sin, but the atonement sacrifice that brought her into wonderful relationships with the three Persons of the adorable Trinity."

5. Here are a few questions worth considering:

How is the function of the atonement (as the above-mentioned source of her relationship with the Trinity) explained?

Is it more in accord with the Scotistic-Franciscan doctrine on the motive of the Incarnation to emphasize some other aspect of the source of her relationship to the Trinity than by Christ's atonement?

Is "Regina Mundi" more Franciscan than the Atonement title? Is not her association in the absolute predestination of Christ a richer source for Franciscan development than her role in the Atonement? Fr. Carolus Balić treated a point in this connection in his *La prédestination de la T.S. Vierge dans la doctrine de Jean Duns Scot in La France Franciscaine* in 1936.

## THE MILITIA OF MARY IMMACULATE

BONAVENTURE M. CROWLEY, O.F.M.Conv.

### Introduction

The Militia of Mary Immaculate is a pious union in the canonical sense. It is an association of the faithful approved by the Holy See; its purpose, "the sanctification of oneself and his neighbor, the conversion of sinners, heretics and schismatics in general and especially Masons" and other enemies of the Church.<sup>1</sup>

"The Militia of Mary Immaculate is preeminently Marian in its nature. Its members must profess towards the Most Blessed Virgin special devotion which they show by imitating her virtues and by undertaking work of any kind well calculated to obtain the purpose of this Militia."<sup>2</sup>

### Beginnings

October 16, 1917, marks the official beginning of the Militia.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Statutum Piae Unionis "Militia Mariae Immaculatae" Cap. I, Art. 2 in *Commentarium Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Conventualium* An. XXXIX, Num. VI (15 Junii, 1942), p. 172. Note: The original intention of Fr. Maximilian to strive for the conversion of Masons was inspired by their blatant attacks upon the Church in the days when he was formulating the Militia program. This intention was reflected in the prayer assigned to be said daily by Militia members and in the Statutes published by the Minister General, O.F.M.Conv., March 24, 1942, from which this quotation is taken. On December 17, 1948, however, permission was given by the Holy See to change the wording of the indulgenced prayer from "*pro massonibus*" to "*pro inimicis Sanctae Ecclesiae*." This extension of the objective of the Militia to include all the enemies of the Church is certainly not contrary to the intention of Fr. Maximilian and is more fitting now that the forces of Satan work so assiduously under the guise of Communism as well as under some of the older masks.

<sup>2</sup> Statutum Piae Unionis M.I., Cap. I, Art. 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Commentarium O.F.M. Conv.*, An. XIII, Num. I-II (31 Martii, 1923), p. 30. Some authors give the date of the founding as Oct. 17. The discrepancy is due to the different ways of reckoning time. The event took place Oct. 16 in the evening after Vespers, and so can also be considered Oct. 17, liturgically speaking. According to the quotation given by Winowska this is the way Fr. Maximilian himself figured the date. See: Maria Winowska, *Our Lady's Fool* (Westminster, Md.), p. 36.

On that date in the International Seraphic College in Rome seven Friars Minor Conventual, with the permission of the Rector, Fr. Stephen Ignuti, held the first meeting of the Militia. This meeting came as the culmination of much previous thought and prayer on the part of its members and especially on the part of Friar Maximilian Kolbe, the father of the idea and its chief protagonist.

At the time the Militia was founded, Friar Maximilian Kolbe was a seminarian in the International College.<sup>4</sup> He had come to Rome from Poland (where he had been born January 6, 1894) in 1912, just after his simple profession. In Rome he pursued the regular course of philosophical and theological studies preparatory to the priesthood. He was a brilliant student, especially well versed in the natural sciences and in philosophy. In spite of extremely delicate health (he suffered from tuberculosis) he passed his doctor of philosophy examination *summa cum laude* in 1915 and his doctor of theology examination four years later with the same success. He was ordained April 28, 1918.

The Militia idea came to Fr. Maximilian from several sources. As a boy and through the war years he was interested in military problems and throughout his life he liked to use military figures of speech. Deeper, of course, than his cursory interest in the military was his love for Mary Immaculate. He learned this at home, where—prompted it seems by a vision—his love for her began to be the principal driving force in his entire life. While just a boy he promised to “go to battle” for her, not yet realizing how she would hold him to that promise.

Fr. Maximilian came to Rome in troubled times. War clouds were gathering when he arrived and they engulfed all of Europe during his seminary days. In the Eternal City Freemasons and other enemies of the faith were becoming openly more bold in their affront to the Church. They distributed tracts against the Holy Father and in 1917 the Masons staged a diabolical demonstration in the Piazza of St. Peter’s.

This increasing opposition to the Church was keenly felt by Fr. Maximilian. He personally encountered it from time to time on the streets of Rome while going and coming from classes at the

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<sup>4</sup> The biographical data given here and in the following paragraphs was gleaned from Winowska, *op. cit.*, the first 6 chapters.

Gregorian University. He didn't hesitate to argue in defense of the faith, and he would study all the harder in order to defend the Church more effectively.

But the conversion of the enemies of the Church calls for more than brilliant apologetics. Conversion calls for grace, and grace comes to this world through the immaculate hands of Mary. If one would accelerate this work of conversion, then he must become a perfectly pliable instrument in the hands of Mary. Along such lines as this Fr. Maximilian thought and prayed. When the attacks against the Holy Father became more and more vicious, there was born the idea "to establish a company to fight the Freemasons and other agents of Lucifer." Fr. Maximilian would bring united effort to bear against those who were united against the Church. He would also enlist the special assistance of Mary's intercession through the Miraculous Medal, famed for its efficacy in conversions.

The first pattern of attack would be complete surrender to Mary. Obedience must be first. The plan would have to have approval of those who spoke to him in God's name before Fr. Maximilian could be sure he was acting as an instrument of the Immaculate. First his confessor assured him that the plan was good; then the Rector of the Seraphic Seminary, Fr. Stephen Ignuti, gave his permission; and so the first meeting of the Militia was held on October 16, 1917.

Seven Friars (only one of whom was a priest) "met secretly behind the closed doors of an inner cell. Before us," writes Fr. Maximilian, "was a statuette of the Immaculate between two lighted candles."<sup>5</sup> The Militia plan was read aloud and each signed it. Then they went to chapel where Fr. Joseph Pal—their only priest member—blessed the Miraculous Medals and placed one upon each of the new Knights of the Immaculate.

Why the young Knights met secretly is not clear. Perhaps it was because they did not want to appear to be "showing off" before the other Friars. It was definitely not to hide from the authority of the superiors, for the Rector had given his permission and was kept exactly informed of all Militia activity. Moreover the young group shortly obtained the Holy Father's verbal blessing through Bishop Jacquet of the Franciscan Order, who was professor of Church

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<sup>5</sup> Winowska, *op. cit.*, p. 36.



History at that time in the Seraphic College. The Minister General, Fr. Dominic Tavani gave his written approval.<sup>6</sup>

In giving his blessing on the Militia, however, Fr. General forbade Fr. Maximilian to defend his work or be concerned about it.<sup>7</sup> Perhaps Fr. General wanted to test the merits of the movement; perhaps he was concerned about Fr. Maximilian's health, which had collapsed in the summer of 1917.

That first year was a trying one. Although on April 4, 1918, the Holy Father renewed in writing his earlier vocal approval,<sup>8</sup> apathy and skepticism, even within the ranks of the original seven members, severely tested the strength of the little army. A little more than a year after that first October enrollment, death claimed two of the Friars—Anthony Glowinski and Anthony Mansi. It was, however, after they had gone “home to the Immaculate,”<sup>9</sup> in Fr. Maximilian's words, that the first crisis passed and new members began to join the ranks of Mary's Militia. Fr. Maximilian attributed this new hope to the intercession of his confreres in heaven.

The next period in the history of the Militia foundation in the Seraphic College is quite obscure. We know that at the request of the Friars at the College Cardinal Pompilj on January 2, 1922, canonically erected the Militia as a pious union.<sup>10</sup> In 1926, Pope Pius XI granted it many privileges, and in 1927, His Holiness elevated the foundation at the Seraphic College to the dignity of a Primary Union with the faculty to aggregate to itself Filial Unions of the Militia throughout the world.<sup>11</sup>

### Poland

Surely then the original group in Rome managed to survive the departure of Fr. Maximilian in 1919. Most of the story of the

<sup>6</sup> *Commentarium O.F.M.Conv.*, An. XIII, Num. I-II (31 Martii, 1923), p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> Winowska, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> Alfonso Pomei, O.F.M.Conv., “Apostolato Mariano La ‘Milizia dell’Immacolata,’” in *Rinascita Serafica i Frati Minori Conventuali nell’Ultimo Cinquantennio*, Roma, 1951, p. 129.

<sup>9</sup> Winowska, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> *Commentarium O.F.M.Conv.*, An. XIII, Num. I-II (31 Martii, 1923), p. 30.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* An. XXXIX, Num. VI (15 Junii, 1942), pp. 175–178. Both documents are reprinted in this place.

Militia, however, follows its founder as he returned to Poland. He was assigned to teach in the Order's seminary at Cracow beginning with the fall term. At the same time he was busy setting up a Militia center for both religious and the laity.<sup>12</sup> But his health broke down again and he was sent to the tuberculosis sanatorium at Zakopane from January to December, 1920.<sup>13</sup>

The period of forced rest gave him time to plan further and wider Militia conquests. He never intended that his army should be confined to the walls of a seminary, nor to the efforts of only the Friars Minor Conventuals. The Militia was for everyone and the whole world was his goal.<sup>14</sup> In the sanatorium, meanwhile, he was using whatever "free time" the doctors permitted in distributing his "cartridges" of Miraculous Medals and in giving instructions in the faith.<sup>15</sup>

Upon his return to Cracow, Fr. Maximilian began a phase of Militia activity that has characterized it ever since. He began publishing a review which he called "Knight of the Immaculate" (*Rycerz Niepokalaej* in Polish). He wanted some medium for spreading Catholic doctrine and for keeping fervent the devotion to the Immaculate that he had fostered in the growing lay Militia of Cracow.

It is hard to imagine how he could have started a publication under more difficult circumstances. The Friary at Cracow was too poor to support the venture. Fr. Maximilian had to go out and beg, and the begging was not very fruitful for the recent war had left all of Poland poor. But armed with permission of his superior and trust in his Immaculate Mother, he began to publish the review.

Although he had no special talent for writing he had to compose and proofread the whole magazine practically by himself. This condition was to prevail for several years. In the first issue, January, 1922, Fr. Maximilian didn't dare promise his readers a second one, his finances were so low.<sup>16</sup> But somehow he managed to cir-

<sup>12</sup> Lorenzo M. DiFonzo, O.F.M.Conv., "Le Chevalier de l'Immaculée" in *Maria*, Nicolet, Quebec, Vol. IV, No. 3 (Sept.-Oct., 1950), p. 15. Note: this whole issue of *Maria* concerns Fr. Maximilian and his work. References in the present paper are to this issue of that magazine.

<sup>13</sup> Giovanni Odoardi, O.F.M.Conv., "Niepokalanow," in *Maria*, p. 54.

<sup>14</sup> Winowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 59, 61-62.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

culate 5,000 copies of the "Knight of the Immaculate" every month and gradually increased this figure to 20,000.<sup>17</sup>

But before many months passed it became evident that the Friary at Cracow was not well adapted to the requirements of editing and administering the publication of a magazine. So in the autumn of 1922, Fr. Maximilian and his review were sent to the Friary at Grodno at the other end of Poland.<sup>18</sup>

Although the new location was still very poor and quite far away, there were definite advantages at Grodno. For one thing there was more space, and for another, Fr. Maximilian had a lay brother to help him. Gradually more and more young men, some of them talented printers, joined the Franciscan Order to work with him. Then, too, he was able to buy a printing press and save considerable money on the printing bill.<sup>19</sup> More and better equipment was purchased from time to time, but Fr. Maximilian and his brothers kept pushing the circulation figures up and up, so there was no slack in work nor surplus of money. They published 12,000 copies in 1924; 30,000 in 1925; 45,000 in 1926.<sup>20</sup>

### Niepokalanow

Then Fr. Maximilian had a relapse and had to go back to the sanatorium in Zakopane. Upon his return to Grodno he saw that here, too, he had outgrown the place. The quarters were now cramped, and the city was too far removed from the more populous areas of Poland. He went out to look for some more suitable location.

He found a place only 26 miles south of Warsaw which belonged to a Polish prince. The nobleman was persuaded to donate the land to the Friars, and as soon as Fr. Provincial approved, Fr. Maximilian moved the vanguard of his community to the site. By

<sup>17</sup> Odoardi, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem.* Note: Winowska seems to indicate that Fr. Maximilian acquired a press in Cracow. At least she places there the incident of an American Father giving him \$100.00. Fr. Odoardi says the first press was purchased from Grodno. Perhaps it was the prospect of having a printing press inconveniencing the Cracow Friary that precipitated the removal of the magazine and its editor to Grodno, but the press may have been set up only after Fr. Maximilian was situated at Grodno. See: Winowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

<sup>20</sup> Odoardi, *loc. cit.*

October, 1927, ten years after the founding of the Militia, the new project had begun.

The kindness of the people and the intrepid energy of the Friars saw the new foundation through its crude beginnings. November 17, the first Mass was celebrated in the primitive chapel. November 23, the rest of the Friars arrived with all the machinery. December 7, the place was dedicated Niepokalanow, the City—or rather—the Domain of the Immaculate.

The growth of Niepokalanow was fabulous. Two priests and seventeen brothers comprised the first "citizens." By 1938, it was the largest single community of religious men in the world, totally 762 members, of which 13 were priests, 140 scholastics, 609 brothers—all trained in their special lines of work. The group was organized into five main departments, having 72 sections. The departments were: Editorial and Administration; Publishing; Technical; Domestic Economy; and Construction. By 1939, Niepokalanow had, besides its chapel, library, and printery, a college building for aspirants, living quarters for novices and professed, its own hospital for 100 beds, an electrical plant, fire department, radio station, airport, and motion picture studio.

The original magazine, *The Knight of the Immaculate* had grown from 81,000 copies a month in 1928, to nearly a million ten years later. Besides this publication, Niepokalanow presses were turning out six other periodicals ranging in appeal all the way from *Miles Immaculate*, Latin quarterly for priests, to an illustrated *Sport Journal*. In 1935, the Friars also began to publish a daily newspaper with a week day circulation of 150,000 and a Sunday edition of 200,000. There were also books, calendars, and pamphlets published and sent all over the world.<sup>21</sup>

For all this phenomenal record of intensive activity, Niepokalanow was always and ever deeply imbued with Fr. Maximilian's spirituality. Devotion to Mary Immaculate came first, last, and always in this City—this Domain—of hers. Candidates were carefully screened. From about 1800 annual applicants scarcely 50 were professed. Discipline was strict, poverty and common life closely

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<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*. The chronology and statistics of Niepokalanow are to be found in most every source consulted in preparation of this paper.

observed. Silence, though not absolute, was the order of the day. Absolute obedience was required. But the obedience was not that of blind robots; the Friars were encouraged to use their initiative and technical skill to the best of their ability for furthering the community's projects. Food, though always plentiful, was plain. And the sick Friars were treated with special kindness and consideration. Fr. Maximilian knew from experience what it was like to be sick.<sup>22</sup>

When questioned about the true progress of Niepokalanow, Fr. Maximilian replied,

Our exterior, visible activity, whether in the cloister or outside of it, does not constitute Niepokalanow, but the true Niepokalanow is our souls. Everything else, even science, is only secondary. Progress is spiritual or it does not exist. Consequently, even if we had to suspend our work, even if all the members of the Militia abandoned us, even if we had to disperse as the leaves swept by the autumn winds—if in our souls the ideal of Niepokalanow continues to grow, we could well say, my children, that we are in full progress . . .<sup>23</sup>

The "autumn winds" came indeed. September, 1939, brought war and what seemed to be the beginning of the end of Niepokalanow. Fr. Maximilian could see the dangers to which the Friars would be exposed by Nazi bombing and invasion, so he dismissed most of the Friars and told them to seek refuge in safer places. About 60 Friars remained. We can surmise their feelings as they saw the destruction wrought upon their work by bombing raids. But Fr. Maximilian said simply, "The Immaculate has given us everything . . . she will restore it."

On September 19, 1939, Fr. Maximilian and the other Friars, except about 20 in the infirmary, were hauled away to a prison camp. Niepokalanow became successively a hospital and a concentration camp. Eventually Fr. Maximilian and many of the Friars returned. They were able to carry on a certain amount of apostolic work among the prisoners, but on February 17, 1941, Fr. Maximilian and some other priests were taken away to a concentration camp. On May 28, he was transferred to the dreaded Camp Oswiecim,<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Winowska, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-107.

<sup>23</sup> Jeremiah Smith, O.F.M.Conv., *The Knight of the Immaculate*, Mt. St. Francis, Ind., 1952, p. 33.

<sup>24</sup> Odoardi, *op. cit.*, p. 57.



where on August 14 he was executed, having volunteered to take the place of another prisoner in the death cell.<sup>25</sup>

The years 1941 to 1945, were dark years indeed at Niepokalanow. Religious life was almost at a standstill there. Only a few Friars, the oldest ones, were permitted to remain, and they were forced to work for the Nazi invaders.

In July 1945, however, the Friars began to come back. By March, 1945, 277 had returned. With a fresh vigor they worked to restore the city and they hoped to turn out anew their pre-war publications, which had been halted with the coming of the Nazi.

But the apostolate of the press was gradually strangled by the new Polish Communist government. Beginning in January, 1946, the government seized control of the last 13 Catholic presses in the country. May 18, 1949, every press and printing machine was hauled away from Niepokalanow on 53 large trucks. The only Catholic review allowed in Poland since then is one printed on government presses in Warsaw, and this is limited to 80,000 copies.

With the presses gone, the Friars turned to another project. In 1950, they completed a shrine in honor of the Mediatrix of all graces; it is a church large enough to accommodate 5,000 people. Above one of the doorways on the tower is written this inscription: "Fr. Maximilian has invited souls throughout the whole world to praise the Immaculate. This is the work I too want to continue."<sup>26</sup>

Recent years have brought few reports on the activity of the Militia at Niepokalanow, though it will probably continue to be curtailed, if now further suppressed, under the Communist regime.

### Japan <sup>27</sup>

In relating the history of the Militia at Niepokalanow we followed it through to the present day, but in doing so we passed by another important Militia foundation established by Fr. Maximilian. In April, 1930, only 2½ years after starting Niepokalanow, he went to Japan with four Friars and plans to set up a City of the Immaculate

<sup>25</sup> Winowska, *op. cit.*, Chapter XVI gives the detailed account of the last days of Fr. Maximilian.

<sup>26</sup> Odoardi, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>27</sup> *Commentarium O.F.M.Conv.*, An. XLV, Num. V-VI (Maii-Junii, 1948), pp. 97-98. See also: Pompei, in *Rinascita*, pp. 135-136.

in that land, though he had no money and did not know the language.

The Bishop of Nagasaki welcomed the Friars, on condition that Fr. Maximilian teach philosophy in his seminary, a condition that Fr. Maximilian gracefully accepted. A wealthy Japanese Catholic provided the Friars with paper and a printing press, so within the next month, with the help of native seminarians who did the translating, the Friars printed the first issue of *The Knight of the Immaculate* in Japanese. By October they were distributing 18,000 copies of the periodical. In 1939, the circulation was 70,000.

The Japanese foundation was called *Mugenzai No Sono*, the Garden of the Immaculate. Beginnings were most trying and progress in a pagan land was much slower than it had been in Poland. The difference in language slowed down publication and the poverty of the people made expansion more difficult. A seminary was erected, but when Fr. Maximilian left Japan for the last time in 1936 there were only 20 students.

During the war, from 1941 until 1946, printing was interrupted, but by 1949, it had reached its pre-war production level. The seminarians were drafted during the war, so that closed the seminary. But in the meantime the Friars were occupied in developing another apostolate for the Immaculate. They set up a much needed orphanage to care for victims of the war. The atom bomb dropped on Nagasaki added considerably to their enrollment; providentially the Garden itself of the Immaculate was undamaged by the bomb.

The present Garden of the Immaculate has expanded to care for 200 orphans, 150 aspirants, and has a school equipped by the Japanese government. Another orphanage has been set up in Tokyo and another in Osaka. The Fathers have also established a theological seminary in Tokyo (present enrollment—28 clerics),<sup>28</sup> and have fostered a new community of Sisters named The Franciscan Sisters of the Militia of the Immaculate.<sup>29</sup>

The little garden planted by Fr. Maximilian 24 years ago has begun to bear fruit, and while it has not come up to Niepokalanow

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<sup>28</sup> Pompei, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>29</sup> *Commentarium, O.F.M.Conv.*, An. L., Num. III-VI (Martii-Junii, 1953), pp. 92-93.

in size, neither has the soil been so receptive to the plow. There is still very much to do.

### **M.I. in Italy and the Period of Organization**

While Fr. Maximilian was founding Cities of the Immaculate and showing phenomenal genius in the publishing word, the Militia of the Immaculate was developing more slowly and creating much less of a sensation in Italy. The ideals of the Militia are basically spiritual, as Fr. Maximilian constantly insisted, and the scope of the Militia apostolate is as wide as Mary's love for mankind. Wide variety can, therefore, be expected in the work undertaken in the name of the Militia. In Poland Fr. Maximilian overturned a countryside and set up practically a new civilization. In Japan he raised a garden in soil that had scarcely ever been turned before. But in Italy where he had simply planted the seed of the Militia, others tended the growth. And while that growth was not as rapid nor as spectacular it has been steady and it does flourish today.

In Italy the Militia idea remained more closely associated with already existing institutions, particularly the seminaries of the Order. Certificates of enrollment were sent, however, to members as widely separated as the continents. To these members the Militia was an inspiration to sanctify their daily lives in their own circles of activity. In 30 years over two million certificates of enrollment were distributed.

When the original foundation in the Seraphic College at Rome was raised to the status of a Primary Union in 1927, a new period of organization and concentration began. Local Centers already erected were affiliated to the Primary Union and in the course of years new centers were erected in Poland, Italy, Romania, the United States, Turkey, Japan, Belgium, China, and Northern Rhodesia in Africa. Centers for publishing promotional literature were located principally in Poland, Japan, and Romania. By the time of Fr. Maximilian's death there were 70 Filial Centers all united to the Primary Union in Rome. Their activity in general was the spreading of devotion to Mary Immaculate by means of missions, Marian conferences, distribution of Miraculous Medals, and Marian literature.

In Italy itself at the end of 1941 there were 39 centers. The first propaganda center was set up in Padua, which began publishing *Il Cavaliere dell' Immacolata*, the *Knight of the Immaculate*, in February, 1932. This became the official review of the Militia. In March, 1932, a Militia center was established at Assisi for children. It was called, *Piccoli Militi dell' Immacolata*.<sup>30</sup>

Further concentration of effort was encouraged by the Most Reverend General of the Friars Minor Conventual when he published in 1942, with the blessing of the Holy Father, Statutes to govern the Militia. These define in exact terms the nature, purpose, and organization of the movement.<sup>31</sup>

Since the war Italy has intensified its Militia activity, especially in social work. At present Knights of the Immaculate engage in the following projects: visiting the sick and imprisoned; assisting pastors in decorating their churches; distributing the Miraculous Medal; making vestments for the missions; assisting poor families by regular subsidies; and putting on dinners for the poor. The Militia also sponsors: consecration of families and institutes to the Immaculate Heart of Mary; visits of the "Pilgrim Virgin"; May devotions; Marian Days; Marian missions and conferences, and regional congresses of the Militia.

Among the periodicals published by the Militia in Italy are: a leaflet explaining the monthly intention; a family bulletin, "The Immaculate and Her Heart" (Genoa, since 1945); and a magazine on social problems, *The Blue International* (Genoa, since 1947). The National Center at Padua publishes a great number of books and booklets explaining the Militia, besides the official Militia review, "The Knight of the Immaculate."<sup>32</sup>

The Militia work being done in Italy today is the most extensive in the world. There are 179 canonically erected Militia Seats, with a cumulative total of 300,000 members.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Pompei, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>31</sup> *Commentarium O.F.M.Conv.*, An. XXXIX, Num. V & VI (Maii & Junii, 1942), pp. 133-156, 161-171. The Statutes are appended to a circular letter published by the Most Rev. Bede M. Hess, Min.Gen.O.F.M.Conv., May 1, 1942 to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the founding of M.I.

<sup>32</sup> Pompei, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

<sup>33</sup> *Commentarium O.F.M.Conv.*, An. XLVIII, Num. I-II (Jan.-Feb., 1951), p. 26.

### Romania

The three principal fields of Militia endeavor, Poland, Japan, and Italy, rather overshadow the work done in other countries, but the story of Fr. Maximilian's influence would not be complete without recounting the extent to which it has spread.

In Romania the Militia flourished under one of the original founders, Fr. Maximilian's friend, Fr. Joseph Pal. The first canonically erected Filial Seat was at Bacau in 1931. By 1935, there were 50 centers of propaganda embracing members of both Latin and the Byzantine-Romanian Rite. The Fathers published a review called *Viata*, which served as the Catholic paper of the country and the official organ of the Militia in Romania. The Seraphic Press of the province published numerous works and until the end of 1941 carried out admirably the ideals of Fr. Maximilian.<sup>34</sup> But since the war and the descent of the Iron Curtain, the Militia with the Church has been enchained. The intrepid Fr. Pal, so popular with the people, died in 1947. The Director of the Militia and other Friars have been languishing in a concentration camp since 1949. The same fate has befallen the Militia in Hungary and other Iron Curtain countries.<sup>35</sup>

The history of the Militia in other countries of Europe and in Turkey is not available to the author, except by way of statistical reports which will be appended to the end of this paper. These figures do indicate, however, the extent to which the Militia program has been carried out in many places.

### United States

Before listing the statistics of the Militia throughout the world, we will conclude our survey by summarizing the history of the Militia in the United States.

The first Filial Center was erected in 1931 under the promotion of Fr. Dominic Szmanski at St. Hyacinth Seminary in Grandby, Mass.<sup>36</sup> For many years this was the only foundation in America. More than 8,000 members throughout the whole country were

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<sup>34</sup> Pompei, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 140.

<sup>36</sup> *Commentarium O.F.M.Conv.*, An. XL, Num. VII (15 Julii, 1943), p. 207.



enrolled at this center. In March, 1953, two Fathers of the Seminary, Fr. Peter Bucki and Fr. Stephen Majewski, were encouraged to intensify Militia activity, and since then they have published and distributed new promotional literature, chief examples of which are a monthly letter to members and a quarterly review entitled, *Knight of the Immaculate*. In a little over a year more than 2,000 new members have been recruited through the efforts of these Fathers, so that the latest enrollment figure at Granby is 10,805. (July 22, 1954) <sup>37</sup>

Sixteen years after the pioneer American foundation at Granby, a new center was canonically erected in Our Lady of Carey Seminary, Carey, Ohio. This was in November, 1947, under the guidance of Fr. Wencelaus Hertvik, then Rector of the Seminary. Promotional literature was immediately printed and distributed principally in the parishes of Our Lady of Consolation and among the pilgrims who visited the Shrine of Our Lady of Consolation in Carey. In the first 3 years of its existence nearly 8,000 members were enrolled. The present (July, 1954) figure is 15,139.

In the meantime Filial Centers were erected at San Rocco Church, Chicago Heights, Illinois, and at the province's minor seminary, Mt. St. Francis, Indiana. A Militia group has also been started at Bellarmine College, where the Franciscan Fathers of Our Lady of Consolation Province teach. It draws its membership chiefly from the Catholic colleges and hospitals of the Louisville, Kentucky area.

Within one year after its founding, the original center of Our Lady of Consolation Province at Carey was raised to the standing of a Regional Center, Dec. 8, 1948. <sup>38</sup>

More closely resembling Fr. Maximilian's Niepokalanow than any other Militia group in America is the community of Friars at Marytown, Kenosha, Wisconsin. <sup>39</sup> It was established under the guidance of the same Fr. Dominic Szmanski who founded the first American Militia Center at Granby. This community, numbering

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<sup>37</sup> From a letter sent to the author by Fr. Stephen Majewski, O.F.M.Conv., St. Hyacinth Seminary, Granby, Mass., July 22, 1954.

<sup>38</sup> From the files of the Militia of Our Lady of Carey Seminary, Carey, Ohio, where the author is Director of the Militia.

<sup>39</sup> Pompei, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

2 priests, 16 brothers, 3 novices, and 8 oblates (National Catholic Directory, 1954), lives on a farm on the outskirts of the city of Kenosha. It has its own printery, including a Linotype machine and several presses. From these presses roll a notable quantity of literature promoting especially devotion to Perpetual Adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament, Our Lady of Fatima, and the Militia of Mary. Marytown's official review is the nationally circulated monthly periodical, *Immaculata*. Its circulation of over 20,000 has been instrumental in drawing several thousand members into the Militia.<sup>40</sup>

The latest canonically erected American Filial Center at this writing is at St. Francis Seminary, Staten Island, N. Y. It was affiliated with the Primary Union in Rome, Feb. 24, 1954. Its members number already about 5,000, drawn principally from the four Third Order groups which have their headquarters there.<sup>41</sup>

### Conclusion

The Militia idea is still quite new in most parts of the United States. There is a great deal of promotional work yet to do. There is no set pattern of apostolate to which the Militia must feel constrained to follow. Any form of legitimate effort can properly be used, so long as it is aimed at the conversion of the world and from the absolute submission to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The history of the movement thus far can serve as some inspiration, but the real moving force must come from the same source that moved its founder: the absolute, unquestioning, and never-dying love of the Immaculate Mother of God.

### DISCUSSION

JUNIPER CUMMINGS, O.F.M.CONV.:—In response to Fr. Bonaventure's query concerning the present activities of the friars at the City of the Immaculate, I can say that about a year ago I was informed that they were teaching and running the fire department for the surrounding territory.

A point of order. Fr. Kolbe took his philosophical course and degree at the

<sup>40</sup> Lorenzo M. DiFonzo, O.F.M.Conv., "La nostra 'Milizia Mariana' nel mondo," in *Il Cavaliere*, An. XIX, Num. 5 (Maggio, 1951), pp. 67-68. Also from a letter to the author from Fr. Dominic Wisz, O.F.M.Conv. from Marytown, Kenosha, Wisconsin, July 13, 1954.

<sup>41</sup> From a letter to the author from Fr. Dunstan M. McDermott, O.F.M. Conv., from St. Francis Seminary, Staten Island, N.Y., July 14, 1954.

Gregorianum. His spirituality and the Militia was and is Franciscan. St. Francis' ideals of knighthood is revived in 20th century garb.

One of the amazing things about the Franciscan Order is its force of youth in imagination and initiative, plus its prudence of age in execution. Maximilian Kolbe broke out with the same old sickness in our century that consumed our spiritual forefathers as Francis, Anthony, Bonaventure, Scotus, Bernardine, Joseph of Cupertino, Laurence of Brindisi. Kolbe's Militia is an example of something new prompted by an old love executed in the prudent way. The right way to bring the world to Christ in any age is through Mary. The right way to promote devotion to the Immaculate in the 20th century is by the press, radio, television. (At the city of the Immaculate the television was for producing, not watching). All these modern techniques Kolbe employed. By land, sea, and air he proclaimed the Immaculate. Prudently he made his Militia adaptable to all countries and conditions.

In some places the M.I. is organized along the line of the Sodality; in others after the manner of the Legion. In still other places as in Poland and Japan it took on an original type of specific organization.

This very vagueness of the Militia is its strength. It is for the Religious as well as for the laity. It is for the fervent as well as the lax. Where there is little or no Marian activity the Militia can fill the gap. Where there is a slack, the Militia can tighten.

Fr. Plassmann's figure would apply to Maximilian Kolbe as to our Father Francis. Kolbe is the little boy who went up into the attic of the old house and came down with something old but gave it a new character—Franciscan devotion to the Immaculate.

## STATUTUM

### Piae Unionis "Militia Mariae Immaculatae"

#### CAPUT I

##### *Natura et Finis Militiae Mariae Immaculatae atque Officia Sodalium*

Art. 1. Militia Mariae Immaculatae, in Ordine Fratrum Minorum Conventualium exorta, natura sua est eminenter Mariana. Ideo Sodales debent profiteri erga Sanctissimam Virginem specialem devotionem quam monstrabunt praeprimis imitando eiusdem virtutes et operam navando omni modo meliori possibili ad finem huius Militae obtinendum.

Art. 2. Haec Sancta Militia Sodalibus ut finem praestituit sanctificationem propriam et proximi, conversionem peccatorum, haereticorum et schismaticorum in genere, et massonum in modo particulari.

Art. 3. Officia cuiusvis Sodalitis ad talem finem obtinendum sunt:

a) facere die inscriptionis oblationem sui ipsius Sanctissimae Virgini qua instrumenti pro sanctificatione omnium, pro conversione peccatorum, haereticorum et schismaticorum, et in specie pro conversione massonum;

b) gestare Numisma Miraculosum Immaculatae;

c) recitare saltem semel in die sequentem invocationem: "O Maria sine labe concepta, ora pro nobis qui ad Te recurrimus, et pro omnibus qui ad Te non recurrunt, et praesertim pro massonibus et commendatis Tibi." Vel: "Dignare me laudare Te, Virgo sacrata. Da mihi virtutem contra hostes Tuos." Vel etiam actum oblationis: "Sanctissima Virgo et Mater Dei, Maria, ego, quamvis indignissimus qui servus Tuus sim, nihilominus admirabili Tua pietate motus et desiderio Tibi serviendi, hodie Te eligo, coram Angelo meo Custode et tota Curia caelesti, mihi in Dominam, Advocatam et Matrem, et firmiter propono velle Tibi semper servire, et facere ut ab aliis ameris et Tibi serviatur. Te supplico, proinde, Mater piissima, per Sanguinem Filii Tui pro me effusum, ut in numerum Tibi devotorum me in perpetuum Tuum servum recipias. Adesto mihi in omnibus actionibus meis et impetra mihi gratiam, quae me ita conducat in omnibus meis cogitationibus, verbis et operibus, ut nunquam offendam purissimos oculos Tuos Tuique divini Filii. Memor esto mei et in hora mortis meae ne derelinquas me. Amen."

#### CAPUT II

##### *Normae pro inscriptione in Militiam Mariae Immaculatae*

Art. 1. Omnes Christifideles Militiae Mariae Immaculatae inscribi possunt, dummodo nomen dent alicui Sedi canonice erectae. Per hoc admittuntur ad participationem indulgentiarum et privilegiorum eiusdem Piae Unionis.

Art. 2. Pro admissione Sodalium Assistentes ecclesiastici et Directores Sedium Filialium eorundem nomina inscribent in Regestis particularibus et iisdem tradent folium inscriptionis una cum Numismate benedicto. (can. 694 # 2).

## CAPUT III

*Normae ad canonicè erigendam Sedem Militiae Mariae Immaculatae*

Art. 1. Pia Unio Militiae Mariae Immaculatae erigi potest in quibuslibet ecclesiis et oratoriis publicis et semipublicis (can. 712 # 1).

Art. 2. Ad instituendam Sedem Filialem huius Militiae, praeter erectionem canonicam ab Ordinario loci in scripto factam, requiritur aggregatio ad Sedem Primariam Romae existentem (can. 722 # 1).

Art. 3. Ut aggregatio ad Sedem Primariam sit valida, requiritur:

- a) ut Sedes Filialis aggreganda iam fuerit canonicè erecta (can. 723, n.1);
- b) ut aggregatio fiat de consensu Ordinarii loci scriptis dato (ibid., n. 2);
- c) ut Sedi Filiali aggregandae tradatur elenchus indulgentiarum, privilegiorum et gratiarum spiritualium Piae Unionis (ibid., n. 3).

Art. 4. Ad Ordinarium loci spectat etiam nominatio Assistantis ecclesiastici huius Piae Unionis in ecclesiis et oratoriis extra Ordinem Fratrum Minorum Conventualium (can. 698 # 1).<sup>1</sup>

Art. 5. Assistens ecclesiasticus ab Ordinario loci nominatus cum Sede nationali vel cum Directione generali Militiae in Urbe communicare curet.

Art. 6. In dioecesi autem, in qua Ordinarius erectionem canonicam Militiae Mariae Immaculatae non opportunam iudicaverit, Zelator poterit curare ut Sodales Sede alibi iam canonicè rectae inscribantur, usque dum erectio canonica novae Sedis obtineri queat.

## CAPUT IV

*Apostolatus Militiae Mariae Immaculatae*

Art. 1. Militia Mariae Immaculatae, sicut quaelibet Pia Unio, Sodalibus maximam permittit libertatem actionis ad eiusdem finem obtinendum.

Art. 2. Quivis Sodalıs, usufruendo tali libertate, sciāt adhibere ad nobilem finem Militiae obtinendum, praeter excellens orationis medium, omnia alia media, quae amor Ssmi Cordis Iesu, Mariae Immaculatae et animarum ipsi suggeret secundum diversas circumstantias locorum, temporum et conditionis vitae in qua se invenerit.

(1) Can. 698 C.I.C. distinguit inter officia Moderatoris seu Directoris et Cappellani Piae Unionis. Officium Moderatoris respicit eiusdem directionem, dum officium Cappellani refertur ad functiones in ecclesia vel oratorio habendas. Attamen idem can. 698, # 4, declarat eundem posse esse simul Moderatorem et Cappellanum. Ita Militia Mariae Immaculatae sub unica denominatione Assistantis ecclesiastici vult, ut sacerdos ab Ordinario loci ad regendam Sedem Filialem nominatus habeat duplex officium ac duplicem potestatem Moderatoris et Cappellani, de quibus in praefato conone.

Art. 3. Illi, qui operam dant ad Militiam Mariae Immaculatae propagandam nomine veniunt Sodales Zelatores (Zelatrices), quorum nomina in speciali regesto apud Sedem Primariam inscribuntur.

Art. 4. Ad maiorem Militiae Immaculatae diffusionem et ad inscriptiones Sodalium facilitandas curetur, ut in omni Sede Filiali adsint Zelatores, sive ecclesiastici sive saeculares, qui nomina adscriptorum pervenire faciant ad Sedem ad quam pertinent.

Art. 5. Ad operam suam magis coordinatam et fructuosam reddendam:

- a) Zelatores (Zelatrices) quolibet bimestri in propria Sede conveniant ad relationem de labore peracto faciendam et ad discutienda, secundum circum-

<sup>1</sup> *Commentarium O.F.M.Conv.*, An. XLVIII, Num. I-II, pp. 25-26.



stantias, insimul cum Assistente ecclesiastico, media aptiora ad finem Militiae obtinendum;

b) Assisten ecclesiasticus, vel Zelator ad hoc designatur, Directori nationali amplam de qualibet sessione relationem reddet;

c) huiusmodi sessioni, si casus fert, Director nationalis praesidere poterit.

Art. 6. Omni Sedi Filiali Militiae Mariae Immaculatae praeerit Assistens ecclesiasticus, qui una cum Zelatoribus (Zelatricibus) attendent ad meliorem Piae Unionis progressum.

Art. 7. In omni Sede Filiali curetur, ut media adhibeantur aptiora ad animum Sodalibus addendum et ad maius Militiae incrementum obtinendum. Ad hunc finem proponitur:

a) ut aliquoties in anno functiones habeantur in honorem Mariae Immaculatae in ecclesia vel oratorio, ubi Militia Sedem habet (cann. 716-717);

b) ut pluries in anno, praesertim in festivitibus Sanctissimae Virginis, maiori cum solemnitate generales inscriptiones Sodalium huic Piae Unioni fiant, secundum proprium Militiae rituale;

c) ut Communio generalis mensilis promoveatur, cui Sodales intervenire possint, etiam ad lucranda indulgentiam plenariam ipsis concessam (Pius XI, 18 Decembris 1926);

d) ut habeantur coetus publici ad illustrandum, per collationes vel alio modo opportuno, naturam, finem et eventus Militiae;

e) ut diffundantur principia et programma Militiae opusculis typis impressis, ut sunt, folia propagationis, articuli in periodicis vel diariis, etc.

## CAPUT V

### *Regimen Militiae Mariae Immaculatae*

Art. 1. Sedes Primaria Militiae Mariae Immaculatae invenitur Romae in Sacello Collegii Seraphici Internationalis Fratrum Minorum Conventualium.

Art. 2. Moderator supremus Militiae est Minister Generalis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Conventualium, cui reservatur ius aggregandi Sedes Filiales ad Sedem Primariam.

Art. 3. Pro Directione generali Militiae a Moderatore supremo nominatur Director generalis cum Consilio generali.

Art. 4. Assistens ecclesiasticus Sedis Primariae est ipse P. Rector Collegii Seraphici Internationalis in Urbe.

Art. 5. Omnis natio habeat Sedem nationalem cum Directore, qui a Directore generali cum suo Consilio nominatur.

Art. 6. Periodicum officiale Militiae vocatur: Miles Mariae Immaculatae.

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Exemplar Decreti quo Pia Unio Militiae Mariae Immaculatae quibusdam privilegiis gratisque spiritualibus ditatur: cuius originale in Archivo Sedis Primariae Romae asservatur.

## APPENDIX

These statistics are of December 31, 1950, the latest available at this writing. Fr. Lorenzo DiFonzo, O.F.M.Conv., Director General, who compiled these figures, notes that they are not as complete as they might be but that they are drawn from reports sent to his office. Some Militia Centers were unable to communicate with Rome, however, since the descent of the Iron Curtain. In these cases their latest reports were used.

1. *Supreme Moderator M.I.*: The Most Rev. Minister General, O.F.M. Conv.
2. *General Directorate M.I.*: Rome (Via S. Teodoro, 42): Consists of the Director General, Fr. Lorenzo DiFonzo, O.F.M.Conv. (since April 16, 1942) and six members of the Council, namely: Director of the International College at Rome; National Director of Italy; the Praeses of the Primary Seat; and 3 Professors of the Pontifical Theological Faculty at Rome.
3. *National Centers M.I.*:
  - a. for Italy, Padua at the Basilica of St. Anthony.
  - b. for Romania, Liuzi-Calugara.
  - c. for Poland, Niepokalanow.
  - d. for Hungary, Miskolc.
  - e. for Belgium, Holland, and Denmark, Wijnandsrade.
4. *Special Regional Centers M.I.*:
  - a. for North America, Carey, O.
  - b. for Japan, Nagasaki.
5. *Primary and Filial Seats*: 308, distributed thus:
  - a. in Italy, 179 (90 under O.F.M.Conv.; 89 under other Fathers)
  - b. in Poland, 86 (11 under O.F.M.Conv.; 75 under others)
  - c. Romania, 17
  - d. Hungary, 5.
  - e. North America, 4.
  - f. Jugoslavia, 3.
  - g. Holland, 3.
  - h. Germany, 2.
  - i. Czechoslovakia, 2.
  - j. Belgium, 1.
  - k. Denmark, 1.
  - l. Spain, 1.
  - m. Turkey, 1.
  - n. Japan, 1.
  - o. Northern Rhodesia, Africa, 1.
6. *Centers of Propaganda*, about 1500, though these are not canonically erected.
7. *Marian Circles*: (groups of various kinds):
  - a. in our seminaries and colleges, 269
  - b. others (in Poland), 237.
8. *Marian Sodalties*, 98. These are various children's groups in Italy.
9. *Inscribed Members of the Militia*: about 2,100,000.  
(in Poland in 1947, 1,505,458; in Italy in 1948, about 300,000; in Romania in 1946, about 70,000; etc.)

THE CHAPEL OF OUR LADY OF GOOD HELP  
A FRANCISCAN SHRINE TO MARY  
ROBINSONVILLE, WISCONSIN <sup>1</sup>

CRISPIN WELBES, O.F.M.

Tucked away amid the woods and farms of Brown County, Wisconsin, there stands a little shrine dedicated to the Mother of God, hardly known outside the immediate vicinity. It is a Franciscan shrine insofar as early in its history it was a center of activity for a group of lay Tertiary women and now is under the care of Third Order Franciscan Sisters, the Sisters of Saint Francis of Bay Settlement, Wisconsin. Until recently these Sisters operated there a home for crippled children. Since September, 1953, the buildings are being used as a pre-novitiate house for postulants seeking admittance into their community.<sup>2</sup>

The shrine is located about fifteen miles northeast of Green Bay, Wisconsin, in a little settlement called Robinsonville, P.O. New Franken, Wisconsin. The history of this shrine goes back ninety-six years. It is a history of apparitions of Our Lady, of marvelous happenings, of cures, of strong devotion to the Mother of God. Yet this history is practically unknown, even by people who live in the vicinity. This writer hopes that perhaps this paper will make a little better known this American Franciscan shrine to Mary, humble though it may be, where apparently the Mother of God and our Mother has deigned to manifest her love and care for ordinary mortals. However, since the Church has never pronounced on the authenticity of the apparitions or of the so-called miracles the writer of this paper wishes to express his complete submission to the decree of Pope Urban VIII, and he declares that in the use of the words "apparition" and "miracle" he has no intention of pre-

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<sup>1</sup> Most of the material in this paper is taken from the booklet "The Chapel; Our Lady of Good Help; A Wisconsin Shrine to Mary," published by the Sisters of Saint Francis of Bay Settlement, R.R. 1, Green Bay, Wisconsin, November, 1950.

<sup>2</sup> Letter of Sister Dominica, Librarian, Saint Francis Convent, R.R. 1, Green Bay, Wisconsin, February 2, 1954.

suming to anticipate the decision of Holy Mother Church, the sole judge in such matters.

### Historical Background

In the year 1853, ten families, numbering eighty souls, emigrated from the province of Brabant, Belgium, to Wisconsin. For more than a year before they sailed they had held numerous meetings in their native land to plan the ocean voyage and to determine where in America they should settle and seek their fortunes. This latter question was not yet settled when they left Antwerp on May 18, 1853, in the three-masted sailing vessel *Quennebec*, and they continued their discussions throughout the forty-eight days they spent on the high seas. Not until the little band had disembarked at New York did the persuasive language of a promotion leaflet bring about a decision to settle in Wisconsin. They continued their journey westward until they reached Outagamie County, Wisconsin, and there they made their first payments on tracts of land. However, the hand of death caused them to change their plans completely and to settle on the Wisconsin peninsula.

Shortly after their arrival at Kaukauna one of the children of the party died. Sorrowfully they made the trip to Green Bay, Wisconsin, to the Catholic Church of St. John the Baptist for the funeral. There they met a Belgian priest, Father Edward Francis Daems, O.S.C., who two years previously had arrived at Bay Settlement, hoping to establish there a foundation for the Holy Cross Fathers. Although his plans had not materialized he had become the first resident pastor of the Bay Settlement region in 1851. The Belgian immigrants were so happy to find a priest from their own corner of the world that they listened to him while he persuaded them to forfeit their land payments in Outagamie County and to settle on the unbroken timberland of the Wisconsin Peninsula at Robinsonville, about fifteen miles northeast of Green Bay, and seven or eight miles from Bay Settlement.

In 1854 and 1855, a steady stream of Belgian immigrants poured in from Belgium to Brown, Door and Kewaunee counties. Numerous little Belgian communities were established. These immigrants were sturdy, hardworking people, the type best suited to establish civili-

zation in the wilderness. They cleared the land under the greatest of difficulties. Where there was not a heavy stand of timber they found stone ledges which made cultivation of the land almost impossible. They came to know real suffering. Supplies were hard to obtain. Many grew discouraged and some abandoned farming to seek labor elsewhere in order to at least make a living. Still, through diligence, perseverance and hard work they were, in time, able to surmount the many obstacles they encountered and to establish themselves in the land they had chosen.

Among the crowd of Belgian immigrants who flocked to Wisconsin in the 1850's came the pious, God-fearing Brisse family, Lambert and Katherine Brisse and their three daughters, Adele, Esperance and Isabella. It is Adele, the eldest, a simple, unpretentious country girl who, next to the Blessed Mother of God, is the main character in this narrative. The exact date of their arrival in America or in Wisconsin is not known, but records show that on August 7, 1855, Lambert and Katherine Brisse purchased 240 acres of land in the township of Red River for the sum of \$120.00.

Marie Adele Joseph Brisse was born in the province of Brabant in Belgium on January 30, 1831, and received her early education at Mieux. Little is known of her childhood except that she was distinguished for her piety and childlike simplicity of heart. She had always fostered a great devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Early in life she had desired to dedicate herself to the service of God in the foreign mission field. When she received her First Holy Communion she and five or six of her companions had promised our Blessed Mother that they would become religious and go to distant countries to instruct poor children. The other girls carried out this resolve.<sup>3</sup> And with this idea in mind Adele planned to enter the convent too. When her parents decided to leave Belgium and migrate to America she begged them to let her remain in Belgium to carry out her desire. However, they insisted that she accompany them to the New World. A few days before their departure Adele consulted her confessor and asked him what to do. "Go with your parents," he told her, "and you will be rewarded for your obedience. If God wills it you can become a Sister in America. I will pray for

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<sup>3</sup> Story of Sister Adele, written by Sister Pauline, August 20, 1907, preserved in the archives of the Sisters of Saint Francis of Bay Settlement.



you." Obedient to her confessor Adele, with the other members of her family, prepared for the departure. After an uneventful, but long, voyage of seven weeks they landed in New York and immediately started westward. Soon after their arrival at Green Bay, Wisconsin, they were absorbed in the wilderness.

A great disadvantage to these Catholic pioneers was the scarcity of priests to work among them. In consequence of this scarcity the younger generation received little or no religious instruction. The settlers were so busy clearing the land and making a living that the education of their children was completely neglected. This lack of both religious and secular education gradually began to show in the depraved morals of the younger element. But this condition began to improve with the return of Father Daems, who had been gone for a few years. With him he brought three more priests of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. Two of them soon returned to Europe but Father Daems and Father William Verhoeff remained to continue their missionary work on the Peninsula and in the surrounding territory. Father Daems proved a zealous pastor and a loyal friend to the Belgian colony of which he was the true founder. Not only did he administer to the spiritual needs of the settlers, but through his thorough knowledge of medicine he also became a valuable medical adviser in a territory in which no professional medical aid was available. Thus he endeared himself to his people by dispensing not only spiritual and moral help but also assistance to their bodily well being. This he continued to do until his death at the age of fifty-four on February 12, 1879.

### The Apparitions

In the year 1854, at the time when the steady stream of Belgian immigrants was flowing from the fatherland into Wisconsin, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary was defined. Eight years previous to that, in 1846, the bishops of the United States in the Sixth Provincial Council at Baltimore had chosen Our Lady, under the title of the Immaculate Conception, as the patroness of the United States. Four years after the definition of the dogma the Blessed Mother deigned to appear to Bernadette at Lourdes and proclaimed herself to be the Immaculate Concep-

tion. All of these things helped to increase devotion to Mary, both in this country and throughout the entire world.

In the wilderness of Wisconsin, in the same year that she appeared to Bernadette at Lourdes, in the autumn of 1858 the Mother of God again appeared to one of her clients near the little settlement of Robinsonville. Just as she had appeared at Lourdes to a simple country maiden, unknown to the world at large, so here too in the New World she singled out for her favor a young woman whose name was not known outside the small circle in which she lived. Perhaps the best way to tell the story is to quote at some length from the words of Sister Pauline who for many years worked with Adele Brisse, and whose original narrative is preserved in the archives of the Sisters of Saint Francis of Bay Settlement, a community of which Sister Pauline was one of the first members. Her account of the apparition, which she received from Sister Adele, follows:

It was in the early part of October that Adele saw our Blessed Mother for the first time. Reverend William De Kolver told me that it was in 1858. Adele was going to a small grist mill about four miles from here with a sack of wheat on her head. She was following an Indian Trail which passed near where the chapel now stands. The trail led towards Dykesville and branched off to Bay Settlement. At that time this all was a wilderness. As she came near the place where the chapel now stands she saw a lady all in white standing between two trees, one a maple and the other a hemlock. Adele was frightened and stood still. The vision slowly disappeared, leaving a little white cloud after it. Adele continued on her errand and returned home without seeing anything more. She told her parents what had happened and they wondered what it could be; maybe a Poor Soul who needed prayers.

On the following Sunday she had to pass here again on her way to Mass at Bay Settlement which was the nearest place she had to attend Mass, and that was about eleven miles from her home. Despite the great distance or the inclemency of the weather, Adele would never miss Mass on Sunday. This time she was not alone, but was accompanied by her sister, Isabella, and a Mrs. Theresa Vander Niessen. When they came near the trees the same lady in white was at the place where Adele had seen her before. Adele was frightened and said as a reproach, "Oh, that lady is there again."

Adele had not the courage to go on. The other two could not see anything, but they could tell by Adele's looks that she was afraid. They thought that it must be a Poor Soul that needed prayers. They waited a few minutes and Adele told them that it was gone. It had disappeared as the first time, and all she could see was a little mist or white cloud. They went to Mass and Adele went to confession, and told the priest how she had been frightened at the sight of the lady in white. He bade her not to

fear and asked her to speak of it out of the confessional, and so she did. Reverend William Verhoeff told her not to be troubled, that it would not harm her, and that if it were something from God she would see it again, and not to be afraid, but to ask in God's name who it was and what it desired of her? After that Adele had more courage. She started homeward with her two companions and a man who was clearing land for the Holy Cross Fathers at Bay Settlement.

When they came near this place Adele's heart beat fast, for this time through the trees she could clearly see a beautiful lady all clothed in dazzling white, with a yellow sash around her waist. Her dress fell to her feet in graceful folds. She had a crown of stars around her head, and her long wavy golden hair fell loosely over her shoulders; such a heavenly light shone round her that Adele could hardly look at her sweet face.

This time Adele was not frightened, but was filled with joy and peace. As soon as she came near enough she knelt and spoke as the Father had advised her to do.

"In God's name, who are you and what do you desire of me?"

Our Blessed Mother answered, "I am the Queen of the Heavens, who prays for the conversion of sinners, and I wish you to do the same." She continued in her soft, sweet voice, "You were at Holy Communion this morning?"

"Yes, dear Lady," answered Adele.

"You have done well, but I wish you to do more. Pray for nine days. Go and make a general confession, and offer your Holy Communion for the conversion of sinners. If they do not convert themselves, and do penance, my Son will be obliged to punish them."

In the meantime her companions were anxious to know to whom she was speaking.

"Who is it, Adele," they inquired. "Is it a Poor Soul from Belgium, or who is it?"

Adele told them to kneel because the Lady said she was the Queen of the heavens. One of the women commenced to cry and lament, saying, "Oh, why are we so unhappy not to see her as you do?"

Adele saw our Blessed Mother turn and look kindly at the women and say, "Blessed are they that believe and see not."

Then turning to Adele she said, "What are you doing here in idleness, while your companions are working in the vineyard of my Son?"

Adele answered weeping, "What more can I do, dear Lady?"

"Teach the children," replied the Lady.

"How shall I teach them who know so little myself?" said Adele.

"I do not mean the science of the world; teach them their catechism,

that they may know and love my Son; otherwise the people here will lose their faith," answered the Lady.

"With God's grace and the help of your intercession I promise, dear Lady, to be faithful to what you bid me," answered Adele.

"Go and fear nothing. I will help you," replied the lady.

Then our dear Mother raised her eyes and hands heavenward, and slowly rose upward, surrounded by a light, smokelike incense. The last Adele saw of her was as if she were asking a blessing on those that were kneeling at her feet. Adele saw nothing more, but fell on her face in a faint. Her companions tried to soothe and revive her. The man went to a little creek nearby to wet a cloth and bring her some water. As soon as she came to herself they walked on toward home and because Adele was still weak they rested at the first house to which they came. The people were all astonished at the news. Most of them believed it, but some of them thought she was out of her mind. It was not long, however, before Adele, faithful to her promise, commenced to gather the children about her and to instruct them in their religion.<sup>4</sup>

### Sister Adele's Work

Adele Brisse had no special preparation for the task imposed on her by the Lady of the apparitions, for she had received only the ordinary education of a girl of her class in Europe. However, she was thoroughly grounded in her religion and was endowed with good, solid piety and love for God. Thus equipped she began the work to which she would devote the rest of her life. First she prepared herself spiritually by nine days of fervent prayer, followed by the reception of the sacraments. Then she set out, trudging from farmhouse to farmhouse, gathering the little ones around her, teaching them their catechism and preparing them for their First Holy Communion. Many miles did she travel, up and down the Peninsula, in all kinds of weather, not only catechizing the children but also admonishing sinners and edifying, by her fervor of spirit and purity of heart, all with whom she came in contact. And as she prepared group after group of children to receive their Blessed Lord into their innocent hearts for the first time, she brought them to Bay Settlement where the pastor, Father Daems, admitted them to their First Holy Communion.

Shortly after the apparitions took place Adele's father, Lambert Brisse, built a small log chapel, ten by twelve feet in size, near the

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem.*

spot where Our Lady had appeared to his daughter. Three years later, in 1861, due to the ever increasing number of pilgrims who came to pray there, it became necessary to build a larger chapel. Adele had no funds for such a project so, after asking God's help in prayer, she appealed to the farmers of the surrounding territory. A Mrs. Isabella Doyen donated five acres of land, including the little knoll where the apparitions had occurred. On this spot her father, with the help of many of the settlers, built a substantial frame chapel, twenty-four by forty feet in size. Gradually the people of the vicinity began to refer to this little church by the simple name of "La Chapelle."

For seven years Adele continued to travel from farmhouse to farmhouse, from settlement to settlement, carrying on the mission that had been entrusted to her by the Mother of God. Finally the Reverend Philip Crud, the pastor of Robinsonville, told her that he was convinced that it would please the Blessed Mother if she would start a community of Sisters to continue her work after her death and advised her to build a home and to encourage other young women to join her. Again Adele had recourse to prayer and again she appealed to the people for help. They responded generously and built for her a frame convent and school adjacent to the chapel. Also in answer to her appeal several devout young women associated themselves with her and in 1864 they began their convent life in a farmhouse, even before the convent had been completed. Father Daems brought the matter to the attention of the bishop of the diocese who strongly recommended affiliation with an Order already well established in the Church. Thus it was that when the group was organized they adopted the Rule of the Third Order of Saint Francis of Assisi. They called themselves the Sisters of Good Help and adopted a distinctive religious garb. But they took no vows, thus leaving the Sisters free to withdraw from the community whenever they desired.

When the school building had been completed Sister Adele opened it as a boarding and day school for boys and girls. It was supported chiefly by the offerings of the parents of the children who attended. Frequently the fees for tuition and board were paid in the form of food and supplies by those who lived in the neighboring towns. Those who came from a greater distance paid a small fee of a few



dollars a month for board, tuition and laundry. The Green Bay Gazette of October 9, 1869, carried the following advertisement for Sister Adele's school, which she called Saint Mary's Academy:

Saint Mary's Academy—This institution, under the direction of the Sisters of Good Help, is situated in the town of Green Bay, about fifteen miles from this city, and near the chapel of Robinsonville. It is an excellent institution for young folks of both sexes. The scholastic year commences on the first Monday in October and ends on the fourth of July. Boys will be received between the ages of seven and thirteen. Girls between the ages of six and twenty. The regular courses will be the English and the French languages, geography, history, arithmetic, etc. A good preparation for First Holy Communion will be given by a priest and Sister Adele.

Terms—Board and tuition, per week, one dollar. Washing and bedding, per week, fifteen cents. Bills payable four weeks in advance. Letters of inquiry may be addressed to Sister Adele or Philip Crud, Catholic priest, Robinsonville, Brown County, Wisconsin.

Despite the wonderful results obtained by her untiring efforts Sister Adele's work did not go unopposed. It was during the episcopate of the Most Reverend Joseph Melcher, 1868-1873, that the strongest opposition arose. Some of the clergy in the neighborhood put no faith in the story of the apparitions and considered the whole thing a myth. And perhaps the devil, aroused by the good work that was being done at the chapel and in the surrounding area by the Sister, also had a hand in stirring up trouble. Be that as it may, in the course of time abuses had sprung up in connection with the big procession that was held every year on August 15. These abuses were reported to the bishop by certain priests of the neighborhood. The bishop had had little or no opportunity to learn about Sister Adele and her work and all he could do was to take the word of the complaining priests. In consequence of these complaints he laid an interdict on the chapel, and Sister Adele was refused the sacraments and threatened with excommunication if she persisted in telling her story of the apparitions.

During this trying period Sister Adele and the children from the school attended Mass at Saint Joseph's church at Campion, one mile west of the chapel. On one occasion when she arrived at this church she found the pews closed against her, so she and the children attended Mass kneeling in the aisle. When the time arrived for the distribution of Holy Communion Adele humbly but resolutely ap-

proached the communion rail with the children. If she was going to be refused her Blessed Lord, her source of strength and courage, it would have to be at the Holy Table itself. When the priest at the altar turned around to give the absolution, there was Adele. Without more ado he descended from the altar and gave the Bread of Life to her as well as to the others and new courage filled her soul.

After some time had passed the bishop decided to examine the conditions at the chapel in person. He employed the services of two physicians to accompany him to the chapel at Robinsonville to investigate matters and to test the sanity of Sister Adele. In the meantime rumors were spreading thick and fast that the bishop was coming to close the chapel for good. This did not please the Belgian pioneers and they rose up in opposition to the closing of the chapel, in order to safeguard the profits that came to them especially on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage. The bishop was notified of this opposition and he cancelled the trip. But he wrote to Sister Adele commanding her to dismiss the children, to lock the school and chapel, and to bring the keys to him. Adele did as she was commanded but before she surrendered the keys she purchased an acre of land near the chapel on which to build a home and continue her work of instructing the little ones. When this was done she brought the keys to the bishop and told him in no uncertain terms that he would be responsible for every soul lost due to the lack of religious instruction and that she intended to continue instructing the children as she had been commanded to do by the Lady. The bishop was so impressed by Sister Adele and her words that he returned the keys to her and told her to continue her teaching. In two weeks' time she had her classes all reorganized. Later on, through the written request of three priests, the interdict was lifted and the processions at the chapel continued.

Before many years the chapel again proved to be too small and the school inadequate. This time there was no question of appealing to the people of the neighboring towns and countryside for help as they had lost all or most of their possessions in the disastrous Peshtigo fire of 1871. So Adele decided to seek help further afield. Armed with a letter of introduction from Father Crud, written in the choicest French, and accompanied by Sister Marguerite, who could speak English, she set out on her quest. Their begging tour

took them to distant cities where they made a house to house canvass, asking for funds with which to increase their good work. Occasionally they met with refusals and rebuffs, but Adele's charming simplicity seemed to melt the hearts of most people and their response was quite generous. Any contribution, large or small, was gratefully accepted. She kept an exact record of all receipts and expenditures, going so far as to make one entry for the sum of three cents. With the money thus collected she was able to build a larger brick chapel in 1880, and in 1885 a substantial brick convent and school. At one time there were eleven Sisters living and working at the chapel and as many as 112 boys and girls were cared for during a school year. Most of these boys and girls came from neighboring places, but some of them came from as far as Michigan and Minnesota.

And so the work went on year after year. In the course of time Sister Adele's health began to fail, worn out as she was by sufferings, hard work and misunderstandings. Especially did she suffer from an injury sustained one day while on the way to Mass at Campion. The horses they were driving became frightened and threw Sister Adele and her companions from the wagon in which they were riding. From this accident she never fully recovered. During the last year of her life she was no longer able to carry on with her duties. And finally, after more than thirty-five years in the service of the Mother of God this faithful servant of Mary, amid the tears and prayers of those she had led to the faith and edified by her example, passed to her eternal reward on July 5, 1896. Her last words were: "I rejoiced in what was said to me. We shall go into the house of the Lord." In the little cemetery adjacent to the chapel she loved so much she lies in her grave. On the cross erected above it the following inscription is carved in French:

SACRED CROSS, UNDER THY SHADOW  
I REST, AND HOPE.  
SISTER MARIE ADELE JOSEPH BRISSE  
DIED JULY 5, 1896,  
AT THE AGE OF 66 YEARS

After the death of Sister Adele her co-workers continued her labor in the face of many and great difficulties. The absence of Sister

Adele's personal guidance was sorely felt, and the scope and quality of the work began to decline. However, God in His Providence saved the undertaking and perpetuated it under new and more stable auspices. In October, 1902, the Most Reverend Bishop of Green Bay, Sebastian Messmer, placed Sister Pauline LaPlante in charge at the chapel and school. Sister Pauline had been one of the early associates of Sister Adele and in 1874 she had become one of the founding members of the Sisters of Saint Francis of Bay Settlement. In 1903, the remaining Tertiary Sisters at the chapel, only two in number, were taken into the community of these Sisters of Saint Francis of Bay Settlement by Bishop Messmer and the work at the chapel, at the convent and in the school was entrusted to the Bay Settlement Sisters. At that time there were only thirty children in the school and a few cents in the treasury.<sup>5</sup>

### The Chapel and the Annual Pilgrimages

As has already been noted the first chapel at Robinsonville was erected very shortly after the apparitions occurred, in 1858. Adele's father, Lambert Brisse, was not unskilled in the use of a carpenter's tools and with his own hands he constructed a small log chapel, ten by twelve feet, near the spot where the Mother of God had appeared to his daughter. In only a few years, in 1861, this log chapel was replaced by a larger frame building, twenty-four by forty feet, erected on the very spot where the apparitions had taken place. Again Lambert Brisse played an important part in the construction of this chapel, helped by some of the settlers who lived in the vicinity.

When this second chapel was completed Adele sent to Belgium for a hand-carved statue of the Blessed Virgin. She wanted it to be as near a likeness of the Apparition as possible, but she was told that such a statue could not be made as it had not received the approval of the Church. Instead a statue of the Immaculate Conception was sent. When the statue arrived at Dykesville by steamer a procession was formed and the statue was carried in triumph to Robinsonville amid prayers and hymns. The procession ended by encircling the chapel grounds and then the statue was placed in the chapel. This

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<sup>5</sup> Letter of Sister Dominica, February 2, 1954.



was the first procession to be held and it was perpetuated by the procession that is held annually on the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Mother, which is the greatest day of devotion at the chapel. It is estimated that between ten and fifteen thousand people flock to Robinsonville to attend these devotions on August 15.

Unfortunately this original statue no longer exists. Some time later it was burned while being carried in procession. It was surrounded by lit candles which, due to a gust of wind, set fire to the ornaments which in turn ignited the statue and destroyed it to such an extent that it could not be repaired. The people of Marchant, who wished to do something for the chapel, took up a collection and purchased another statue to replace it.

In 1871, there occurred an incident which, if not miraculous, is rather hard to explain, namely the preservation of the chapel from the terrible Peshtigo fire that devastated the entire surrounding area. Following an unusually dry winter with scarcely any snow and an even drier spring and summer with practically no rain the entire countryside was as dry as tinder. Impassable swamps, good sized streams, and many wells had completely dried up. The situation was ripe for a huge forest fire which came on October 8, 1871. That day dawned clear and cloudless, but soon smoke and gases filled the air. As the day grew older the smoke became denser, the sky took on a crimson hue, and hot gusts of wind hinted that a fire was coming. Sensing the danger Sister Adele arranged a procession around the chapel grounds with the children and they all prayed fervently for protection. During the afternoon many terror-stricken people sought safety in the chapel grounds. The glow in the sky deepened and the air became stifling. Finally the fire arrived and in a short time the fields and woods around the chapel were a seething mass of flames. The only avenue of escape was the chapel road and many farmers and their families were rushing in this direction, driving their livestock before them. Looking back they could see their homes literally swallowed up by the flames. Awe-stricken they thronged into the grounds around the chapel which was filled with frightened people beseeching the Mother of God to save them. The fire crept closer and closer until it was up to the chapel fence. Tongues of fire were leaping into the air and it seemed that at any



moment the frame chapel and the other buildings would be devoured.

Sister Adele comforted the people as best she could, telling them that God in His mercy would surely spare the chapel erected in honor of His Blessed Mother. They took comfort from her words and resumed their prayers, awaiting either destruction or deliverance. For several hours they remained in this state of suspense, but still the fire did not enter the chapel grounds. Deliverance finally came in the form of rain, at first a light shower which gradually turned into a heavy downpour. Soon the fire was extinguished. Their fervent prayers to the Mother of God had been answered and the people spent a part of the night in giving thanks to God. They were convinced that a miracle had been wrought. And how else could the fact be explained that the fire had completely surrounded the chapel but had not entered the chapel grounds? Other churches in the neighborhood and many farm buildings had been completely destroyed, but the chapel stood intact.

Again in 1880, another, larger chapel was built, this time a brick structure, made possible by the money which Sister Adele and Sister Marguerite had collected on their begging tour. Five years later a brick convent and school were erected. About this time, in 1885, when Sister Adele's building program had been completed and her work was meeting with gratifying results, a strange heresy began to take root in the surrounding countryside. Due to some unfortunate wrangles between the clergy and the laity the Peninsula had become a fertile field for the dissemination of false doctrine. Joseph Rene Vilatte, a priest of the Old Catholic sect, who at various times termed himself "bishop" and "archbishop" and "primate," came to this section of Wisconsin and began to proselytize the unsuspecting and guileless Belgian immigrants. The prospect of the defection from the Faith of the entire group of Belgian colonists spurred Bishop Messmer to seek a solution. At the suggestion of Father Alphonse Broens, who had a brother in the Premonstratensian Order at Berne Abbey in Holland, the bishop wrote to the Abbey and asked for help. Late in 1893, Father, later Abbot, Bernard H. Pennings, with another priest and a lay brother, arrived from Holland. Father Pennings was assigned to Delwiche, not far from the chapel. To counteract the misguided activities of Vilatte

he inaugurated a pilgrimage with the faithful of his parish and mission to the chapel. When the first pilgrimage was held they passed the residence of Vilatte at Duvall in their wagons. Vilatte himself was standing along the road behind a table on which he had placed a statue of the Blessed Virgin with flowers and candles. This was the beginning of the processions which are held every year on the last Monday in May. Although second in importance to the August 15 devotions, this celebration in May is also attended by a large number of the faithful from the surrounding countryside.

So well did Father Pennings and his companions succeed in their efforts to hold the Belgians in the faith of their fathers that in five years Vilatte's work was completely nullified, no doubt through the intercession of Our Lady of Good Help. In February, 1898, the Catholic Citizen reported that "Vilatte, 'Primate of the Old Catholic Church in America,' has been left flockless, churchless and landless."<sup>6</sup>

In 1933, the convent and school, which had been erected in 1885, were remodeled to serve as a home for crippled children. In September, 1941, workmen began to demolish the old brick chapel, built in 1880, to make room for a larger and more beautiful structure. The cornerstone of this new chapel was blessed on December 8, 1941, by the Most Reverend Paul P. Rhode, bishop of Green Bay. The building was completed in less than a year and on July 12, 1942, Bishop Rhode dedicated the new chapel to Our Lady of Good Help.

This new \$45,000.00 chapel is the fourth to be built at the Shrine. It is of Gothic architecture and seats about 350 persons, and is connected to the home for crippled children. Where the two structures join there is a stone altar, surmounted by a large stone statue of the Blessed Mother. This altar is used for outdoor Masses on procession days. To mark the place of the apparitions a basement altar has been built over the exact spot where the Mother of God appeared to Adele. Most of the pilgrims who go to the chapel make a novena around this altar on their knees.<sup>7</sup> The crutches and other appliances that hang on the wall of the crypt behind the altar are mute testimonials of the cures effected there. No record has ever

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<sup>6</sup> Letter of Sister Dominica, March 15, 1954.

<sup>7</sup> Letter of Sister Dominica, March 1, 1954.

been kept of these cures, nor have they ever been certified by competent authority. But one thing is certain, the people have no doubt at all about them and their belief in Sister Adele and their devotion to Mary at the chapel seem to increase from year to year. During the current Marian year Bishop Bona of Green Bay has issued a letter in which he encourages the faithful to visit this Marian shrine at Robinsonville. The faithful are responding very well<sup>s</sup> and it is expected that during the course of this year record breaking crowds of pilgrims will go to pray to the Mother of God at this little chapel in the woods of Wisconsin where she appeared to Adele Brisse ninety-six years ago.

#### DISCUSSION

JUNIPER CUMMINGS, O.F.M.CONV.:—There is another Franciscan shrine in America, that of Our Lady of Consolation, at Carey, Ohio. This sanctuary has been in the care of the Friars Minor Conventuals since 1912, when they were invited to take over by Bishop Schrembs, who at that time was bishop of Toledo, in which diocese the shrine is located.

It was over 75 years ago, in 1875, that the statue of Our Lady of Consolation was brought to Carey. The image is a replica of the famous one that has been venerated in Luxemburg since 1625, and which has been credited with miraculous qualities. The first home of the statue in Carey was the little frame church, still to be seen, which was built in the early 1870's. The grace of God was working at Carey, and gradually, thanks to Him, the place became a spot of pilgrimage for thousands of people.

In 1912, as was mentioned above, the friars were given charge of the shrine and of the parish that is also attached to it. The present church was built and completed under their care, and the image of Our Lady was moved to the upper church (after being for some time in the basement church, which was built first).

It is difficult to give an exact figure for the number of pilgrims. August is always a very big month, and especially the vigil and feast of the Assumption, on which two days it can be said conservatively that 25,000 people visit the shrine, confess in one of the eight or ten languages in which Confessions are heard, and receive Holy Communion. Especially during this Marian Year, different groups have come frequently to visit the shrine, and there are many small pilgrimages even on weekdays.

During this Marian Year, on Aug 1st, the vigil of the feast of Our Lady of the Angels, two new precious crowns were blessed and placed on the head of the Virgin, and on the head of the Infant whom she holds in her arms.

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<sup>s</sup> *Ibidem*.

## MARIAN EDUCATION IN FRANCISCAN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

LAURENCE RAINVILLE, O.F.M.

This paper is a report of what is being done in our schools and colleges in an effort to bring Mary more dominantly into the lives of those who come under our influence. The purpose in making this report is to publish what is being done in our brother and sister schools and colleges, thus to bring to mind new and different ideas and methods which might be implemented on our own campus.

### The Elementary School

On the elementary school level the rigidity of Marian education must, of course, be limited. In over a thousand of these schools, certain broad outlines of study are prepared at the motherhouses of the different communities, but the implementation of these outlines is left to the initiative of the individual sister in charge. The primary purpose is always the effort to have the children learn of Mary, thereby to love her and become her servant.

It would be impossible to list the numberless ways in which Mary's prerogatives and virtues are brought before the minds of elementary school students. They are limited only by the fulness of the knowledge and love of the one in charge. Only the priest, hearing the confessions of these little ones, knows how well those in charge have succeeded in instilling the practice of Mary's virtues into the daily lives of their students. Some of the more outstanding ideas which have been put into practice are:

- 1 A weekly religion period given over to the study of Mary.
- 2 The building of bulletin board displays which represent Mary's prerogatives or phases of her life.
- 3 The learning of how to say the Rosary and the study of the mysteries of the Rosary.
- 4 The practice of meditation upon the mysteries of the Rosary.
- 5 The study of the virtues of Mary, together with the encouragement to imitate Mary by the practice of these virtues.

- 6 The production of Marian skits and short plays.
- 7 The learning of Marian hymns and prayers.
- 8 And most important, the encouragement of the reception of the Sacraments on Mary's feast days.

### The High School

In our secondary schools we find no formal course entitled "Mariology," but the study of Marian doctrine is included in the regular course of religious instruction. However, many ways are found to emphasize Mary in the studies of the high school student.

a In English composition, Marian topics requiring a little background reading are given.

b In public speaking class, Mary, in one of her prerogatives, is the assigned subject matter.

c Marian plays are the main interest of the dramatic class.

d Marian editorials and feature articles are written for the school paper and sodality bulletin.

e Marian movies are shown at assembly periods.

f Sodality meetings include a short Marian lecture.

g Mary's shrines throughout the world are the subject of a special study, as are her feast days.

h Art classes emphasize Mary in every way possible.

The learning of special Marian prayers such as the *Angelus*, the *Memorare*; the study of Mary's *Magnificat*; the daily recitation of the Rosary and the Litany, First Saturday devotions, May processions and crownings, acts of consecration to Mary;—all these are an integral part of Marian education in our high schools.

Attendance at Holy Mass and the reception of Holy Communion are encouraged in the celebration of Mary's feast days. Very often we find time given over to special chapel functions, such as Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament, group recitation of the Rosary, the singing of hymns, and the continuous Rosary throughout the school day.

### The Colleges

The reports from the various colleges indicates that a very large volume of work is being done in the field of Marian education. One



fact becomes evident immediately: that is how well Mary has been brought into the lives of our students during their pre-college days. A certain amount of regimentation is possible on the secondary level. However, on the college level student participation in Marian activities is almost purely voluntary. That there is this manifold Marian activity on the college campus is only golden evidence of the love for Mary generated in the hearts and souls of the student by the grade and high school teacher.

There are nineteen Franciscan colleges and one junior college in the United States. Only one college, and that in the senior category, the College of St. Francis, Joliet, Illinois, teaches a regular course in Mariology. It will be of interest to note that this course is successful enough to warrant the proposing of further Marian studies, such as the study of the Immaculate Conception according to Duns Scotus, the Mediatrix of all Graces according to St. Bernardine of Siena, and special studies of Mary's other prerogatives.

Curricular studies of Marian Doctrine are taken up by all colleges in the regular religion course. Other departments make Mary the main theme of their work wherever possible. The English Department of College of St. Francis publishes a Mary Book every other year. In other colleges a special effort is made to use Marian subject matter in English composition and public speaking classes, to study Marian poetry, to depict Mary under her various titles in art class. In some colleges the Drama Department is curricular, in others, extra-curricular. In both cases Marian plays are presented by most of our colleges at least once a year. In those colleges where Choreography is taught, the Mysteries of the Rosary have been done in recital.

Several of the colleges held special Marian Academic Assemblies, during which student speakers delivered talks on assigned Marian subjects. A priest concluded the session with a doctrinal talk. Marian hymns, usually led by the college orchestra or band, were sung at one or several intermissions. This Marian assembly in some colleges was held during the day, either at the regular assembly or at a specially arranged time. Other colleges, especially boarding colleges, were able to hold these assemblies in the evening. At St. Bernardine of Siena, the regular class schedule was re-arranged to give a longer period of time to the assembly.

### Literature and Conferences

In several of our colleges a special Marian edition of the literary magazine was published. All the college newspapers from time to time printed Marian news and feature articles and a few dedicated special issues to the Marian Year.

Perhaps the principal student organization having to do with Marian activity on our Catholic college campus today is the Mariology Commission, a part of the National Federation of Catholic College Students. In our Franciscan colleges, this organization has grown and prospered under the direction of moderators imbued with the spirit of St. Francis and the love of the Blessed Mother Mary. Indeed, at one of our colleges, St. Francis of Joliet, there is a Regional Mariology Commission which directs and encourages the Marian activity on every Catholic college campus in the Chicago area. The Mariology Commission studies ways and means of putting Mary into the life of the college both in curricular and extracurricular activities. It makes suggestions where permitted, it encourages, and even organizes many academic and devotional events, such as Marian Congresses, Marian Movies, daily and perpetual recitation of the Rosary, May Crownings, and consecrations of the student body to the Immaculate Heart of Mary.

Many colleges have spiritual conferences at regular times, in which the imitation of Mary's virtues is often the subject matter. Several colleges hold novenas or triduums to mark special feasts, or the feast day itself is marked with a High or Solemn Mass and perhaps by Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament.

The reading material available in the Franciscan college library is another means to make each student conscious of Mary. Each library has a very good Marian collection, which is usually hidden in the stacks, but here and there can be found on public display. The periodical shelf always holds several Marian publications. Many of our libraries have one or more volumes important to Mariology.

Each college has its shrines dedicated to our Blessed Mother as a daily reminder for the student to imitate her. These shrines can be found both indoors and outdoors, and are usually dedicated to Our

Lady of Lourdes, Our Lady of Fatima, or simply to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Almost every one of our colleges is either dedicated to the Blessed Mother by name, or has some building, usually the chapel, dedicated to her.

Several Colleges have treasured art collections. Quincy College has a series of large oil paintings of the Seven Joys. Marian College has a series of six paintings of the Life of Mary. Siena College has for its reredos a large wooden hand carving of Our Lady of the Angels. Viterbo College has a treasured collection of Marian medals and stamps.

Another phase of Marian Education on the college level is found in the relationship of the College to the community. St. Bonaventure University held a Marian Day Rally for the local community. Rosary Hill College is sponsoring a Buffalo Night at the Marian Pageant to be held in Toronto in October. Briar Cliff College has a part in Sioux City's citywide Marian Pilgrimage. Viterbo College in La Crosse, Wisconsin sponsors a Press Convention which includes a Marian Parade. This college also sponsors a Marian Congress for members of Newman Clubs in the La Crosse Diocese.

The radio is another phase of the college-community relationship which is not neglected. At least three Franciscan colleges, which have their own radio stations, broadcast weekly Marian news programs and programs featuring Mary's place in the world today. Other colleges prepare Marian programs for broadcast on local radio stations. As yet television has seen little use in this field.

The Family Rosary and especially the Block Rosary are often led by students trained in Franciscan Colleges. Catholic literature, including many Marian pamphlets, are distributed both off and on campus.

It is evident that in our Franciscan colleges Mary pervades almost every scholastic function. The spirit of each college faculty and student body is to be found in the words "Ad Jesum per Mariam."

### Schools of Nursing

In a survey of this kind must be included the Marian education which is received by the great number of student nurses who come under the influence of our Franciscan Sisters. In spite of a heavy

class schedule and assignment to working hours at odd hours of the day and all hours of the night, many ways are found to bring Mary into the life of every student nurse.

Feast days of Our Lady are celebrated solemnly in most places with a High Mass and with Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament. These feast days are special opportunities for making efforts to receive Holy Communion in spite of difficult working hours. Daily recitation of the Rosary is a habitual devotion.

A formal course in Mariology would be difficult to insert into a nursing curriculum. However, we find that Mary has a prominent place in every religion course, and, wherever possible, she spreads her influence in other courses.

The Sodality is the principal student organization which does most to bring the student to know, love and serve Mary. The Sodality activities are many and varied. They include:

- a The encouragement of personal devotion to Mary.
- b The reading of the Little Office.
- c Erection of Marian exhibits and posters.
- d Radio Rosary programs.
- e Rosary Hour in the hospital.
- f May Crownings and Consecration to Mary's Immaculate Heart.
- g Marian Retreats and Days of Recollection.
- h Fostering of the Miraculous Medal Society and the Blue Army of Mary.
- i Study of De Montfort's "True Devotion."
- j Encouragement of the reading of Marian literature.
- k Study of the Fatima promises and keeping of the First Saturday.

The spiritual directors and sodality moderators have done heroic work in bringing their charges to know Mary's place in their lives, to love the mercy and consolation which she gives to their patients, and to serve her daily in the distribution of her benefits.

### The Seminary

In the true Franciscan tradition every effort is made to instill in the hearts and souls of our seminaries the importance of the position the Mother of God must have in the life of every priest.

It is to be expected that a formal course in Mariology is left in almost every case to the theological seminary. However, Mary is never neglected in the junior houses of study, nor in the novitiate. In religion class, in liturgical studies, in history and Latin classes, in ascetics, in music, in every way possible the knowledge and love of Mary is fostered and strengthened in the life of the budding Franciscan.

The regular spiritual conferences will often include a discussion of De Montfort's "True Devotion" and other ways and means to make this necessary devotion solid and fruitful. Spiritual reading at table and at other times includes treatises on Mary. Meditation frequently brings Mary's virtues before the mind of the Franciscan seminarian.

Most seminaries either themselves publish or take part in the publication of some literary magazine, newspaper, or other publications. During the Marian Year the emphasis was more than ever on Mary and her prerogatives. The seminarians at Holy Name College in Washington, D. C., dedicated the National Catholic Almanac to Mary this year and featured many articles on Marian Doctrine.

Mary's feast days are always celebrated with special solemnity in our seminaries. A Solemn High Mass, often with a doctrinal sermon on Mary, begins the day which includes sung Vespers or Compline, Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament, and the singing of Marian hymns. The daily recitation of the Franciscan Crown, the singing of the *Ultima* and the *Tota Pulchra Es* are traditional Franciscan devotions.

Several of our houses of study are active in presenting radio programs over local radio stations,—choir concerts, correspondence courses, and the like. The Legion of Mary, the Blue Army, the Militia of Mary Immaculate, the Miraculous Medal and other Marian Organizations are promoted in various ways.

Marian lectures and instruction are often given to local school and parish groups by both faculty members and advanced seminarians.

Devotion to Mary is of the very essence of Franciscanism. Indeed, as we witness Franciscanism in action, it is apparent that Mary-love is as much a traditional part of its totality as are poverty and the missionary spirit.

In order that the knowledge of Mary might more fully and com-



pletely enliven the hearts and souls of the students under our care, and in order that the program of Marian education might be broadened in every way possible in our schools and colleges, the following summation of ideas are given, each of which might be implemented in various ways, depending upon local conditions.

- I. Introduce a semester course of Mariology in the regular curriculum, or at least enlarge this section of the religion course.
- II. English professors should be encouraged to use Marian subject matter in their composition and poetry classes.
- III. Public speaking classes could prepare a short course in Mariology for off-campus presentation.
- IV. Art classes could prepare a Marian Exhibit in every medium taught.
- V. Music class, especially music composition, might set to music favorite Marian poetry.
- VI. Dramatic organizations should emphasize Marian productions annually.
- VII. An annual Marian Pageant could be organized in which the entire student body would participate.
- VIII. Small altars could be erected to the Blessed Mother in several places in each building.
- IX. Marian assemblies and Marian Days: These could be school or campus affairs, or be organized in conjunction with other schools. Colleges could have a Marian Day for local high schools.
- X. Marian Forums or Mariology courses might be offered to the general public. Study Club groups would appreciate this.
- XI. Marian speaking contests with prizes for the best talk are possible on every level.
- XII. High school and college English departments might have as an annual project the publication of a Mary Book.
- XIII. Newspapers and literary publications must be encouraged to continue to use Marian news and feature articles.
- XIV. The Mary Crowning and Consecration to Mary is a traditional Marian devotion.
- XV. Mary's feast days can always be celebrated in a special way

with Solemn Mass, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, sung Vespers or Compline, public recitation of the Rosary.

- XVI. Daily public or private recitation of the Rosary can be encouraged in many ways, e.g., at assemblies, by posters and special notices, by the public address system, in the newspaper and religious bulletin, personal contact.

It is with a pleasant feeling of accomplishment that one reads of the tremendous volume of Marian activity in our Franciscan schools and colleges. Now that the Marian Year is fast drawing to a close, we must not permit the many advances in Marian education to perish. Rather we should be spurred on by the incentive and outline found in the encyclical *Fulgens Corona*. The leaders in this movement should be the Franciscan Family which traditionally has been Mary's Champion.

## THE CHAPLET OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

CARMEL FLORA, O.F.M.Cap.

In delving into the origin and history of the *Chaplet of the Immaculate Conception*, we discover that it was preceded by several chaplets of a similar nature. All of these had very much in common, although each retained a distinguishing feature given it by its originator. It is very probable that these earlier chaplets exercised an influence on the formation of the *Chaplet of the Immaculate Conception*. To determine this influence, therefore, and in order to treat the subject of this paper more fully, we must examine these ancient practices of devotion to Our Blessed Mother.

### First Chaplets

One of the first chaplets which antedated that of the Immaculate Conception is the *Chaplet of Twelve Stars* (Corona duodecim stellarum) composed by St. Joseph Calasanz (1556–1648). It is addressed to the Holy Trinity in praise of and in thanksgiving for the favors conferred upon the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The body of the chaplet consists of three parts, each comprising one *Pater*, four *Ave's* and one *Gloria Patri*. At the beginning there is an introductory prayer of praise and thanksgiving to the Holy Trinity. The first set of *Pater*, *Ave's* and *Gloria* is addressed to the Father, the second set to the Son, the third to the Holy Ghost, each set being prefaced by a different praise or ejaculation.

Pope Gregory XVI granted 100 days indulgence for its recitation, Jan. 8, 1838, through the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences. Pius IX enriched it with a plenary indulgence once a month, under the usual conditions, for reciting this chaplet every day for an entire month (March 17, 1856); and Leo XIII confirmed it on July 23, 1898.<sup>1</sup> In the *Preces et pia opera* this indulgence is still mentioned,

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<sup>1</sup> *The Raccolla*, published by order of His Holiness, Pope Pius IX, translation authorized and approved by the Sacred Congregation of Holy Indulgences (Woodstock, Md., Woodstock College, 1878), n. 118, pp. 243–246; *The new Raccolla*, published in 1898 by order of His Holiness, Pope Leo

but it has been increased to 300 days by the Sacred Penitentiary, March 28, 1934.

Another similar chaplet is the *Little Chaplet in honor of the twelve privileges of the Blessed Virgin Mary*. This chaplet has the same three section arrangement and opens with the Sign of the Cross, the versicle "Deus in adiutorium meum intende," the response "Domine ad adjuvandum me festina," "Gloria Patri etc."

The sections commence with a prayer to the Blessed Virgin followed by an *Our Father*, four *Hail Mary's* and a *Glory be to the Father*, etc. Each section is concluded by the versicle: "Per sanctam et immaculatam conceptionem tuam libera nos, gloriosa virgo Maria." The opening prayers of each division list four privileges given to Our Lady: the first opening prayer ends with a petition to God the Father, the second prayer with a petition to God the Son, the third with a petition to God the Holy Ghost. At the very end of the chaplet there is an antiphon and versicle in honor of the Immaculate Conception, followed by an oration.

By a brief of June 26, 1860, Pope Pius IX granted an indulgence of 300 days once a day for its devout recitation, and a plenary indulgence once a month, under the usual conditions, for reciting it daily for a month.<sup>2</sup> Since these indulgences are no longer mentioned in the *Preces et pia opera*, they have been abrogated.

### Chaplet of the Twelve Stars

A third chaplet very much like the preceding was composed by St. John Berchmans (1599–1621) and is also known as the *Chaplet of the Twelve Stars*.<sup>3</sup> It was based on the text of the *Apocalypse*: "Mulier amicta sole, et in capite eius corona stellarum duodecim,"<sup>4</sup> and its purpose was to arouse reverence, hope, gratitude towards Mary and the desire to imitate her. The first *Our Father* was addressed to the Father to obtain the reverence that is Mary's due.

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XIII, from the third Italian edition (Philadelphia, Peter F. Cunningham and Son, 1903), pp. 297–300; *Preces et pia opera* (Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1938), n. 299, pp. 199–201.

<sup>2</sup> *The Raccolta* (ed. 1878), n. 110, pp. 223–227; *The new Raccolta* (ed. 1903), pp. 314–317. The author of this chaplet is not mentioned.

<sup>3</sup> Nicola Angelini, S.J., *Vita di San Giovanni Berchmans*, (Roma, Tipografia Vaticana, 1888), pp. 158–159.

<sup>4</sup> 12:1.

The four *Hail Mary's* which followed were accompanied by meditations on the virtues which Mary practiced towards God, namely faith, hope, charity and religion. The second *Our Father* is addressed to God the Son to obtain confidence in Mary. Then four *Hail Mary's* are recited to petition the virtues which Mary practiced towards herself, namely, humility, virginity, fortitude and poverty. The final *Our Father* asks of the Holy Ghost the grace of gratitude towards Mary, while the four *Hail Mary's* are accompanied by meditations on the virtues which Mary practiced towards her neighbor, namely, charity, obedience, mercy and modesty.<sup>5</sup>

It does not seem that any indulgences were ever attached to this chaplet as composed by St. John Berchmans. Certainly the devotion is a fruit of his ardent love for Mary. In connection with this devotion, it might be noted that one of the biographers of St. John Berchmans makes the statement: "He originated the devotion of the *Rosary of the Immaculate Conception*."<sup>6</sup> This *Rosary*, it seems, must refer to the *Chaplet of Twelve Stars* as described above. Another biographer of the saint does not mention anything about him having composed a chaplet or rosary of any kind in honor of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>7</sup>

One final chaplet can be cited before proceeding to discuss the *Chaplet of the Immaculate Conception*. We might call it an *older*

<sup>5</sup> Nicola Angelini, S.J., *Vita*, pp. 153-159: "Compose per sua divozione una 'Corona di dodici stelle della beata Vergine Maria' formata di quindici brevi meditazioni, e così divisa: Prepone il testo dell'Apocalisse: *Mulier amicta sole, et capite eius corona stellarum duodecim*. Quindi in un breve proemio fissa lo scopo di questa pratica, che è do concepire riverenza, speranza, gratitudine verso Maria, e desiderio d'imitarla. Poi si prescrive un *Pater* all'eterno Padre, per chiedere riverenza verso Maria che ne è degnissima, per sei cagioni, che formano la materia della prima meditazione. Seguono quattro *Ave Maria*, ed a ciascuna la meditazione di una delle virtù di lei verso Dio, è sono: fede, speranza, carità, religione. Il secondo *Pater* è al Figliuolo, per chiedere fiducia in Maria, considerandone i motivi; e le quattro *Ave* sono per ottenere le sue virtù verso se stessa, che sono: umiltà, verginità, fortezza, povertà. Finalmente col terzo *Pater* si chiede allo Spirito Santo gratitudine a Maria e se ne meditano gli stimoli; fan seguito quattro *Ave*, ed a ciascuna la considerazione delle virtù di Maria verso il prossimo: carità fraterna, obbedienza, misericordia, modestia."

<sup>6</sup> James J. Daly, S.J., *Saint John Berchmans*, (New York, P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1921), pp. 159-160.

<sup>7</sup> Hippolyte Delehaye, S.J., *St. John Berchmans*, translated from the French by Rev. Henry Churchill Semple, S.J., (New York, Benziger Bros., 1921), pp. 136-138.



*form of the Immaculate Conception Chaplet.* It seems that it was begun by a Father Athanasius van Megen, Capuchin, around the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. However, it is not quite clear what the chaplet consisted in; whether it was composed simply of three *Our Father's* and *Hail Mary's*, or whether it consisted in three sections or groups of these prayers.<sup>8</sup>

From the foregoing, therefore, we see that there existed an ancient practice of reciting twelve *Hail Mary's* in three groups of four: that each group was preceded by an *Our Father* and usually ended with a *Glory be to the Father . . .* etc. The first group was directed in some way to God the Father, the second group to God the Son and the third group to God the Holy Ghost. Various invocations or prayers accompanied the individual groups.

### Fr. Bonaventure of Ferrara

This basic structure of the chaplet found new and continued expression in the *Chaplet of the Immaculate Conception* or *Little Crown* as it is also called. Fr. Bonaventure of Ferrara, O.F.M.Cap., (1806–1884), living in an age when interest and devotion to the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God was reaching a summit, propagated this little devotion as a means of preparing for the day when this grand privilege of the Blessed Virgin would be pronounced a Dogma of Faith. He himself records the beginning of the chaplet, about the year 1845, under the inspiration of the Blessed Mother: "I was first inspired to begin this blessed chaplet

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<sup>8</sup> *Franciscaansch Leven*, vol. 11 (1928), pp. 326–327, article "Kroontje der Onbevleete Ontvangenis." This article is summarized and commented on in *Etudes Franciscaines*, vol. 42, (1930), p. 327, as follows: "*Franciscaansch Leven*, t.11, pp. 326–327, publie sous le titre: 'Kroontje der Onbevleete Ontvangenis,' un texte ancien sur la manière de reciter le petit chapelet de l'Immaculée Conception qui a toujours été en honneur dans l'ordre des Capucins. Le texte publié est écrit à la main sur les feuilles blanches qui précèdent le texte imprimé du traité '*Den Boom des Levens*' du Père Albert de Bois-le-Duc, O.M.Cap., publié à Louvain, en 1701. Le texte qui suit le traité doit être de la même main qui celui qui le précède. Or à la fin nous lisons: 'Fr. Athanasius van Megen nov. ind. cap. vestitus die 5 julii 1711.' Ce dernier devrait donc être considéré comme l'auteur du '*Manier om devootelyck te lesen het Roosenkranske bestaende in 3 Pat. et Ave.*' S'il en est ainsi, la pratique de réciter ce chapelet, propagée vers 1845 par le Capucin Bonaventure de Ferrara, ne serait pas neuve, mais remonterait au moins jusqu'à la fin du XVII<sup>e</sup> et au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle."

by the most pure Virgin herself, without any merits of mine and, in fact, despite my many demerits; so that through the infallible oracle of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, it might soon be pronounced a Dogma of Faith that the Virgin Mary, from the very first instant, was preserved from the stain of original sin, by a special privilege and through a special grace, by the infinitely Holy and Omnipotent God, for the greater glory of His Mother."<sup>9</sup>

What are we to understand by the words of Father Bonaventure: "I was first inspired to begin this blessed chaplet by the most pure Virgin herself?" Father Amadee Teetaert, O.F.M.Cap. contends that Father Bonaventure was entirely ignorant of the previous existence of other forms of chaplets, such as the one described in the *Franciscaansch Leven*, vol. 11, p. 326.<sup>10</sup> Although it is possible, Father Teetaert's claim may be controverted. It is not necessary to hold that Father Bonaventure was completely unaware of previous chaplets, or that his chaplet was an entirely original form of prayer. His statement that the Blessed Mother herself inspired him to begin the chaplet can be explained in another way.

Father François, O.F.M.Cap., who says that he learned the details of the chaplet from its originator, claims that Father Bonaventure was inspired to *adapt* the already existing practice of the *Chaplets of the Twelve Stars* into a new form, to honor the Immaculate Conception.<sup>11</sup> Instead of the invocations, prayers and meditations of the earlier chaplets, Father Bonaventure substituted the invocation: "Blessed be the holy and Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary." This prayer already had an indulgence of 100 days attached to it. The chaplet, therefore, according to the form of Father Bonaventure, would begin with the invocation: "Blessed be the holy and Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary." This was followed by a *Pater*, four *Ave's* and a *Gloria*. Then the invocation was repeated, followed by another group of *Pater*, *Ave's* and *Gloria*. The invocation and prayers were recited a third time, and at the very end, the invocation was repeated once more.

<sup>9</sup> *Analecta Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum*, (Romae, apud Curiam Generalitiam), vol. 20, (1904), p. 274.

<sup>10</sup> *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, (Paris, Letouzey et Ane, 1912-), vol. 9, col 796, article "Bonaventure de Ferrare."

<sup>11</sup> *Annales Franciscaines*, vol. 10, (1876-1878), p. 432.

After establishing this form of the chaplet, Father Bonaventure placed it at the feet of the Holy Father, Pope Gregory XVI, for approval. A little rosary or set of beads was included in his letter to the Secretary of State, Cardinal Lambruschini, who was asked to petition the Pope in favor of the chaplet. In the name of the Holy Father, Cardinal Lambruschini replied that His Holiness praised this pious practice of devotion to the Blessed Virgin, but he did not deem it opportune for the present to grant the requested indulgences. There was no objection, however, to propagating this practice by petitioning the various local Ordinaries, asking them to bless the chaplet and attach indulgences to it.<sup>12</sup>

Accordingly, Father Bonaventure approached the Archbishop of Ferrara, Cardinal Cadolini, who gladly blessed the chaplet and enriched it with many indulgences. Father Bonaventure also wrote to various other Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, Princes, and especially to the Queen of France and to the Empress of Austria, asking for authorization to spread this practice among their subjects. In a short time the chaplet became widely known.<sup>13</sup>

### The Camaldolese

A few years later, however, early in 1852, the Camaldolese monks of the Congregation of Monte Corona presented their own version of the chaplet to the Pope for approval and enrichment with indulgences. The Blessed Mother, under the title of the Immaculate Conception, was the patroness of this monastic congregation of Camaldolese monks. Their version of the chaplet was approved on January 9, 1852, by Pope Pius IX, and he granted an indulgence of 100 days for reciting it devoutly, and a plenary indulgence once a month for reciting daily for an entire month. The form of the chaplet resembles the chaplets of the Twelve Stars more closely, in so far as each quatrain begins with an act of praise to One of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity. The invocation "Blessed be the holy, most pure and Immaculate Conception of the most Blessed Virgin Mary" is repeated after each *Hail Mary*. Only one *Gloria Patri* is said, and this after the last quatrain, in honor of St. Joseph.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Analecta O.M.Cap.*, vol. 20, (1904), p. 275.

<sup>13</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>14</sup> *Bullarium Capuccinorum*, vol. 10, (1884), pp. 254-255. The formula reads

These same Camaldolese monks, four months later, received the exclusive faculty to bless the chaplet beads and to attach to them the indulgences granted by Pope Pius IX. The faculties were given only for three years by Pius IX on May 4, 1852. The Superior of the monks of Monte Corona was enabled thereby to delegate other priests to bless the chaplet and attach indulgences to it.

About two and a half years later, shortly before the exclusive faculties of the Camaldolese monks expired, the Procurator General of the Capuchin Order, Father Lawrence of Brisighella, petitioned the Holy Father for faculties for the priests of the Order to bless and indulgence the *Chaplet of the Immaculate Conception*, as had been granted to the Camaldolese monks on May 4, 1852. This favor was granted for a period of three years on March 6, 1855. The Procurator and Commissary General of the Order was also authorized to delegate these faculties to other priests outside the Order.<sup>15</sup>

On June 22, 1855, Pius IX, in the brief, *Longe inter*, granted indulgences for the recitation of the *parva Corona* in honor of the Immaculate Conception according to the following formulary: In the Name of the Father, etc. (Sign of the Cross). The first part begins with the versicle: "Blessed be the holy and Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary." Immediately after that follows a *Pater Noster* and four *Ave Maria's* terminated by a *Gloria Patri*. These prayers with the invocation are repeated twice.<sup>16</sup> This

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as follows: "In nomine Patris, etc. (Sign of the Cross). 1. Gratias agatur aeterno Patri, qui per Suam Omnipotentiam Mariam Sanctissimam suam Filiam praeservavit a peccato originali. *Pater*, et quatuor *Ave*, repetendo ad quamlibet: 'Sit Benedicta Sancta, Purissima et Immaculata Conceptio Beatissimae Virginis Mariae.'

2. Gratias agatur aeterno Filio, quia per Suam Sapientiam Mariam Sanctissimam suam matrem praeservavit a peccato originali. *Pater*, et 4 *Ave*, ut supra.

3. Gratias agatur Spiritui Sancto, quia per Suam Amorem Mariam Sanctissimam suam Sponsam praeservavit a peccato originali. *Pater*, 4 *Ave*, ut supra.

Devotio finitur cum *Gloria Patri* etc. in honorem S. Joseph, Sponsi Mariae."

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317. In the grant of March 6, 1855, the faculty was given to bless the chaplet and apply indulgences to it as had been given by Pius IX on *Sept. 19, 1851*. However, there is no record of any indulgences granted by Pius IX on *Sept. 19, 1851*, in favor of this chaplet. (*Analecta O.M.Cap.*, vol. 20, (1904), p. 276 note 2). Possibly this date is an error for the grant of January 9, 1852.

<sup>16</sup> *Bullarium Capuccinorum*, vol. 10, (1884), p. 317. "In nomine Patris, etc.



formulary differs slightly from that of Father Bonaventure of Ferrara who put the invocation also at the very end, thus repeating the prayer "Blessed be the holy and Immaculate Conception etc." four times instead of three.

Pius IX granted an indulgence of 300 days for the devout recitation of the chaplet, and a plenary indulgence once a month under the usual conditions, for reciting it daily for an entire month. In the papal document, there is no indication of the person who requested this indulgence. But since the original document of this grant of June 22, 1855, is preserved in the archives of the Camaldolese monks of Monte Corona,<sup>17</sup> we might conclude that it was the Camaldolese who presented the petition. Three years later, the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences officially recognized these indulgences as authentic and gave permission for them to be published.<sup>18</sup> Father Bonaventure, apparently, did not know of this indulgence for a long time: or at least he did not see it in print until the first edition of the *Raccolta* was published in 1877. We gather this from a letter of his to Father Pellegrino da Forlì.<sup>19</sup>

The Capuchins evidently were under the impression that special beads blessed by a priest having the proper faculties from the Holy See was necessary for gaining the indulgences. Before the grant of March 6, 1855, expired, therefore, they petitioned for a renewal of the faculties. The renewal was granted on February 26, 1858, this time for a ten-year period, giving the Capuchins faculties to bless the chaplet and attach to it the indulgences granted by Pius IX on September 19, 1851(?) and June 22, 1855.<sup>20</sup> On April

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(signum Crucis). Deinceps subiungitur pars prima, quae consistit in versiculo 'Benedicta sit sancta et Immaculata Conceptio Beatae Virginis Mariae:' statimque additur semel *Pater Noster*, et quater *Ave Maria*, cum *Gloria Patri* in fine; et haec adhuc bis repetuntur." The full text of this papal brief is given in the *Analecta O.M.Cap.*, vol. 20, (1904), p. 276. It was not printed in the *Bullarium Capuccinorum*.

<sup>17</sup> *Bullarium Capuccinorum*, vol. 10, (1884), p. 317.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 318, Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, September 22, 1858.

<sup>19</sup> *Analecta O.M.Cap.*, vol. 20, (1904), p. 275: "In quanto alle Indulgenze concesse dal S.P. Pio IX, io non conservo nulla, e solo nella *Raccolta* delle S. Indulgenze stampate in Roma nel 1877, trovo che il sullodato grande Pontefice Pio IX con breve 22 Giugno 1855 concede a tutti 'fedeli . . . Indulgenza . . .'" The letter is dated Dec. 4, 1882.

<sup>20</sup> *Bullarium Capuccinorum*, vol. 10, (1884), p. 358. See footnote 16 concerning the date September 19, 1851, on which faculties were supposed to have been given.



3, 1868, this favor was renewed for another ten years.<sup>21</sup> Four years before this last ten year period expired, the Minister General of the Capuchin Order petitioned the Holy Father to grant this faculty *in perpetuum*. However, the Holy Father, on June 8, 1874, renewed the faculty for only ten years.<sup>22</sup> When this latter period lapsed, the favor was renewed for two further ten year periods, on June 9, 1884, and June 12, 1894, respectively.<sup>23</sup>

When the faculty expired again in 1904, it was finally realized that a specially blessed set of beads was not necessary for gaining the indulgences. Thereafter, a renewal of the faculty to bless the chaplet was not requested.<sup>24</sup> The view that it was unnecessary to have a specially blessed chaplet had already been held by Beringer in 1893 and by Mocchegiani in 1897.<sup>25</sup> For neither in the brief of Pius IX nor in the *Raccolta* was there any mention of the need of blessed beads. The indulgences were attached directly to the recitation of the chaplet itself.

### Present Status of the Chaplet

At the present time, there is no longer any indulgence attached to the chaplet as such. But there is an indulgence of 300 days for reciting the invocation: "Blessed be the holy and Immaculate Conception of the most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God." And if the invocation is recited daily for a complete month, a plenary indulgence may be gained under the usual conditions.<sup>26</sup> When the *Preces et pia opera* was promulgated by decree of the Sacred Penitentiary, December 31, 1937, all general indulgences not contained in this official collection were abrogated. The *Chaplet of the Immaculate Conception* is not mentioned in this collection; therefore,

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 544-545.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 671.

<sup>23</sup> *Analecta O.M.Cap.*, vol. 10, (1894), p. 207.

<sup>24</sup> *Analecta O.M.Cap.*, vol. 20, (1904), p. 276-277.

<sup>25</sup> Franz Beringer, S.J., *Les Indulgences, leur nature et leur usage* (Paris, 1893), I, p. 192; Petrus Mocchegiani, O.F.M., *Collectio indulgentiarum theologicæ, canonice et historice digesta*, (Ad Claras Aquas, 1897), n. 778.

<sup>26</sup> *Preces et pia opera* (ed. 1938), n. 324, p. 227-228. The English translation published in 1943 by Benziger Bros. under the title *The Raccolta*, contains a few inaccuracies.

the indulgences granted by Pope Pius IX in favor of this chaplet no longer exist.<sup>27</sup> Nor does there seem to be any indulgence attached to the individual *Pater Noster*, or an individual *Ave Maria* or *Gloria Patri*.

Regarding the invocation used in the chaplet, both the exact wording and the indulgences attached to it have changed in the course of time. Pius VI by a rescript of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences issued on November 21, 1793, granted an indulgence of 100 days for the devout recitation of this prayer, namely: "Blessed be the holy and Immaculate Conception of the most blessed Virgin Mary."<sup>28</sup> In a brief of September 10, 1878, Leo XIII revised the wording, abrogated the 100 days indulgence and attached an indulgence of 300 days to the new formulary. He ordered the words "Mother of God" to be added to the former invocation.<sup>29</sup> The editor of the *Acta Sanctae Sedis* in a footnote, gives the full Latin text of the invocation as revised by Leo XIII as follows: "Benedicta sit Sancta, Immaculata et purissima Conceptio Beatae Virginis Mariae, Matris Dei."<sup>30</sup> Thus, besides the addition of the words "Mother of God," the new formula also inserts the words "most pure." Finally, the word "Blessed" is used instead of "Most Blessed." We cannot determine whether these variations were accidental or intentional, but in later editions of the *Raccolta* as well as in the *Preces et pia opera*, we find the original form with the simple addition of the words "Mother of God."

The Sacred Penitentiary on November 8, 1934, granted a plenary indulgence, under the usual conditions, for the daily and devout recitation of this prayer for a whole month.<sup>31</sup> The invocation now reads: "Blessed be the holy and Immaculate Conception of the most blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God."

This, in brief, is the history of the *Chaplet of the Immaculate Conception*. From the sources we have examined, it appears that the chaplet was not a completely original idea, but rather an adaptation of an ancient practice of devotion to the Blessed Virgin

<sup>27</sup> This is also the explicit view of Joseph Campelo, O.F.M., *De indulgentiis seraphici Ordinis*, (Ed. altera, Campostellae, 1943), p. 169-170.

<sup>28</sup> *The Raccolta*, English translation 1878, p. 208, n. 101.

<sup>29</sup> *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, vol. 11, p. 587-588.

<sup>30</sup> *Idem*.

<sup>31</sup> *Preces et pia opera*, (ed. 1938), n. 324, p. 227-228. See also footnote 26.

Mary. Father Bonaventure of Ferrara made this adaptation for the purpose of hastening the solemn definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception. The *Little Crown*, therefore, is a distinct contribution to Marian devotion. It is a tribute to the Franciscan championship of Mary's sinlessness from the very moment of her conception. And it will remain a beautiful praise of this great prerogative of the Blessed Mother of God as long as fervent lips pronounce its words with fervent hearts.

## FRANCISCAN CROWN OF THE SEVEN JOYS

BROTHER LINUS, O'DEA, O.S.F.

We have all at one time or another had the experience of asking for a detailed description of someone. When we ask a butcher or local merchant we can be quite sure of a clear and not flattering picture; quite blunt these persons are. When we ask a lover for a description of his beloved we can anticipate a distasteful intellectual situation, for the lover characteristically finds difficulty phrasing the attributes of his loved one; rather we are expected to interpret the whole image from the skeleton of a soulful sigh. The rosy hued glasses dim the vision to an accurate factual recitation of specific details.

We are faced with the problem of deriving some accurate details about the beloved Queen of the Seraphic Order. To what source shall we go to verify our knowledge? In regard to the Franciscan Crown of the Seven Joys we run the risk of soaring into the mystic realms of legend, with hope only of adding new colloquies to the legend. On the other hand we are faced with such a paucity of factual information that we could only hope to fill up two minutes of the time allotted for the consideration of the Crown.

In fact, the origins of the Franciscan Crown are as clothed in controversy as are the very origins of the Rosary commonly associated with St. Dominic. Somewhere between the silence and the skies we shall try to rest long enough to give the essential facts, and perhaps in conclusion the practical suggestions stemming from this research will be of the most important value.

We must first give some background with regard to Marian devotion, the rosaries in particular, before we can derive any truth about the Crown. Regarded in its historical setting, we shall learn that the Franciscan Rosary is not merely a salutatory repetition of the Ave Maria. Rather it takes on a peculiarly Franciscan relationship to Mary. The truth is that the Crown is a step in a spiritual metamorphosis. It is a mystical nomenclature, wrought with significance. In the Crown, we shall find the whole of Mary's

life reincarnated. In a way we might say that as Christ himself was held in the Monstrance of Mary's body, so now the Mirror of Christ would be fittingly framed in no less a form than the life of Mary. As Christ daily renews this great sacrifice in Holy Mass we are enabled to contemplate Mary's sacrifice as portrayed in the seven mysteries of the Crown.

### Rosary—Foundations

Even a superficial study of the origin of the Rosary readily indicates some division of opinion as to the actual beginning as a form of prayer popularly acclaimed by Church and people. Devotion to the memory of the Virgin Mary, in art, poetry, prayer and other forms dates from the ancient Christian era. In the most ancient Liturgies<sup>1</sup> the Ave is recognized specifically as a form of salutation to the Image of the Virgin. There are indications and interesting traces that phrases of the Ave as we now recite it were in popular use as a recognized formula of prayer, contained in the Fathers and commentators of the first six centuries.<sup>2</sup>

The Rosary or Crown or bead or paternoster, as you will, was always used as a counting device. Father Isidore O'Brien—whose recent passing we lament as a great loss to all Franciscanism—tells us in his *Drama of the Rosary*:

The Egyptians had prayer-boards into which they stuck pegs telling off their orisons to the sun god Ra. St. Brigid used the same system of varicolored and variformed pebbles for counting her Pater Nosters as did the Hindus 2,000 years before for numbering their mantras to their divinities.

For twelve hundred years the Mohammedan has fingered his tasbih; the Greeks have used their Kombologion. St. Francis Xavier in the 16th century found a rosary common to the Buddhists.<sup>3</sup>

The use of the string of beads or crown or rosary came gradually to be associated with the recitation of the Ave for the sole purpose

<sup>1</sup> *The Divine Liturgy of James*, Ante-Nicene Christian Library, Vol. xxiv., p. 33. See also *Ib.*, p. 43, and *The Divine Liturgy of Mark*, p. 60, where is again the "Hail Mary," and an especial commemoration of "Our all-holy, pure, and Blessed Lady, Mary the Virgin Mother of God."

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Livius, *The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers of the First Six Centuries*, (London, 1893), p. 208. See *Ib.*, footnote in same work.

<sup>3</sup> Isidore O'Brien, O.F.M., *The Drama of the Rosary*, (Paterson, 1944), p. 3.



of offering a counting device. We are told of frequent recitation of the salutation to the Virgin in the lives of holy men and women of the 12th century when Marian devotion was very formidable. The contemporary biographer of St. Albert (d. 1190) relates the 100 daily genuflections and 50 prostrations made by the Saint daily as he repeated the first part of the Angelic Salutation.<sup>4</sup> We may logically assume that St. Albert would have used some sort of mechanical device to record his veneration throughout the day.

### Medieval Customs

The many stories in the Mary Legends circulated in the 12th century indicate that the practice of reciting this Psalter of Our Lady containing 50 or 150 salutations became quite common. This was a form of Divine Office for the illiterate. In fact, for the laity the wearing of beads of all possible fashions and lengths, some of fifteen decades, some of ten, some of six, five, three, or one (but not seven), became an article of adornment in every attire.

This emphasis upon recitation of the salutation of Our Lady in the 12th century led to a further step in the construction of the Ave Maria as we have it today. We read that: according to a well accepted tradition it was the Franciscans who began adding the final words "pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death" to the Hail Mary.<sup>5</sup> The story of St. Albert contains the full formula of the first half of the Ave, which would indicate that it was not a popularly known prayer until sometime later.

Yet, this is not to say the latter half was unknown; it was not formulated and incorporated into the Salutation as we know it. In fact we have references in the Fathers of the first six centuries, in the hymns of St. Ephrem and rather definitely in the Aethiopic Hymns sung at Alexandria in the time of St. Cyril which give form to the prayer. In the latter we read: "Pray for us, thou who art full of Grace. Pray for us to Our Lord Jesus Christ to bestow compassion and mercy upon us, and to forgive us our sins in the multitude of His mercy."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> "The Rosary," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. xiii, p. 185-6.

<sup>5</sup> Flaminio Annibaldi da Latera, *Manuale de Frati Minori*, (Rome, 1776), p. 258 A.

<sup>6</sup> Livius, *op. cit.*, p. 463 and footnote.

That this part of the Ave was unknown is further attested to by the preachings of St. John Capistran. "He recited the Hail Mary aloud before preaching," we read. And again: "He taught the Germans to add the second part of the prayer which so far had not been in vogue there."<sup>7</sup> This sheds some light on the Dominican origin of the Rosary in that the first half of the Ave was barely known in 1190 and the second part unknown generally as late as 1451, while St. Dominic whom tradition credits with the authorship of the Rosary is dated from 1170-1221. However, that controversy is not our subject.

Undoubtedly then, we must assume that the Ave, either in whole or part, formed a basis of Marian popular devotion in the twelfth century. It is assumed too that various combinations or groupings of salutations were popular at this time. From the fact that the Franciscans who were instrumental in the introduction of the *Salve Regina* at the close of Matins,<sup>8</sup> who introduced the practice of thrice daily reciting the *Angelus*, who promulgated the Saturday Mass in honor of the Immaculate Conception, who first gave light on the significance of the Visitation of Our Lady,<sup>9</sup> and maintained this feast in the Franciscan Breviary from whence it spread to other churches, it is not too much to assume that these same Franciscan Heralds of the Queen should investigate the *Ave* and make of it a formal prayer by the addition of the second part. We do know that they did continue to use it in that way, that is, both in salutation and as a prayer. Both John Capistran and Bernardine of Siena in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were employing it as a form of intercession before each sermon.

With this background in mind we come to the crux of the problem, namely we must try to establish historical basis for the use of the Ave Maria in the formal prayer of the Franciscan Crown. Before we come to analyze the well known legend of Father Wadding, we will do well to consider the other contention that the Franciscan Crown of the Seven Joys is actually of Cistercian origin.

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<sup>7</sup> Johannes Hofer, *St. John Capistran*, (Missouri, 1943), p. 185.

<sup>8</sup> Da Latera, *op. cit.*, p. 258 A.

<sup>9</sup> "The Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. xv, p. 481.

### The Legend of the Crown

One author attributes the origin of the Crown to a certain Cistercian, Arnoul de Villiers, about 1228.<sup>10</sup> At the outset we might say that it is probably not the unique distinction of the Franciscans to have formulated the Ave, nor perhaps to have propagated it. We may for the sake of argument concede that a simultaneous interest was maintained by many Orders, as indeed it was.

In the face of certain facts already indicated, and to which we refer now again, at the risk of becoming tiresome, it does not seem probable that the Crown of the Seven Joys was discovered by Arnoul. Reconsider briefly that the second half of the Ave was not known in 1190 and not universally known in 1451. Does it seem likely that so definite a formula as we find in the Crown could have been arrived at in 1228? By a direct revelation, perhaps; not through the more likely evolution.

A second improbability arises when we consider the background of one of the mysteries of the Seven Joys, namely the Visitation. There is no vestige of this solemnity anywhere until we meet its introduction from St. Bonaventure at the Chapter in 1263.<sup>11</sup>

In the third place the practice of meditating on the mysteries of the Rosary does not find place until the 14th century. It is perfectly logical to assume that when the complete Ave came into common usage as a prayer formula, the mind natively sought subjects in Mary's life upon which to dwell. There is reference to the five *Gaudés* in correspondence to the five Sorrows of Our Lady which were recalled to mind, in the twelfth century. Here too we must recognize an important fact that these were joys and sorrows in Mary's life as distinct from the later meditations on the joys and sorrows in Mary's life in Jesus. Perhaps a homely example will bring this point out more clearly. On the occasion of a person's birthday or feastday, we send a card as a form of happy salutation on the festivity. We hardly stop to think of all the wonderful things that have come into the world as a result of that person's birth.

So it is with these several joys and sorrows of Mary. We salute

<sup>10</sup> Francisco de Sesse Valle, *Histoire Generale de L'Ordre de St. Francois*, (Paris, 1935), Tome 1, 295.

<sup>11</sup> *Cath. Encyclopedia*, *op. cit.*, Vol. xv, p. 481.

her on the occasion of the big days in her life. And the fact of the undeveloped form of the Ave at that time would further prove that this is so, and what we intended by saying we meditated on her joys and sorrows in the 12th century.

A last point for consideration and one which I feel is the basis of the error of attributing this authorship to de Villiers, concerns his objection to the practice of reciting the Crown during certain penitential seasons such as Lent. Besides the fact that the Seven Joys, as also the Seven Dolors, do not become popular subjects until late in the 14th century, there is again another weakness in the deduction. Once again a simple analogy may make the notion clearer.

Indeed what would we think of the person who on entering a funeral parlor where a beloved wife lies in repose, were to begin speaking to the husband, steeped in sorrow, of his birthday, first job, and so on. It would be highly out of order. On the contrary it would be quite correct to recall some of the events of the married life of the two. To recall for instance all the happy moments they have shared and the blessings which they had received during their life together. While doing this latter, the purpose would not be to obliterate from memory what was a present reality but rather to balance the scales of suffering with remembrances of joys.

So during Lent it would be somewhat improper to recite the Ave to recall Mary's birth, etc. It would not be improper to recall to mind the moments spent together of Mother and Son, thereby sweetening the suffering.

While therefore, we are at no haste to dismiss possible explanations or objections, the contention of de Villiers seems to be confused from the point of view of the real development of the Rosary itself. We can therefore in the effort to reach the origins of the Crown pass now to the traditionally accepted version of its foundation.

### Traditional Version

We have already alluded to the preaching of John Capistran in this connection. One noteworthy effect of his preaching was the constant stream of applicants which made its way to Franciscan

Friaries wherever he spoke. It was on one such successful visit that a certain youth felt attracted to join the Order, then in the midst of internal disturbance. This same youth, as a novice, is the one to whom the message of the Crown was vouchsafed.<sup>12</sup> In his *Chronicas* of 1624, Marco da Silva, Bishop of Oporto in Spain, records the following fact from whence Luke Wadding probably drew his version.

The young man after receiving the vision, promised or was perhaps asked to make the promise, for we do not know which, namely, to recite the Crown daily before partaking of any food. One day, as if to emphasize the validity of the vision, the young man forgot the promise and found himself in the refectory with the other Friars about to take food. Suddenly he rose, hurriedly asked leave and went out of the refectory. The other Monks, a bit concerned no doubt, but not enough to bring the meal to an abrupt end, finished and made their way to the Chapel for visit. The open door of the chapel caused them all to halt suddenly as the Novice Master made his way to the front of the bewildered crowd.

There he beheld the strange sight for himself. The Novice kneeling in rapt prayer before the statue of the Virgin, moved his lips, audibly reciting the Ave. His manner indicated he was at prayer. More marvellous was the fact that angels could be seen plucking flowers from the youth's lips and presenting them to the statue. Gradually the form of a wreath was formed. The event was widely discussed. The Novice Master called for an explanation, upon which the account was given of his youthful practice of offering such a wreath to the Virgin. The entire Community then took up the beautiful custom and spread it outside the Friary walls. It soon spread to Italy and thence to all Christendom. Both Bernardine and Capistran were instrumental in spreading the devotion.<sup>13</sup>

### Effects of the Crown

The same Marco da Silva goes on to give us several miraculous

<sup>12</sup> Marco da Silva, *Chronicas de la Orden de los Frayles Menores de Serafico Francisco*, (Salamanca, 1624), Tome II, xxxii, p. 204-5.

<sup>13</sup> Raphael Huber, *Documentary History of the Franciscan Order*, Part iii, x, p. 914-15.



effects of the recitation of this formula of Marian devotion.<sup>14</sup> He tells us of the town saved from flood when the townsfolk recited the Crown. He tells us of the further experience of the same young Novice. One day as he chanced to be outside the Friary, he was attacked by robbers. They meant to leave him for dead. Suddenly the youth broke forth in recitation of the Crown at which burst of Faith the robbers were abashed and fled in shame. These same robbers were later said to have repented and gone on to live exemplary lives.

The third anecdote tells of a family which was given to the custom of nightly reciting the Crown together, the Family Rosary, if you will. The young son was discovered in the river bed one day, drowned. The Father, not the mother you will note, called upon the rest of the family to say the *Corona* after which the boy returned to life.

According to Father Huber, Wadding had recourse to these foundations in his own research into Franciscan History. In truth these references do fill in some of the vacancies in his legend and give much plausibility to the legend, although we will hasten to admit the plausibility is founded on faith more than reason. Wadding, an otherwise faithful historian, does not try to change the legend or give it any undue symbolism. He rounds out the facts. His introduction of the direct instruction of the Blessed Virgin seems to be the only element of which we might doubt. Yet even here we can assume that he recorded something which was rather well attested to. In the Dominican tradition—I say this merely to strengthen our position in regard to the Crown—no such proofs of history are recorded within the Order itself for St. Dominic's authorship of the Rosary.<sup>15</sup> We are able to substantiate the formula of the Crown from Franciscan sources, close to the time of the origin and as we have seen from others who might have no ulterior motive in suggesting such an origin.

According to Wadding the young novice was, before entering the Order in the habit of presenting daily a fresh wreath of flowers to Our Lady.<sup>16</sup> Prevented from so doing as a Novice, he elected to

<sup>14</sup> Marco da Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 204-5.

<sup>15</sup> *Cath. Encyclopedia*, *op. cit.*, Vol. xiii, p. 186.

<sup>16</sup> Luke Wadding, O.F.M., *Annales Minorum*, (Quaracchi 1932), T. 10, p. 72.

leave. Now our research has amply, I hope, indicated that such simple efforts at devotion were quite common and diversified. The Virgin visited him perhaps in reward for his earlier fidelity and taught him how he might offer an even more pleasing practice in her honor. She then outlined for him the formula of the Seven Joys of the Franciscan Crown. It was as if she was happy to leave us those moments of joy in her life, so intimately bound up in her sorrows.

Wadding dates this event in 1422. The natural evolution of the Ave, its composition as a prayer formula and later the introduction of formal meditation on the mysteries seems perfectly in keeping with this sequence. The anonymity of the novice is strong reason for crediting the story. Venerable James of the Crown is occasionally identified as the particular novice. The rapid action of Rome condoning the recitation of the Crown within the Order is a further reason for our belief in the basis of the tradition.

### Permission to Use the Crown

Pope Leo X in 1515, and again in 1517, and later Pope Paul V in 1608, both granted permission for exclusive use of the Franciscan Crown of the Seven Joys to the Franciscan Order of both sexes. This would also indicate that there were other existent forms of reciting the Rosary.

Leo XIII in 1901 extended the use of the Crown to all Franciscan Tertiaries. In the same grant, he extended the personal indulgences of the Sacred Congregation of 1884 and 1889, now to mean that all members of the three orders might gain a Plenary Indulgence each time they recite the Crown. No beads are necessary.

In September of 1905, Pius X extended these privileges of the Crown to include all the faithful. At the same time he took steps in response to the request of the Procurator General of the Friars Minor to further enrich the recitation of the Crown. He added 23 additional Plenary Indulgences which might be gained annually for which beads specially blessed must be used by the Faithful and Franciscan alike. A Plenary Indulgence may be gained as often as we join in the prayers in a Franciscan Church whether we have beads or not. If several join together for the recitation of the Crown, for example the Family Crown, only the leader must have beads.

While not necessary for gaining the Indulgence it is both advisable and appropriate for us to meditate on the Joys of Our Lady in light of the prayer wording for the blessing of the beads. A final note important for the busy and often interrupted American or American Friar or Sister, is the fact that the Crown may be said at intervals covering 24 hours. A Plenary Indulgence is granted at the hour of death if one has a Crown in his possession and has been accustomed to pray it frequently. All the Indulgences, except the last, are applicable to the Souls in Purgatory.

### Conclusion and Recommendations

For many reasons the present sketchy study must come to a close. We might in conclusion draw from the many tales we have experienced or heard to indicate the power of the Crown. Again we might dwell upon the mystical analogies derived from a comparison with the Seven Dolors of Our Lady. We might too, like the lover we spoke of in the introduction of this paper, breathe soulful sighs and add colloquies to the legend of the Crown.

It seems more to the point during this Marian Year to offer instead several suggestions for turning this Franciscan devotion into practical use for ourselves and our friends in the Franciscan family.

This Crown is the easiest of all rosaries to say, and the most richly indulgenced of all rosary forms. In a real sense this seems appropriate to the general characteristics of Franciscan Spirituality, which because it is so all-embracing is so easy of practice. In truth, Francis lead us to the core of this Franciscan Way to God; the way is love. And it is easy to love. Francis was the people's Saint as Shakespeare is the poet's poet. He is easy of imitation because being so like to Christ there is some virtue in him which all of us can imitate.

While we may justly feel proud to be among the followers of Francis, in this Spiritual Family, let us not overlook the fact that it is not alone for ourselves that we are Franciscans. This way of love is bequeathed to all men and it is our second responsibility to make it known in all its diversified forms to the masses of people who also seek God.

In future let us be ardent in explaining our Franciscan Crown of the Seven Joys to our students, Seminarians, Novices, parishioners and retreatants. Let us explain fully its meaning; clarify the vast treasury of Indulgences which await their selection. At every turn, like Bernardine and Capistran before us, let us be persistent in offering this simple formula to the people, by which they may insure the assistance of her who is arrayed as the moon, and who stands in wait in battle array to put to flight the demons which press around us in ever-increasing numbers these days of darkness.

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<sup>3</sup> Mariano de Florentia, *Compendium Chronicarum Ordinum Fratrum Minorum*, (Quaracchi, 1911).

<sup>4</sup> *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, xxxviii.

<sup>5</sup> *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, xxv, 138.

<sup>6</sup> *Collectio Indulgentiarum* (Quaracchi, 1937), p. 317-26.

<sup>7</sup> *Juris Prudentia Ecclesiastica* (Quaracchi), 1905, p. 516-519.

<sup>8</sup> Father James, O.S.F.C., *The Franciscans*, (N.Y., 1930).

<sup>9</sup> Herbert Holzapel, *History of the Franciscan Order*, 1948.

<sup>10</sup> "Corona Franciscana Mariana," *Studi Francescani*, Vol. 4, 1932, p. 258.

### DISCUSSION

BROTHER PHILIP, O.S.F.:—This morning reference was made to the two types of papers that have been presented at this conference. It would seem that Brother Linus' paper falls into the category named, "the practical phase of piety." In an earlier report here on the "Position of the Blessed Mother in the Franciscan Theological Synthesis," it was pointed out that the Franciscan approach to God and Mary was *love*. We might state that the expression of this love among Franciscans has been always manifested through a *joyful* spirit. Thus it would seem logical that Franciscans choose to concentrate on Mary's joys in their rosary prayers and meditations.

I presume that we all appreciate Brother Linus' difficulty in obtaining material for his report which was objective and historical since the Crown is rooted in legend. It was not readily available, though I know he did have recourse to the original Spanish sources from which the great Franciscan historian, Luke Wadding, culled his account of the Franciscan Crown. Before I pose for discussion some questions arising out of this paper, I should like to comment on the opening plea of Father Pius Barth at this 35th annual meeting. He urged us between September 8th and December 8th to make the closing of the Marian Year really memorable for our students by utilizing all kinds of techniques to foster devotion to Mary among them. What better way could we Franciscans accomplish this than by teaching the Franciscan Crown to our charges, encouraging them to say it daily, and to carry a crown with them! Too often we have overlooked explaining the Crown to students



of ours who are not studying for the order. The Third Order Secular fraternities are a perfect media, as well as our Religion classes, to attain our goal. Particularly, during October, the Month of the Rosary, we could make an all-out effort to help our pupils to be Crown conscious. In our own school this has already been tried with great success—the boys grow to love the Crown. They are attracted to its ease of recitation and many indulgences. On that latter point, it might be well here to examine how the Franciscan Crown is the most richly endowed of all rosaries, by comparing it with the Dominican Rosary. First, to gain the Dominican Rosary indulgence, beads are essential, and the Rosary must be recited in a church or chapel to obtain the plenary indulgence. Both these requirements are not necessary with the Crown, and *each* recitation carries with it a plenary indulgence. Under certain conditions, two other plenary indulgences may be gained with the Dominican Rosary, while four other types may be gained through the Franciscan Crown on occasion. With regard to partial indulgences, upon fulfillment of certain requirements, a total of 500 days, and 10 years—10 quarantines can be gained through the Dominican Rosary; however, the Crown allows 6/70 years—70 quarantines partial indulgences if totaled. Moreover, there is an additional 10 years obtainable for every good work performed while carrying the Crown if we often recite it, and another ten years every time such persons say seven Aves in honor of Mary's Seven Joys (*The Pastoral Companion*, Fr. Louis Anler, O.F.M., Franciscan Herald Press, pp. 165–168). Finally, we have a tremendously powerful prayer available in the Crown, honoring the Seraphic Queen. I have seen the effect of its use by seriously sick lay people which would shame us in our use of it.

Two queries I would put forth to this gathering concerning the Crown: 1) How widespread is belief or use of the 6th mystery of the Crown, the Apparition? 2) Since one Capuchin father has already commented on his bewilderment about why his branch of the Franciscan family does not use the Crown, and since the Friars Capuchin have the privilege of blessing the Crown, we might inquire of the other Capuchins here if they know of any reason why this Franciscan group does not use the Crown?

#### DISCUSSION

DUANE STENZEL, O.F.M.:—The antiquity of the tradition that Our Lord appeared to His Mother first after His Resurrection antedates the sermons of St. Anthony of Padua. We may say that this tradition goes back to the second century if we can rely upon Tatian's *Diatessaron* and St. Ephrem of Edessa. The mistaken identification of Our Lord's Mother does not change the fact that the tradition flourished at this time. On this point confer Fillion, *The Life of Christ*, 2nd ed., III, 575. During St. Ephrem's time, St. Ambrose, St. Gregory of Nazianzan and St. Gregory of Nyssa also speak of this tradition in their writings. St. Ambrose is most explicit on the point. He writes:

Vidit ergo Maria resurrectionem Domini: et prima vidit, et credidit.

Vidit et Maria Magdalena, quamvis adhuc ista nutaret. (PL. XVI, 270)

Thus St. Ambrose was given credit for being the first of the Church Fathers to record the tradition, until recent times. Some exegetes and commentators now



say that St. Ambrose is wrongly quoted. After St. Ephrem's period we have the tradition found in the *Carmen Paschale* of Sedulius, and the corresponding prose version *Opus Paschale*.

Regarding the antiquity of this tradition, I would like to mention that Sister Mary Edgar Meyer, O.S.F., from Marian College in Indianapolis, is at present finishing a book on the first apparition of the Risen Christ. She hopes to have her book finished before this Marian year has come to a close. Anyone wanting detailed information on whether and when Christ appeared to His Mother after His Resurrection will find abundant information in Sister Mary Edgar's forthcoming book.

#### DISCUSSION

JUNIPER CUMMINGS, O.F.M.Conv.:—Brother has urged us to spread the Franciscan Crown outside as well as inside the Order. It might be interesting to the F.E.C. to know that the *Companion of St. Francis and St. Anthony*, under the editorship of Fr. John Loftus, O.F.M.Conv., has sent out Franciscan Crowns to subscribers, and together with the Crowns is sent a little leaflet giving instructions how the Crown is to be prayed.

## OUR LADY IN THE NEAR EAST

GERON FOURNELLE, O.F.M.

By the Near East is generally understood that portion of the earth comprising the modern countries of Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq, Iran, Arabia and Egypt. Although today the Near East is chiefly known because of its oil reserves, historically it is the most important of all sections of the globe. Not only did the Near East give birth to civilization, nurture it and bring it to a peak unknown until relatively modern times, but more important than this, it was in the Near East that God made known his will to man in the person of Abraham, the Hebrew. It was through Abraham and his descendants that God progressively revealed the sublime doctrines contained in Holy Scripture, and it was this people whom God prepared for the coming of his only-begotten Son to be our Redeemer.

It was in that section of the Near East known today as Palestine that our Lord was born, taught, and finally died for our salvation. It was here that our Blessed Mother gave birth to the Savior, tenderly nourished him and protected him from harm. It was here that she saw him die on the cross, and finally it was here that she in turn died and whence her sinless body was assumed into heaven.

It is fitting then that we spend some time in a consideration of how the Near East has honored its most illustrious daughter. We can do this by considering the teaching and preaching of the men who represent the Near East in the course of the history of the Church, by considering the result of this teaching and devotion as manifested in the churches and shrines erected in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary and finally by touching on the official honors paid to our Lady in the liturgy of the Near East.

### Teaching

From the earliest Christian authors, such as St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch in Syria, throughout history the writers and preachers of the near East never tire of extolling the praises of the Blessed

Virgin. If at times they may not have the unction of a St. Bernard but speak in theological language it is because they were forced to defend the prerogatives of our Mother against the attacks of pagans and Jews.

The one prerogative insisted on again and again by the early writers is the perpetual virginity of the Blessed Virgin. The earliest form of the baptismal Creed in the East contained the words "Do you believe in Jesus Christ, born of the VIRGIN Mary."<sup>1</sup> St. Ignatius of Antioch constantly recurs to this prerogative in his letters to the Churches. Following his lead the other writers in the early church are fond of extolling and defending the Virginity of our Lady. Thus Aristides, St. Justin, St. Irenaeus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus.<sup>2</sup> St. Epiphanius of Salamis (born near Jerusalem) speaks for all when after a lengthy defense of her virginity he calls our Lady "The princess of virginity . . . eternal virgin."<sup>3</sup>

Another favorite topic of these Near Eastern Writers was the title given to Mary as the new Eve. Just as, according to St. Paul, Christ was the new Adam, the new head of the human race, so was his mother the new Eve. As Eve was the mother of "all the living," so is Mary the mother of all redeemed by her divine Son.

In this regard let us listen to St. Justin, born in central Palestine at the beginning of the second century. He writes:

The First-born of the Father is born of a Virgin that the disobedience caused by the serpent might be destroyed in the same manner in which it had originated. For Eve, an undefiled virgin, conceived the word of the serpent bringing forth disobedience and death. But the Virgin Mary, filled with faith and joy, when the angel told her the good news that the Spirit of the Lord should come upon her, and the power of the most High overshadow her, and therefore the Holy One born of her would be the son of God, answered "Be it done to me according to thy word."<sup>4</sup>

The same theme is taken up a few years later by St. Irenaeus who had been the disciple of St. Polycarp of Smyrna (Modern Izmir) the pupil of St. John the Evangelist. St. Irenaeus says:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. D'Alès, "Marie" in DAFC, III, 155.

<sup>2</sup> D'Alès, *op. cit.*, 155-169.

<sup>3</sup> *Panarion*, 3, 2, 78; PG 42, 713.

<sup>4</sup> *Dialogue with Trypho*, PG, 6, 709-712.

With fitness, Mary the Virgin is found obedient, saying "Behold thy handmaid, O Lord: be it done unto me according to thy word." But Eve was disobedient for she did not obey, while she was still a virgin. As she . . . becoming disobedient, became the cause of death both to herself and the whole human race, so Mary . . . being obedient, became both to herself and the whole human race the cause of salvation . . . And so the knot of Eve's disobedience became loosed through the obedience of Mary; for what Eve, a virgin bound by incredulity, that Mary, a virgin, loosed by faith.<sup>5</sup>

In the same tenor St. Epiphanius says:

She it is who is signified by Eve, who mystically received the appellation of the Mother of the Living . . . According to the flesh all men on earth have been generated by her. But thus in truth the Life itself was born into the world from Mary, that Mary might bear all living things and become the mother of all living things. Therefore, mystically Mary is called the mother of all living things.<sup>6</sup>

### Heresy of Nestorius

In spite of the most eloquent testimony of the great Doctors of the Near East to the divine maternity of our Blessed Lady, there arose a heretic named Nestorius in the first quarter of the fifth century who denied that Mary was the mother of God. Immediately the whole Near East was aroused and under the leadership of St. Cyril, bishop of Alexandria in Egypt, came to the defense of this privilege of our Lady. In the general council held at Ephesus, in present day Turkey, in 431 the Fathers of the council triumphantly defined the doctrine of Mary's divine motherhood and as a result were led in a torchlight procession by the grateful people. Of the many encomiums paid to Mary on the occasion of this heresy, two are outstanding.

We may first cite from a sermon of St. Proclus, later Patriarch of Constantinople, replete with allusions to the Old Testament.

Nature exults and the human race rejoices when mothers are honored. Man breaks forth in song when virgins are given praise. The holy mother of God, the Virgin Mary, united both (motherhood and virginity) into one. O unspotted treasure of virginity, O spiritual paradise of the second Adam . . . O bridal chamber in which the Son of God took flesh to himself; O living bush of nature which the fire of the divine birth did not

<sup>5</sup> *Adversus Haereses*, 3, 22, 34; PG, 7, 958-960.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, PG 42, 727.

burn; O lovely cloud who bore him who sits above the Cherubim . . .  
O Mary, maiden and mother . . . the only bridge joining God to man.<sup>7</sup>

St. Cyril, the papal legate to the council, lovingly speaks of our Lady thus:

Hail, then, from us, O holy mystical Trinity, who has gathered us together in this church of Mary, the Mother of God. Hail, from us, Mary, Mother of God, majestic treasure of the whole world, the unquenchable lamp, the crown of virginity, the staff of orthodoxy, the temple that cannot be destroyed, the dwelling place of the Infinite, Mother and virgin . . . thou who didst contain him in thy holy virginal womb who cannot be contained, thou through whom the Holy Trinity is glorified and adored throughout the world; through whom heaven rejoices, through whom angels and archangels are happy; through whom devils are put to flight . . . through whom fallen creatures are taken up to heaven . . . through whom churches are erected throughout the world; through whom nations are brought to repentance. And what more shall I say: Through whom the only-begotten Son of God has shown forth, a light to "those who sat in darkness and the shadow of death."<sup>8</sup>

The immediate result of this council was a still greater upsurge of devotion to our Lady in the near East. Writers vie with one another in proclaiming the glories of the Blessed Virgin. The teaching of the church regarding the Immaculate Conception and Mediation of the Blessed Virgin is foreshadowed by teaching of the Near Eastern Doctors. St. Basil of Seleucia compares her with the Apostles Peter and Paul in a sermon that could be read with profit by those who wish to condemn our devotion to our Mother:

If Peter had been called blessed because of the bestowal of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, should not this blessed one be praised, above all others, for from her all who praise her receive salvation? If Paul is called a vessel of election because he extolled the august name of Christ and spread it everywhere, throughout the entire world, what kind of vessel must the Mother of God be? She is not merely a golden ark that holds the manna (which came down from heaven), but her womb encompasses the true heavenly bread, the bread that nourishes, that is the source of strength to believers.<sup>9</sup>

Or consider this—one might almost say modern—eulogy of The-

<sup>7</sup> *Laudatio in S. Dei Genitricem*, PG, 65, 679. This sermon was probably delivered shortly before Christmas of 429 in the presence of Nestorius. Cf. Jugie, *Le Culte de la sainte Vierge en Orient au v Siècle*, PO, 19, 299.

<sup>8</sup> *Homily 4*, PG, 77, 991.

<sup>9</sup> *Oratio 39*, PG, 85, 425ff.



odotus of Ancyra who died before 446 (Ankara, capital of modern Turkey):

In place of the virgin Eve, mediatrix of death, a virgin has been filled with God's grace to be the minister of life; a virgin has been made possessing the nature of a woman, but without part in her fault; a virgin, innocent, without blemish, all-immaculate, inviolate, spotless, holy in soul and body, who has blossomed as a lily from among thorns, unlearned in the evil ways of Eve. . . . When yet unborn she was consecrated to God, and when born was offered to God as a sign of gratitude. . . . Clothed with divine grace as with a garment, her soul filled with a divine wisdom, in heart wedded to God, she received God in her womb becoming in reality the mother of God. . . .<sup>10</sup>

### The Assumption

Although the bodily Assumption of the Blessed Virgin was declared a dogma of Faith only recently, it is one of the oldest beliefs in the Church. Already around the year 600 it was celebrated throughout the near East on a fixed day, the 15th of August, just as today. Even though earlier testimony could be cited, we shall consider three Near Eastern authors who lived in the 8th century, thus showing the continuance of the tradition. St. Germain, Patriarch of Constantinople, in a sermon "on the Falling asleep of the mother of God" says:

According as was written "thou art beautiful (Can. 2:13) thy virginal body is entirely holy, completely chaste, wholly the dwelling place of God, with the result that thereafter it is wholly free from dissolution into dust, changeless in all that is human, it is exalted to immortal life; that very same body, now Living and glorified and sharing without loss in the perfection of life, since it was impossible that the vessel which had received God . . . should be held fast by the sepulcher of death.<sup>11</sup>

St. Andrew who was born at Damascus, studied in Jerusalem and later became a Bishop on the isle of Crete speaks of our Lady's Assumption thus:

She who has introduced into heaven that which was dust, strips off the dust and lays aside the veil she has carried from her birth, and restores to the earth what was kin to the earth. She who gave life to Life migrates

<sup>10</sup> *Homily on the Mother of God*; PO, 19, 329-330. This is the Greek text as edited by Jugie. PG, 77, 1427 contains the Latin translation which is, in general, faithful to the original.

<sup>11</sup> PG, 98, 345.

to a new life, to a place where life has its origin and is indestructible. . . . See if a more astounding miracle can be discovered than the marvel that was accomplished so wonderfully in her. . . . The woman who surpassed the heavens in her purity, crossed the doorstep of heaven's sanctuary. . . . For as the womb of the mother knew not corruption, so too the flesh of the dead did not perish.<sup>12</sup>

Finally St. John of Damascus, who is considered the last of the great Fathers of the Near East and who summarized the teaching of all who had gone before him speaks in no uncertain terms of the Assumption. St. John who had been born at Damascus in Syria, spent most of his adult life in the monastery of St. Sabas, a few miles east of Bethlehem. He was the most respected theologian of his day and is still honored as one of the greatest Doctors of the Church. In a sermon delivered most probably in the church in the Kedron valley that contained the tomb of the Blessed Virgin he says:

Just as the holy and incorrupt body that had been born of her, the body that was hypostatically united to God, arose from the tomb on the third day, so she also should be snatched from the grave and the Mother restored to her Son; and as he had descended to her, so should she be carried up to heaven. There was need that she, who had entertained God, the Word, in the guest chamber of her womb, should be brought home to the dwelling of her Son; and just as the Lord said that he must be in the place that belongs to his Father, so the Mother had to take up her residence in the palace of her Son . . . There was need that the body of her, who in childbirth had preserved her virginity without stain, be preserved incorrupt even after death . . . There was need that the bride, whom the Father had betrothed to himself, should live in the bridal chamber of heaven. There was need that the Mother of God should enter into the possessions of her Son and, as Mother of God and handmaid, be revered by all creation.<sup>13</sup>

St. John wrote at a time when the Muslim had already conquered Palestine and the whole of the Near East except for most of present-day Turkey. For a time the Church was tolerated to some extent, if restricted in its activity. But soon, under active persecution, the light of Faith barely flickered and literary activity came to an end throughout most of the Near East. At Constantinople, which remained Christian until its fall to the Turks in 1453, the traditional teaching concerning our Lady was continued and there are examples

<sup>12</sup> PG, 97, 1080-81.

<sup>13</sup> *Sermo in Dormitionem* 2, PG, 96, 740-41.

of touching eulogies of her glories even after the tragic break with Rome in 1054. Outstanding among these authors are: Theognostos the Monk, St. Euthymius, Michael Psellos, Neophytus the Recluse, Manuel II, emperor, and George Scholarios, one of the greatest theologians of the schismatic church.

Eulogizing the holiness of the Blessed Virgin Theognostos the Monk says:

It is no more than right, surely it is fitting that she who at the very beginning of her life was holily formed in the womb of her holy mother, was nourished in the Holy of Holies, who had her holy maternity announced by the word of a holy angel should also have a most holy passing from this life. Thus her beginning was holy, her life was holy, and her departure from life was holy, in fact everything about her was holy.<sup>14</sup>

The emperor Manuel II who was noted for his literary activity has left us a beautiful oration on the Virgin. Among other things he speaks explicitly of the Immaculate Conception—and this at a time when the doctrine was hotly contested by some western theologians:

Even more, from the time when this Blessed Virgin was born nay from the time she was conceived, she had been chosen to be the mother of God and was filled with grace . . . Yes, *from the first moment of her existence* . . . there was not a moment when God was not with her.<sup>15</sup>

The final testimony to her Immaculate Conception is given by George Scholarios, considered by some the third founder of the Eastern schism. Schismatic though he was, Scholarios did not think of relinquishing the traditional doctrine regarding the sinlessness of Mary. His explicit statements regarding the Immaculate Conception are reminiscent of those of the great western champion of Mary, Bl. John Duns Scotus. He says that virtue in Mary was not the result of practice and habit as with others, but that it was divinely infused so that she should not have the slightest trace of defect and then goes on to state that because of her divine maternity she had to be most holy, in fact

she was most holy and that *from the first instant of her existence*, even

<sup>14</sup> *Encomium in Dormitionem*, PO, 16, 457.

<sup>15</sup> *Oratio in Dormitionem*, PO, 16, 552.

though by nature she should have contracted the stain connected with human nature.<sup>16</sup>

After Scholarios the voice of the near East is practically stilled due to the Turkish oppression.

The traditional teaching of the Eastern Fathers, however, was not without influence even outside Christian circles. It is reflected in several passages of the Quran, the sacred book of Islam. In fact almost the entire 19th Sura, or chapter, is devoted to the coming of Christ and it is here that our Lady's virginity is strenuously defended.<sup>17</sup> Later commentators on the Quran also show the influence of the tradition when they go so far as to state that "every new born son of Adam has been touched by Satan, except the Son of Mary *and his mother*."<sup>18</sup>

We have tried to give some indication of the teaching of the Fathers of the Near East from the earliest times down to the practical suppression of the Christian Faith by the Turks. Much more should have been said, but this resumé should show to some extent how much we are indebted to these men of the Near East for the full flowering of Mariology.

### Marian Shrines and Sanctuaries of Palestine<sup>19</sup>

The entire Christian world is dotted with shrines to our heavenly mother. There is hardly a town, no matter how small that does not have either a church or shrine dedicated to the Blessed Virgin. It would indeed be surprising then if the land which gave her birth was not foremost in expressing its devotion by means of churches and sanctuaries dedicated to her holy life. During the course of history innumerable shrines commemorating various phases of our Lady's life were erected in her homeland. Some of these were destroyed and never rebuilt, but the majority are still existing. We

<sup>16</sup> *Homilia in Transitum*, PO, 16, 557.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. especially Sura 19, 20-21; cf. also 3, 46; 66, 12.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Abd el Jalil, O.F.M. "La Vie de Marie selon le Coran et l'Islam," in *Du Manoir, Maria. Etudes sur la sainte Vierge*, Vol. I, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1949), p. 183-211.

<sup>19</sup> Apart from personal observations and recollections, this section is based on Donato Baldi, O.F.M., "I Santuari Mariani in Terra Santa," in *Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annus III*, pp. 219-269.

shall mention some of them here. The list is too long to dwell at length on any one of them, just as it would be impossible to enumerate all the Marian shrines of the whole Near East. The sanctuaries may be conveniently classed according to different phases of our Lady's life.

### Sanctuaries of the Infancy of the BVM

First and foremost of these shrines is the church known today as the church of St. Anne in Jerusalem. It was here, according to a well-attested tradition, that the Blessed Virgin was born. The present church, erected over the house of the parents of the Blessed Virgin Mary, replaces the older churches, the first of which was built somewhere between 200 and 300, the oldest of all shrines dedicated to our Lady. Originally this church was known as the church of "Holy Mary." It is only since the times of the Crusaders that the title "St. Anne" was given it.

Closely connected with the birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary is the ancient church and monastery erected a few miles from Jericho in the year 470 to commemorate the answer St. Joachim received to his prayer for a child. The church, situated on the side of a deep ravine, known as the Wadi el Qelt, was later dedicated to the divine maternity of our Lady. Today the monastery, once a famous place of pilgrimage, which is accessible only on foot or muleback, has lost much of its former glory and serves as the residence of a handful of Greek monks.

Another church, unfortunately destroyed by the Turks and never rebuilt, was the church known as the "*New Church of St. Mary.*" It was constructed in Jerusalem between the years 531 and 543, being dedicated on November 20, 543, in honor of our Lady's presentation in the Temple.

### Sanctuaries of the Maternity of the BVM

Nazareth the home of the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph first saw a church erected over the home of the Blessed Virgin Mary around the year 355. From that time on there has always been a church on the spot of the Annunciation, that place so hallowed by



the angel's announcement to the Blessed Virgin. The present church which was erected only in 1730 (previous churches having been destroyed by the different invaders) has as its focal point the grotto of the annunciation. Here at the place where the Blessed Virgin conceived the Savior of the world is the Latin Inscription *Verbum hic caro factum est*, "Here the Word was made flesh." At present there are hopes of building a basilica on this spot more worthy of the great mystery enacted here. After the Annunciation, our Lady, at the suggestion of the Angel, journeyed southward to the village known today as Ein Karem, about five miles south-west of Jerusalem. Here at the place of meeting of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth stands the church of the Visitation, commemorating this momentous event. It was redecorated in 1951.

Bethlehem, the birthplace of our divine Saviour contains not only the grotto where he was born, but at least two chapels dedicated to his mother. One of them, the so-called "Milk Grotto" is a shrine visited not only by Christians but by Muslim as well.

### Shrines in Honor of the Sorrowful Mother

When the people of Nazareth took our Savior to a precipice to throw him down, because of his teaching, legend states that the Blessed Virgin stood on a neighboring hill and watched the proceedings with a fearful heart. On the place pointed out by tradition there was erected a chapel to commemorate this event, known as "our Lady of the fright." The present chapel built over the ruins of an earlier one was erected in 1887.

Along the way of the cross in Jerusalem there is at present a small chapel erected on the site of the fourth station, where our Blessed Mother met her divine Son as he was bearing the cross to Calvary. And on Calvary itself the 13th station is commemorated by an altar surmounted by an old statue of the sorrowful Mother. In the course of centuries the piety of pilgrims has prompted them to adorn this statue richly, so that at present it is one of the most richly decorated images of our Lady anywhere in the world. Jerusalem was also the site of about four other churches dedicated to our sorrowful mother, all of which have been destroyed in the course of time.

### **Shrines Commemorating the Passing of the Blessed Virgin Mary**

On the southwestern hill of Jerusalem stands the beautiful church of the Falling asleep of our Lady, entrusted to the care of the Benedictine Fathers. This beautiful basilica built in 1910 replaces the earlier churches, the oldest of which was constructed in the fourth century. Because of present conditions in Palestine access to this shrine is rather difficult today.

In the Kedron valley, not far from the Garden of Olives is the church erected over the empty tomb of the Blessed Virgin. Here the earliest chapel was built in 450. The present crypt church is essentially the same as the one built by the emperor Maurice in the sixth century. At present it is necessary to descend a staircase about 70 feet to come to the actual tomb of the Virgin. This is the case because during the centuries the Kedron valley silted up and the walls of the church had to be built higher and higher. On November 1, 1950, the day on which the Holy Father proclaimed the dogma of our Lady's Assumption into heaven, the clergy and people together with many pilgrims descended from Jerusalem to the valley where the auxiliary bishop of Jerusalem, Msgr. Gelat celebrated a solemn pontifical Mass in the basilica of Gethsemani, the nearest feasible spot to the site of the actual assumption of our Lady. (The actual tomb is now in the possession of the schismatic Greek church, hence the impossibility of celebrating Mass at the tomb.)

Lest this list of shrines become too long and wearying it should suffice to note that in many other places of Palestine, such as Jericho, Mt. Garizim, Madaba, Jotabe, Mt. Carmel, etc. there are or have been special shrines dedicated to the different episodes in our Lady's life.

### **Cult**

The numerous early shrines testify to the devotion to our Lady from the earliest times in the Near East: The teaching of the Near Eastern Fathers regarding the Blessed Virgin had their fruit in the feast days dedicated to her, and the prayers composed to honor her.

The earliest known prayer to the Blessed Virgin has been found

in an Egyptian MS dating to about the year 250,<sup>20</sup> and therefore must have existed long before. The prayer which is the prototype of our "We fly to thy patronage . . ." reads:

Under the protection of thy mercy we seek refuge, O Mother of God, do not permit those who pray to thee to fall into temptation, but deliver us from danger, thou who alone are chaste and blessed.

The spread of devotion to our Lady was rapid in the Near East and there was a general liturgical feast honoring her divine maternity and virginity already about the year 350, almost 200 years before<sup>21</sup> a feast existed in Rome and the western church. If the year 350 seems late for the origin of a feast in honor of our Blessed Mother, we should remember that the liturgy had a gradual development and individual feast days were relatively late in appearing. There was not even a feast of Christmas celebrated in the liturgy before the 4th century. This first, general, feast of the Blessed Virgin was soon followed by others, notably the Purification, Annunciation, Nativity, and the Falling Asleep and Assumption.

From the 5th century on as the various rites developed, so did feasts in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Although the various liturgies developed their own feasts, liturgical forms, and prayers, the roster of feasts remains essentially the same in all of them to this day. For example, in the Byzantine liturgical calendar the following feasts are celebrated:

September 8: Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary  
 October 10: Patronage of the Blessed Virgin Mary  
 November 15: Our Lady of Mercy  
 November 21: Presentation  
 December 9: Immaculate Conception  
 December 26: Solemn commemoration of the divine maternity  
 February 2: Presentation  
 March 25: Annunciation

<sup>20</sup> Cited by A. Hamman, O.F.M., *Prières des premiers Chrétiens*, (Paris: Fayard, 1952) p. 128. cf. pp. 418-419.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. "Maria" in *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, VIII, 93. For a discussion of these early feasts, cf. Jugie in PO, 19, 297-309. Cf. also Salaville, "Marie dans la Liturgie Byzantine ou Gréco-Slave," in Du Manoir, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

May 11: Dedication of Constantinople to Mary  
 August 15: Assumption<sup>22</sup>

In addition there are many particular feasts celebrated in certain churches or localities, e.g., Lady of Harvest, sowing, vine, etc. And the entire month of August is considered a preparation for and conclusion to the feast of the Assumption. These feasts, then, are celebrated not only in the Byzantine Rite, but also in the Armenian, Chaldean, Ethopic, and Syro-Maronite. One striking feature of the liturgies of the Near Eastern Churches is the frequency with which hymns and antiphons to our Lady occur in the daily divine offices, much more so than in the western church. A beautiful example of such an invitation of praise is found in the Ethopic liturgy:

Come all ye peoples  
 From East and West  
 From North and South  
 From far and near  
 to hear the book of the covenant of our Lady Mary.  
 Dove of Solomon  
 Daughter of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob  
 Our Lady Mary put down the serpent  
 on the day of the birth of her Son  
 To her all praise; to her thanksgiving  
 on earth and in heaven  
 From the depths to the heights  
 For ever and ever, Amen.<sup>23</sup>

Such passages occur again and again in the various liturgical offices particularly during the time of preparation for Christmas and especially during Lent. The Syro-Maronite rite is wonderfully rich in antiphons and hymns to the Blessed Virgin in the daily divine office of the priests and monks. The conclusion of a hymn composed by Mar Yakoub and used in the Saturday office of the Maronite monks can also serve as a fitting conclusion to this lecture.

Glory be to the Father who chose Mary from among all men Adoration to the Son who was born of her in all holiness Thanksgiving to the Holy Spirit who adorned her with all riches. As for ourselves we ask mercy through her intercession.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Salaville, *op. cit.*

<sup>23</sup> Cf. G. Nollet, "Le Culte de Marie en Ethiopie," in Du Manoir, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. M. Doumouh, "Marie dans la Liturgie Syro-Maronite," in Du Manoir, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

## DISCUSSION

LOUIS B. ANTL, O.F.M.:—It seems fitting, as pointed out in Father Geron's paper, that the homeland of our Blessed Mother, the region in which she was born, lived, died, and was assumed into heaven, should become the cradle, as it were, of mariology. According to the testimonies of the Fathers and ecclesiastical writers of that portion of the world, Mary was hailed very early as the New Eve. We are all familiar with the fruitfulness of this parallel in the history of mariology. The doctrines of Mary's Immaculate Conception and her mediation, we heard, were also foreshadowed at an early date. At this juncture, we would like to ask Father Geron whether there was any connection between the theologians of the East and West in the formulation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception.

A very small observation comes to mind. We noticed that Father Geron, instead of rendering the word with the usual "dormition," used the expression, "the falling asleep" of Mary. This will undoubtedly bring joy to the heart of Father Joseph Montalverne, O.F.M., who has repeatedly exhorted us to use English instead of Latin words in our presentation of the doctrines of the Church. I might add a suggestion for the members of the Congress who are working on the theological synthesis, that they attempt to use wherever possible the graphic and easy to understand English equivalents of technical Latin theological terms.

A good feature of Father Geron's scholarly paper is his attention to the theologians of the Eastern Schismatic Churches. We have often been accused of a dismal ignorance and an unpardonable neglect of the teachings of those men. This does not cast a shadow on the great work of some western scholars of our own day, who have investigated and written about eastern theology. Yet, the ordinary priest, and, I dare say, the ordinary theologian, provides a foundation for the complaint.

Without doubt some of you were intrigued with the eastern celebration of the month of August as Mary's month, in connection with the feast of the Assumption. I would like to ask Father Geron whether the Eastern Churches have any other month which they dedicate to Mary, such as our month of May or October.

The question may also be brought up, whether the Friars Minor, through their presence in the near East, were led to introduce into the western liturgy, or promote the use of Marian antiphons and hymns in emulation of the liturgy of the near East.

Finally, it would be interesting to supplement the remarks previously made about the Mohammedans' veneration of Mary's tomb with some information of the status of Christian cult at the site.

## DISCUSSION

GERON FOURNELLE, O.F.M.:—In his discussion of the paper, Fr. Louis raised a number of points that might serve as the basis of an extended discussion. However, I will limit myself to a brief answer to some of the more salient questions.

The question as to whether there was any connection between the Eastern theologians and the Western in the formulation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception is a complex one and one to which more study must be devoted before a definite answer can be given. What is certain is that two of



the Eastern writers mentioned, Manuel Paleologus and George Scholarios, were familiar with the writings of St. Thomas and John Duns Scotus. Whether or not there was an influence from East to West is difficult to determine. Some students of the scholastics have stated that the Oxford theologians show a greater acquaintance with, and dependence on, the Eastern writers than do the continental theologians. A thorough study of this problem is necessary before any certain conclusions can be reached.

As to the question regarding an equivalent of our months of May and October which are devoted to the Blessed Virgin, the Eastern Church does not have such an equivalent. The special devotion during Lent would be the closest to a parallel.

That the Friars Minor were influential in introducing Marian antiphons and hymns into the western Liturgy from the East is doubtful. At least this has not been proved to date.

Regarding the status of Christian cult at the Tomb of the Virgin in the Kedron Valley, it can be noted that the shrine was under the protection of the Friars from the 14th to the 17th centuries. At that time their peaceful possession was disturbed, and in 1757, due to political intrigues, a definite usurpation took place. Today the shrine is in the hands of the dissident Greeks, although they share rights with the Armenians, Syrians and Abyssinians.

## MARY IN THE UNITED STATES

BROTHER FINBARR, O.S.F.

Throughout the entire world over 375 million Catholics are especially honoring the Immaculate Mother of God during this the Marian year. Hence it is most fitting that we Franciscans, who have been praising Mary Immaculate as Queen and Patron of our order since the formal declaration in 1621, should dedicate our thirty-fifth annual educational conference to her.

Some thirty odd million American Catholics rejoiced when Pius XII promulgated the Marian Year, for we well know our debt of gratitude to Our Heavenly Queen. We are certain that it was Mary's protection and blessing which guided us through the tumultuous days of our colonial beginning, Revolutionary War and foreign and domestic crises. Perhaps more emotionally or patriotically than objectively, we feel that America is now "Our Lady's Dowry." While she may not have deigned to honor the United States with a public apparition perhaps she feels that Guadalupe, just across the narrow Rio Grande, is not too distant for us. For there she reigns not only as Queen of Mexico, but as the refulgent Queen of the Americas.

A Catholic historian is easily incensed by the alarming bigotry—or ignorance—on the part of our American secular historians, who in writing the history of our nation all too frequently "overlook" the role of the Catholic Spanish or French missionary and explorer in establishing the foundation of American culture. We are not so subjective ourselves to pass over our English Protestant heritage, but no true history of the United States can be written without taking into account the noble deeds of our Catholic forefathers. And it is equally true that no study of devotion to Mary Immaculate can commence without a detailed examination of the role of the Catholic missionary. Hence, a considerable portion of this paper will be devoted to the embryonic devotion to Mary within our land.

### Early Marian Devotion

The actual beginning of Mary's role in America's history dates back to October of 1492, with the bow of Columbus' *Santa Maria de la Concepcion* pointed towards our shores. The Marian invasion of America embarked from the Caribbean outposts established by the Franciscan tertiary, Christopher Columbus, who carried with him—as a true Franciscan—a sincere, child-like devotion to the Immaculate Mother of God. So boundless was his love for the “Star of the Sea” that he shared it with his men, gathering his crew together every evening to sing hymns and praises in honor of Mary Immaculate. Following along with the Genoan sea captain on his second voyage were the consecrated sons of Francis, invading the heathen land to establish the rule of *San Salvador* and *La Conquistadora*, as the Spanish warriors so characteristically called Christ and Our Lady.

Of all the American states Florida was the first to be blessed by the planting of the Cross of Christ in 1512.<sup>1</sup> And the humble sons of Francis of Assisi were among the first to labor in the field of conversion, Bishop-elect Juan Juarez and Brother Juan de Palos having accompanied Narvaez on his expedition to Florida in 1528. The oldest settlement in the United States was founded at St. Augustine, Florida on Our Lady's Birthday, September 8, 1565.<sup>2</sup> There, on a site called *Nombre de Dios*, (The Name of God) the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass was celebrated in honor of Our Lady's Nativity.<sup>3</sup> About 1620, a statue in the mission of *Nombre de Dios* was dedicated to *Nuestra Senora de la Leche y Buen Parto* (Our Nursing Mother of Happy Delivery), making it the oldest shrine to Mary in the United States.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Pohlkamp, Father Diomedes, O.F.M., “Spanish Franciscans in the Southeast,” *Franciscan Educational Conference*, (1936) Washington, Capuchin College, 1937, XVIII, 124.

<sup>2</sup> Parsons, Rev. Wilfrid, S.J., “Marian Devotion in the Early United States,” *Marian Studies*, Vol. III, Washington, The Mariological Society of America, 1952, p. 239.

Florida was first sighted on the Feast of St. Augustine, but the party did not go ashore until Sept. 8th.

<sup>3</sup> Shea, John Gilmary, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 4 vols. (New York, D. H. McBride & Co., 1886), I, 138.

<sup>4</sup> Thornton, Rev. Francis Beauchense, *Catholic Shrines in the United States and Canada* (New York, Wilfred Funk, Inc., 1954), p. 224.

From St. Augustine, Franciscan, Dominican and Jesuit missionaries spread throughout the southeast, establishing missions in Carolina and Virginia and moving as far north as the Chesapeake, which they affectionately called St. Mary's Bay. Wherever these loyal sons of Mary traveled they dedicated shrines and named rivers and towns after Our Lady. Unfortunately, the later English occupation destroyed many of these tender memorials to Mary.

In 1539, the Franciscan, Father Mark, crossed the Rio Grande, then known as Our Lady's River, and penetrated the area which is now New Mexico. In the following year he returned with five additional Franciscan friars, two of whom, Father John de Padilla and Brother Louis of Escalona, continued their missionary activities until they were assassinated by hostile savages.<sup>5</sup> These zealous friars, as well as their innumerable successors, felt deeply inspired in their work in New Mexico for they were convinced of the miraculous visits of the Franciscan nun, Mary of Agreda, to the Southwest. They believed they were trodding the land which was miraculously visited by the Spanish Conceptionist nun under the inspiration of Our Blessed Lady's promptings.<sup>6</sup> Venerable Mary's assistance in instructing the natives and preparing them for baptism by means of bilocation consoled the hard working friars.<sup>7</sup>

But to the incredulous historian the visits and the revelations of Mary of Agreda are at the most "pious traditions." To the believer, they are the motivating forces, understandable only to a true lover of Mary, which inspired the early Franciscans in their endeavors to convert the land for Jesus through Mary.

### The Southwest

That Mary watched over her new possessions is evidenced by her spiritual conquest of New Mexico. As a result of a revolt by the

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<sup>5</sup> Father John de Padilla had accompanied the explorer Coronado to the Kansas plains where he was killed in 1542, becoming the proto-martyr of the United States. *The National Catholic Almanac For 1954*, p. 145.

Oblasser, Rev. Bonaventure, O.F.M., "The Franciscans in the Spanish Southwest," *The Franciscan Educational Conference*, XVIII, 101.

<sup>6</sup> Sargent, Daniel, *Our Land and Our Lady* (New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), pp. 31-32.

<sup>7</sup> Oblasser, *op. cit.*, p. 104. Also, cf. The Discussion of Father Cuthbert Gumbinger, O.F.M.Cap., concerning the authenticity of Mary of Agreda's bilocations, p. 123.

Pueblo Indians in 1680, the Spaniards had been driven out of Santa Fe. When they returned thirteen years later they were headed not by Spanish arms, but by an image of Mary carried by Don Diego de Vargas—a statue of Our Lady of Victory, *La Conquistadora*.<sup>8</sup> As De Vargas neared the city he vowed that if *La Conquistadora* gave him success he would have her statue carried around Santa Fe's Plaza in an annual procession. Mary gave him a bloodless victory and today his vow is still observed. Each year on the second Sunday after Trinity *La Conquistadora* is carried in a solemn procession from its shrine in the Cathedral of Saint Francis in Santa Fe to the Rosario Chapel, where it remains for nine days and is then returned to its shrine.

It is interesting to note that the original statue of *La Conquistadora*, which was brought to New Mexico in 1625 by Father Benavides, O.F.M., is identical with the one venerated in Our Lady Chapel of the Cathedral of Santa Fe, and hence over 300 years old.<sup>9</sup> It is indeed a most venerable dedication to Our Immaculate Mother and certainly one most deserving of our notice.

Texas was the next area of what is now the United States to be graced by the faith of Christ and the love of His Immaculate Mother. Once again it was a Franciscan, Father Massenet, who first traversed the land entering with the expedition of Alonso de Leon. And once again Mary's praise resounded through the southwest. It is fitting to single out a hymn composed by one of the early Franciscan missionaries, Father Antonio Margil, frequently called "the Apostle of Texas." This song of praise to Mary, honoring her glorious Assumption, which is still sung at the Guadalupe Friary, at Zacatecas, Mexico, was recently found and beautifully translated into English by another Friar, Father Marion Habig. I would like to quote but the last verse and chorus of this lovely song, because it represents the charming beauty of the devotion to Mary, as practiced in the very beautiful land of Texas. It might be noted too

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Chavez, Rev. Angelico, O.F.M., *La Conquistadora* (Paterson, St. Anthony Guild Press, 1954). Father Chavez presents a most moving word picture in the form of an autobiography of the ancient statue.

<sup>9</sup> Habig, Rev. Marion, O.F.M., "The Cult of the Assumption of Our Lady in the United States," *Studia Mariana* (Burlington, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Co. 1952), VII, 89.



that the hymn would undoubtedly be much more melodious in the original musical Spanish:

Fair Heaven's Queen, farewell to thee,  
Until in Heav'n we too shall be,  
And join thee there and happy see  
And praise thee through eternity.

Ascend, Ascend, Ascend  
O Virgin, to thy throne above!  
Ascend, Ascend, Ascend  
Enjoy forever thy reign of love! <sup>10</sup>

Indeed, even today, despite the "modern civilizing influences" of Anglo-American culture; Texas, with her churches, shrines, rivers and towns still dedicated to Mary, resounds with Father Antonio's loving hymn in honor of Our Lady's Assumption.

### California

The crown of Mary's glory in that part of America colonized by Spain must be recognized as California. There, verily, the land spoke a thousand tongues in praise of her honor and prerogatives. California was virtually saturated with Marian devotion, Marian Missions and Marian Names, many of which remain unchanged to our time. Some are contracted, as for example the *Pueblo de Nuestra Senora La Reina de los Angeles* or today, simply Los Angeles, but virtually all have kept their dedication to Mary under one or another of her radiant titles.

California was originally occupied by the Spaniards for a purely strategic motive: King Charles III wanted to prevent the Russians, who had established outposts south of Alaska, from taking over the land. Due to an immediate lack of fighting men, he entrusted the

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<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97-99. The original Spanish reads as follows:

Adios, Madre nuestra,  
Hasta que en el cielo,  
Juntos nos veamos,  
Por siglos eternos.

Suba, Suba, Suba,  
La Virgen al Cielo,  
Suba, Suba, Suba,  
Goce de su reino.

occupation to the Franciscans.<sup>11</sup> The Friars, under the leadership of the Venerable Junípero Serra, accomplished the task, but the regal ruler of the land was destined to be neither the Romanov czar nor the Bourbon king, but the King of Kings and His Immaculate Mother. The accomplishments of Father Junípero in his missionary activity are astonishing to the modern reader. But the President and Founder of the California Missions left more than mission churches and converts upon his death. He bequeathed to California, to the southwest, to America his devoted love for God's Mother, for our Mother, Mary Immaculate. A beautiful compliment is paid to Father Junípero and the Franciscans who labored in California by Father Burke when he states:

Lovely as is what remains of their building, it is this spirit of devotion and dedication to Mary that is the friars' richest and most permanent contribution to our American Catholic heritage. For while what they built has undergone many vicissitudes, this faith and zeal, this devotion and dedication do not die or change but endure and have been transformed into holy and redemptive and creative things for us all.<sup>12</sup>

But, as marvelous as were the achievements of the Franciscans in spreading the name of Mary in California, they were not alone in this loving task. As early as 1542 the Portuguese navigator, Juan Cabrillo, had reached the harbor of San Diego after exhorting his men to commend themselves to Our Lady.<sup>13</sup> Legion are the stories of the great Jesuit missionary, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, who proved by his voyages that California was not an island. Father Kino carried with him a painting of Our Lady of Loretto which was prominently displayed on the altar whenever Mass was celebrated. In his story of his journey through California Father displays an ardent, ever-present love of Mary. To quote but briefly:

Various parts of the road were made so pleasant and beautiful by roses and flowers of different colors, that it seemed as if nature had placed them there to welcome our Lady of Loretto. Almost all day we were saying and chanting various prayers and praises of our Lady in different languages . . .<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Sargent, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.

<sup>12</sup> Burke, Rev. Eugene M., C.S.P., "Nuestra Senora," *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, July, 1954, p. 33.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>14</sup> Bolton, Herbert, *Rim of Christendom* (New York, The Macmillan Co., 1936), p. 452.

A fitting summary to the tremendous work of the Spanish *Conquistador* and missionary in America is presented by the converted Protestant minister, and a true devotee of Our Lady, Father Xavier Donald MacLeod, who wrote in 1866:

Throughout Texas, Arizona, New Mexico and parts of California you find churches by the score dedicated to the Mother of God. Some of these were built but yesterday; some echoing now on festal days to the chant of Our Lady's Litanies, or the choral sweetness of the *Ave Regina*, heard the same sounds swelling from Indian voices two hundred and forty years ago. On every mountainside, on forest edge, on village-watering stream, upon the frontier of the far-stretching prairie deserts, beside the canon's brink, they stand, perpetual prayers in stone, invoking the intercession of the matchless Virgin with her eternal Son: Our Lady of the Rosary, Our Lady of Angels, Our Lady of Light, Our Lady of Carmel, Our Lady of Sorrows, Our Lady's Annunciation, Nativity, Immaculate Conception, Assumption; Our Lady of Belen, of Santa Cruz, of the Canon de Jemes; but above all, Our Lady of Guadalupe! <sup>15</sup>

The climax of our survey of devotion to Mary Immaculate in Spanish America was the action of King Charles III of Spain when on November 8, 1760, he declared Mary Immaculate to be the principal patron of all possessions of the crown of Spain, including those in America.<sup>16</sup> Thus, half of our land was formally dedicated to Our Lady under the beautiful title of her Immaculate Conception.

Though France entered the American colonial scene much later than Spain, the French were no less active in their zeal for conversions. Nor were they less ardent in their love for Mary Immaculate than were their fellow Catholics from across the Pyrenees. Well over a century before Charles III consecrated his Spanish possessions to the Mother of God Louis XIII, in 1638, had officially dedicated another portion of our land—the French possessions—to Our Blessed Lady.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>15</sup> MacLeod, Rev. Xavier Donald, *History of the Devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary in North America* (Boston, Murphy & McCarthy, 1880), pp. 150-151.

<sup>16</sup> Holiveck, Frederick G., "Immaculate Conception," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 680.

<sup>17</sup> Ohlmann, Rev. Ralph J., O.F.M., "The Immaculate Conception and the United States," *The Promised Woman*, ed. Brother Stanley Mathews, S.M., (St. Meinrad, Indiana, A Grail Publication, 1954), p. 88.

### French Colonization

Just as the Spanish entered what is now the United States through the gate-way of Mexico, France entered from the north through the gate-way of Canada. The Spanish *conquistador*, usually on horse-back, traveled across the dry open land. The French, in their Indian birch canoes, utilized the rivers and the lakes as their byways. From the St. Lawrence they traveled to the Great Lakes and thence sought the majestic Mississippi. Champlain strove unsuccessfully to locate it, as did many after him. The honor of exploring the Great River, for it had been discovered farther south a century earlier by the Spaniards, went to the Jesuit missionary, Father James Marquette, and his party. How fitting indeed is it for our story that this honor went to the great Mary-lover Father Marquette. Since he had been nine years of age he had fasted on Saturdays in her honor; from his youth he daily recited the "Crown of the Immaculate Conception"—a series of prayers which he had invented.<sup>18</sup> His favorite prayer, from his "Crown" was:

Hail daughter of God the Father,  
Hail Mother of God the Son,  
Hail spouse of the Holy Ghost,  
Hail temple of all the Persons of the Trinity,  
By your holy virginity and Your Immaculate  
Conception,  
Make clean my heart and my song.<sup>19</sup>

Also fitting is it that his commission to start the journey arrived on December the eighth 1672—the feast of the Immaculate Conception. As he tells us, before starting the expedition:

I placed our voyage under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, and promised her that if she obtained us the grace of discovering the great river, I would give it the name of Conception, as I would do to the first mission I should establish among these new nations.<sup>20</sup>

So, in accordance with his promise, Father Marquette named the Great River the Conception and thus placed the entire area of the vast valley watered by the Mississippi under the protection of Our Blessed Mother.

<sup>18</sup> Sargent, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 87.

<sup>20</sup> Mac Leod, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

It is interesting to note that Rev. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M. asserts in his dissertation that Father Marquette did not name the river for the Immaculate Conception. Rather, he states that Father Dablon in Montreal named the river after the priestly explorer because he knew of Father Marquette's devotion to Our Lady.

Meanwhile another Jesuit, Saint Isaac Jogues, who later shed his blood at Auriesville, New York, took over New York State in 1632 in the names of Jesus and Mary, and consecrated the land to the Immaculate Conception.<sup>21</sup>

It would be a tremendous task in a paper of this nature to examine the Marian devotion in all the areas of the United States penetrated by the French during colonial days. They were the first to enter the following states: Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas and Montana. They re-explored the following states, first explored by the Spanish: Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Nebraska.<sup>22</sup> These areas mentioned were made crimson with their blood; their monuments—churches, chapels, shrines, hospitals, convents—still stand as memorials of their apostolic zeal for Christ and His Immaculate Mother. But, our dearest heritage from the French is the love they left us for *Notre Dame*.

Turning our attention towards English-speaking colonial America, we are pleased to find some early evidences of true Marian devotion. Apparently, when Mary was exiled from England during the course of that nation's separation from Rome she found refuge with the group of colonists aboard the *Ark* and the *Dove*. During the voyage to their new haven the priests on board the *Ark* united the Catholics in prayer and consecrated the province toward which they were headed to Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>23</sup>

Although, at the direction of Charles I, the new land was called *Terra Mariae*—Maryland, after his wife Henrietta Maria, who can doubt but that in the hearts and minds of the Catholics the land was named, as it had been dedicated, for Mary Immaculate. When the party landed in 1634 it was on March 25, the feast of Mary's

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<sup>21</sup> Ohlmann, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

<sup>22</sup> Sargent, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

<sup>23</sup> Ohlmann, *op. cit.*, p. 89.



Annunciation. The pilgrims established their first city and church at St. Mary's city, on the St. Mary's River.<sup>24</sup>

From this humble beginning, but with Mary's love and blessing, Catholicism started in the English colonies in America. Progress was far from being rapid; the path was beset with many tribulations and reverses. The colony of Maryland, despite its feudal origins, was the most democratic of all the English colonies in the early seventeenth century. Yet, before the close of the same century, following the "Glorious Revolution" in England, Catholics were legal outlaws.

### The National Period

The American Revolution and the severance of the political ties with England which were accomplished with the assistance of Catholic France and Catholic Spain, as well as the almost unanimous support of the American Catholics, made conditions more tolerable for the Catholic Church in the United States.

The American Constitution guaranteed freedom of religion, and while several of the states maintained some restrictions on the Catholics it was not long before these were dropped.

With political independence from England came ecclesiastical separation as well. In November of 1789, Pius VI appointed Father John Carroll as Bishop of the newly created diocese of Baltimore. This devoted servant of Mary requested that his episcopal consecration be held on the feast of Mary's Assumption into heaven and he selected as his seal a representation of Mary surrounded by stars. He called together the First National Synod in the United States wherein Our Blessed Mother was chosen as the patroness of the diocese of Baltimore—which was then the entire United States.

During the first three decades of the nineteenth century the Catholic Church in America progressed slowly. But Mary's name and fame continued to spread. During the episcopal administration of John Carroll, the first seminary for diocesan priests was established by the Sulpicians at St. Mary's in Baltimore. Within a few years Mt. St. Mary's College was founded in near-by Emmitsburg, in Maryland. Printed manuals prove that several Sodalities of the

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<sup>24</sup> Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

Blessed Virgin were in existence at this time.<sup>25</sup> Among them were a "Male Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary," which was established at Georgetown in 1816, and a "Confraternity of the Rosary," established in Frederick, Maryland in 1824.<sup>26</sup>

It was not until the great migrations of Catholics from foreign lands, especially Mary-loving Ireland, that the Church's growth became phenomenal. The inevitable result was bigotry on the part of many American Protestants. The first of a series of anti-Catholic tracts, published by *The Protestant* in 1830, was an attack on "The Worship of the Virgin Mary."<sup>27</sup> The bigotry continued into the next decade, the infuriated "Native Americans" detesting everything Catholic, especially the Blessed Mother. The vilification was intensified when Protestant America and Catholic Mexico went to war over the ownership of the Rio Grande—the river of the Mother of God.

During these tumultuous days there convened at the primatial see of the United States the Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore. Here, twenty-three Bishops and their theologians and representatives of four religious orders petitioned the Holy See for the privilege of inserting in the office and Mass of December 8, the word *Immaculata*, and adding to the Litany of Loretto the invocation, "Queen, conceived without original sin, pray for us."

As its crowning act the Council, on May 13, 1846, solemnly decreed that the Blessed Virgin Mary, under the title of the Immaculate Conception, was to be the patroness of the United States.<sup>28</sup> Following are the words of the memorable decree:

We take this occasion, brethren, to communicate to you the determination, unanimously adopted by us, to place ourselves and all entrusted to our charge throughout the United States, under the special patronage of the Holy Mother of God, whose Immaculate Conception is venerated by the piety of the faithful throughout the Catholic Church. By the aid of her prayers, we entertain the confident hope that we will be strengthened to perform the arduous duties of Our ministry, and that you will be enabled to practice the sublime virtues of which her life presents a most perfect example. The Holy Ghost, by her own lips, has foretold that all generations shall call her blessed; and we cannot doubt that a blessing is

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 249-250.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>27</sup> Ohlmann, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

<sup>28</sup> *The Crusader's Almanac*, July 1, 1954, p. 2.

attached to those who take care to fulfill this prediction. To her, then, we commend you, in confidence that, through the One Mediator of God and man, the man Christ Jesus, who gave Himself as redemption for all, she will obtain for us grace and salvation.

On February 7, 1847, Pope Pius IX formally approved of the dedication of America to the Immaculate Conception—more than seven years before he solemnly defined the dogma in 1854.

Thus was accomplished what King Charles III of Spain and King Louis XIII of France had initiated; thus was effected what Saint Isaac Jogues and the American Martyrs had died for; thus was completed what Bishop John Carroll had done for his diocese; all of the United States of America was now formally dedicated to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mother of God.

In 1849, the seventh Provincial Council made known to the Holy See its desire to have the Immaculate Conception declared a dogma—which it was five years later.<sup>29</sup> In 1868, Rome approved a petition of the American hierarchy making the feast of the Immaculate Conception a holyday of obligation.

### Modern Times

That Mary approved of this beautiful demonstration of fealty is amply evidenced by the truly tremendous growth of the Church in America. During the past century from the time of the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception until today the Catholic population has increased from 1,723,000 to over 31,648,000. In 1854, there were 1,712 parishes in 42 dioceses and archdioceses; today there are 15,914 parishes in 131 dioceses and archdioceses.<sup>30</sup>

Statistics are not always the most reliable means to establish a thesis. But, the Marian statistics in America are well worth noting, and certainly merit our attention.

In the 15,914 parishes in America there are 36 cathedrals and 3,278 churches dedicated to the Mother of God.<sup>31</sup> Most frequently

<sup>29</sup> Gillett, H. M., *Famous Shrines of Our Lady* (Westminster, Md., The Newman Press, 1952), 2 vols., II, 26.

<sup>30</sup> *The Crusader's Almanac*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>31</sup> Information supplied by Mr. B. Walsh of the N.C.W.C. News Service. Taken from an article appearing in *The Banner* (1954), published by the Resurrectionist Fathers, authored by Brother Roman Witowski, C.S.C. of Holy Trinity High School, Chicago.

occurring in this very impressive number are the following beautiful titles: St. Mary, Immaculate Conception, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Our Lady of Lourdes, Holy Rosary, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Assumption, Our Lady of Guadalupe and Immaculate Heart of Mary. Within the diocese of Brooklyn, where I am privileged to labor, and which is also dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, there are 322 parishes. Of this number 89 are dedicated to Mary under one of her titles.<sup>32</sup> Included in this number, besides the titles listed above, are the unusual but equally beautiful salutations such as Our Lady of Lebanon, Our Lady of Czenstochowa, Our Lady of the Snow, Our Lady of Ostrabrama and Our Lady of the Isle.

Today, there are laboring in the United States 15 orders or communities of male religious and 106 of female religious whose dedication to Mary includes her name, or one of her titles, in the community name. And this astounding number does not include such orders as the Franciscan or Dominican, who although dedicated to her, do not include her name in their title. There are moreover 13 American communities of male religious and 16 of female with the Marian name working in the foreign missions.

There are 47 minor seminaries, 52 major seminaries, 49 universities and colleges and over 100 hospitals in the United States which have adopted as their name Mary's—or one of her many beautiful titles. Thirty-eight periodicals come forth from the presses of America with her name standing forth on the masthead.

Attempts have recently been made to stimulate Marian study by the organization of the Mariological Society of America in 1950, the Franciscan National Marian Commission in 1947, and the Marian Institute of the University of Dayton's Marian Library in 1953. Besides, there has been a marked increase in the number of Mariological courses offered by American Catholic universities and colleges.<sup>33</sup>

In Father Thornton's recent work on the Catholic Shrines in America, he lists 110 of the more famous, of which 33 are dedicated to Mary.<sup>34</sup>

The most majestic shrine to Mary Immaculate in America, per-

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<sup>32</sup> *The Official Catholic Directory for 1954* (P. J. Kenedy and Sons, N.Y.).

<sup>33</sup> Ohlmann, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

<sup>34</sup> Thornton, *op. cit.*

haps in the entire world, is in the process of construction at our nation's capital in Washington, D. C.<sup>35</sup> Although the crypt has been virtually completed for over a quarter of a century, depressions, wars and unfortunately, laxity on the part of American Catholics have prevented the erection of the superstructure. The Marian Year will see the work resumed and it is hoped that the shrine of the Immaculate Conception will be completed by 1959.

As Msgr. O'Connor, the present Director of the shrine has so beautifully expressed it:

It is not the shrine that has caused the people of this country to love Mary; rather the great love of our citizens for their patroness has caused the shrine to be built and will continue to make of it the heart and center of their Catholic action.<sup>36</sup>

We read in Mary's *Magnificat* her inspiring prophecy, "All generations shall call me blessed." Looking back over the beautiful history of Marian devotion in America we are certain that here in our own United States this prophecy is being fulfilled. From the *Santa Maria* of 1492 to the Marian Year of 1954 the devoted children of Our Lady in America have constantly echoed her praises. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Rio Grande, hill and dale, metropolis and village all resound with jubilant worship for the Queen of the Americas—for our own dear Patroness, the Immaculate Mother of God.

Churches, chapels and shrines of our Sweet Mother are thronged with ardent devotees of Mary where daily prayers of love, of thanksgiving, and of petition ascend to her throne above.

### "Marianization" of America

Throughout the vast expanse of America today the loving children of Our Glorious Queen are constantly spreading devotion to her. The Blue Army of Our Lady, the Sodality, the Family Rosary, the Block Rosary, the Rosary Society, the Militia of Mary Immaculate, the Legion of Mary, First Saturday Devotions and many, many more tender demonstrations of filial homage, all too

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<sup>35</sup> *Vide*: O'Connor, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Patrick J. and Vincent, Paul, *The Immaculate Conception*, (St. Paul, Catechetical Guild, 1954).

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.



numerous to list, are fitting examples of America's love for its charming Mistress. Bishop Fulton Sheen, with his forceful appeal for Mary's assistance to vanquish Communism, Father Patrick Peyton, with his moving cry for the daily recitation of the Rosary, the priest in the pulpit, the Brother and the nun in the classroom, the lay apostle at work, one and all these devoted servants of Mary Immaculate are working for the "Marianization" of America.

We Franciscans are especially and justifiably proud of our love and devotion to the Immaculate Mother of God. Throughout the entire world the followers of the *Poverello* have imitated him in his ardent glowing love for the Queen of the Seraphic Order. We in America are no exception. There is no intention on my part to attempt to prove the indisputable fact that our confreres in America love the Glorious Virgin, nor am I presenting a paper on current Franciscan Marian Devotion—that was very aptly done by Father Maurice Grajewski<sup>37</sup> at the First Franciscan Marian Congress in 1950. Rather in a very brief review let us express our gratitude for the tremendous and fruitful efforts of the Franciscan National Marian Council for organizing and conducting a National Marian Council in May of this year; for the accomplishments of Father Juniper Carol, who has collected at Holy Cross Monastery in New York one of the finest Marian libraries in the world; for the work of Father Giles Lawlor and Father Marion Habig in the popularization of devotion to Our Lady of the Highway; for the reawakening of Franciscan interest and devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe—the Queen of the Americas; for the recent research and writings on Mary in America of Father Angelico Chavez, Father Ralph Ohlmann, Father Marion Habig and Father Maurice Grajewski to mention but a few; for the learned theses and investigations of our Franciscan Mariologists and theologians, including all the excellent papers presented in Mary's praise at this conference; for the vast number of Franciscan schools, colleges and seminaries in our land where Mariological courses are being offered, where devotion to Our Queen is being inculcated in our youth; and finally, let us be

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<sup>37</sup> Grajewski, Rev. Maurice, O.F.M., "The Franciscan Marian Cult in the United States in Our Times," *Studia Mariana* (Burlington, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Co., 1952), VII, 120-125.

grateful for all that the Franciscans have done, and are doing, to make America Our Lady's Dowry.

Although the Marian Year will be concluded on December 8, 1954, the "Age of Mary" will continue. We, who are privileged to labor in the classroom, must continue and must intensify our efforts to educate those entrusted to our care in their American birthright—devotion to the sweet Virgin. We must train them to be the leaders in the noble crusade for the complete "Marianization" of our beloved America. For Mary will reign as the resplendent Queen of America only if she reigns in the hearts and souls of our American Catholics.

#### DISCUSSION

GEORGE DUBOWSKI, O.F.M.:—Brother Finbarr gave us a good picture of Mary in the United States and we would like to congratulate him on the excellent way he treated the exploration and colonial period of our country.

To the many details in the exploration period we would like to add two facts on the Spanish activity presented by Brother. The first fact is that when the Franciscans led by Father Alonso Martinez came to New Mexico and Arizona they claimed the land "in the name of the King of Kings and to His honor and glory and that of His most Sacred and Blessed Mother and in honor of the Seraphic Father St. Francis." The other fact is that in California, the Golden State, Ven. Junipero Serra and his companions founded a mission near the town of Lompoc entitled, La Purisima Concepcion de Maria Santisima on Dec. 8, 1787. The marian mission was secularized in 1835 and in 1937 it was restored by U.S. Government and has become a state park and museum. Religious services are held there once a year on the occasion of the annual fiesta in May.

Much of the French activities in the early history of U.S. as far as Christianization and spreading the devotion to the Immaculate Mary was concerned, was carried on partly by Franciscan Recollects who acted as chaplains at the various forts, ranging from Canada to New Orleans.

In the English speaking colonial America, the sons of St. Francis came to Maryland as early as 1673 to join in singing the praises of the Immaculate Mary on the new continent.

Although Brother passed over the revolutionary period of our country, we would like to mention this fact that in 1781 in order to celebrate the surrender of Cornwallis, Fr. Seraphin Bandol, chaplain of the French Ambassador—La Luzerne—sang the *Te Deum* in Philadelphia in the church of Our Lady.

Of special interest to the friars in the national period of U.S. would be the consecration of an Italian Franciscan, Father Maurice Virola, as the first Bishop of Philadelphia in the month of the Holy Rosary, October, 1810, by Archbishop John Carroll.

On the Modern times, Brother passed over the feasts celebrated by the respective branches of Franciscans, the devotion to Mary Immaculate, Our Lady of Atonement, because these feasts and devotions were so well treated

in previous sessions. We could mention the great work done by the friars in the Marian Congress, which among other things petitioned the Holy See to establish the feast of the Universal Queenship of Mary; the glorious activities and inspiring sessions held at our Franciscan Educational conferences, especially the present one, on Mariology; the various publications and books issued by the three branches through their respective printing houses; all singing a troubadour's song to the Immaculate Mary.

The last point which could be brought out is the rise of foreign mission activity before and after World War II. After 1908, when United States was officially taken from the list of the Church's mission activity, a movement arose to diffuse the faith and the glories of Mary to other lands and people. Scarcely three years later, 1911, Father James A. Walsh, later to become Bishop Walsh and Father Thomas F. Price founded Maryknoll at a place called Hawthorne in New York State. It is the first American institute engaged solely in foreign mission activity. Prior to the rise of this Catholic foreign mission society of America, a Franciscan, Father Remy Goethe in 1880 and somewhat later Father Francis Engbring, the first American-born missionary, left the land dedicated to Mary Immaculate and began working in China to spread the faith and save souls as shown by the Holy Founder, St. Francis of Assisi. The example of the Poverello will be with his sons wherever they go and will encourage them to preach the glory of God and the greatness of Mary Immaculate.

## ROLE OF MARY IN THE SPIRITUAL FORMATION OF THE FRANCISCAN SEMINARIAN

SERGIUS WROBLEWSKI, O.F.M.

This paper, broad in scope, is an attempt to outline all the elements that must be considered in fostering Mary's role in the formation of our clerics. We shall do two things: first, we will show that Mary does have a role in the formation of a priest, and of a Franciscan priest all the more; secondly, we will explain what precisely must be done to foster this role of Mary.

The subject of this paper refers specifically to the "Franciscan seminarian." But we will not hesitate to use the broader term "priest" as it suits us. For, the arguments are necessarily drawn from the theology of priesthood.

Moreover, we will not attempt to describe Mary's role, just the way she does it. That would involve us in all kinds of theological opinions. On that subject it is sufficient to say that, as she forms every christian, she forms the priest. Mary sees everyone's needs, intercedes and distributes the graces needed.<sup>1</sup>

Finally, that phrase "role of Mary" is really different from the expression "marian formation." Objectively, our Lady plays a role in the formation of every christian, but every christian does not receive thereby a marian formation. A marian formation implies that the subject of Mary's educative role is fully cognizant of her part in his own redemption and fully cooperative by consciously and deliberately incorporating her person and action into his whole life. Our concern in this paper is to show not only that Mary has a role but to show how to promote a marian formation.

### Proof of Mary's Role in the Formation of a Priest

Of all Mary's children, priests and clerics are her sons of predilection. They are, according to Pope Pius XII, "by a very special title, sons of the Virgin Mary."<sup>2</sup> The reason is that their

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<sup>1</sup> "Varia" *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum* 57 (1938) p. 223, n. 158.

<sup>2</sup> Pope Pius XII, *Menti Nostrae* (Washington, D.C., National Catholic Welfare Conference), p. 19.

resemblance to Jesus is closer. They are what He is primarily, a priest. He is the Eternal Priest; they, His extension in time. Mary, therefore, is in a special way the Mother of priests and clerics, because she is the Mother of the Eternal Priest.

This motherhood is realized through real maternal action. Mary forms priests. The foundation for this truth is that, just as she had a role in the High Priest's formation, she has a role in the education of the "other Christs."<sup>3</sup> We know that Mary formed Jesus, the priest. Mary was instrumental both in His Incarnation and in His sacerdotal education. By her consent she made possible the Incarnation which made Jesus a priest.<sup>4</sup> Through Mary, at the moment of her conception by the Holy Spirit, the Word sanctified His humanity, and He became the Mediator, the bridge between God and man, the born priest who gives God to men and men to God.

Her influence, however, went beyond her part in the Incarnation. She had a part in His sacerdotal education.<sup>5</sup> She taught Him the

<sup>3</sup> "The role of the Most Blessed Virgin in the life of the priest is a consequence of the role she plays in the life of Jesus." Paul Philippe, *The Most Blessed Virgin and the Priesthood* (Cork, The Mercier Press Limited, 1952), p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> That the Incarnation made Christ a priest is proven thus: "... verum etiam conveniens fuit, Verbum sibi unire personae unitate naturam humanam ut in ea et per eam compleret munus Mediatoris, ac Sacerdotio aeterno fungeretur, reducendo homines ad Deum . . ." Hieronymus de Montefortino, *Ven. Joannis Duns Scoti Summa Theologica* (Romae, ex Typographia Salustiana, 1903), V q.1, a.1, resp.

As to Mary's instrumentality in making the Word a priest, "It is through Mary that Jesus became a Priest, because it is by her that He united His divine Nature with human nature, thus appointing Himself Mediator between God and Man." Philippe, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> "... Marie a exercé, plus qu'aucune autre mère sur son enfant, une influence décisive sur le coeur du Christ. Certes, la formation de Jésus n'est pas uniquement l'oeuvre de Marie: le Christ possédait en lui un principe intérieur, sa propre personne divine, qui commandait tout le développement de ses facultés et de son activité. Le Verbe s'est exprimé dans la nature humaine qu'il avait assumée. Et nous nous efforcerons de montrer ultérieurement comment le coeur de Jesus nous manifeste même le Père, dont le Verbe est l'image parfaite. L'action des causes divines sur l'épanouissement de l'enfant de Nazareth est essentielle, mais elle n'a pas exclu la contribution de Marie, contribution essentielle elle aussi." Jean Galot, *Le Coeur du Christ* (Desclée de Brouwer, 1953), p. 56.

"O felix Mater, quae, cum ineffabili gaudio, ipsam imaginem vultus tui, at praecipue mores tuos et virtutes tamquam a temetipsa procedentes, conspiciere potuisti in Filio, valde magis Corde quam corpore simili tibi! Et tu revera, o parvule Jesu 'plus sugis de sanctissimae Virginis Corde in quo te



priestly sentiments towards His Father and zeal for men's salvation. This is implied in that brief sentence that summarizes the whole of Jesus' hidden life at Nazareth; "And He went down with them and came to Nazareth, and was subject to them. . . . And Jesus advanced in wisdom and age and grace before God and men."<sup>6</sup>

It follows that Mary has a role in the formation of priests because she had a role in the formation of Him Who is the source of all priesthood.

Furthermore, our Lord seems to have willed that our Lady should play the part of a Mother of priests. Marmion makes this statement in writing about Mary and St. John at Calvary and our Lord's words, "Woman, behold thy son":

We may see in St. John all the faithful souls to whom Mary became a mother, but we must not forget the fact that he had been ordained priest the evening before. On this account, he represents especially all priests. We like to think that at the hour of His death, at that moment of supreme solemnity, Jesus turned to us; in the person of the apostle whom He loved, He entrusted us to His mother.<sup>7</sup>

There are additional reasons why a Franciscan seminarian has a claim on her maternal care: first, because he belongs to an Order which has been the outstanding champion of her greatest privileges in the orders of grace and glory;<sup>8</sup> secondly, because Franciscan spirituality is Christo-mariological, as we shall explain later.

### Ways of Fostering Mary's Role

Before we point out the ways, we must first take up the question whether there is any need of masters and lectors to help Mary in forming clerics, in what, after all, is a direct action of the Spirit at the request of Mary.<sup>9</sup>

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genuit . . . quam de ejus pectore." Leonardus M. Bello, *Encycl. "Cor Immaculatum" Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, 62 (1943) p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> *Lk.* 2:51-52.

<sup>7</sup> D. Columba Marmion, *Christ—The Ideal of the Priest*, (St. Louis, B. Herder Co., 1952), p. 296.

<sup>8</sup> "Etenim ab exordiis Ordinis, Doctores ac Sancti nostri ad hoc constanter respexerunt ut, praeunte Ecclesiae magisterio, Virgini gloriosae id attribuerent quod excellentius esset et magis Christi dignitati congrueret." Bello, *Encycl. "Per jucundum nobis" Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, 57 (1938), p. 137.

<sup>9</sup> The immediate action on the soul of the cleric is certainly the Spirit's; Mary's part is mediate, not infusion but intercession. "Varia" *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, 57 (1938), p. 223 n. 158.

In "Testem benevolentiae" Pope Leo XIII enuntiates important principles about the relation between the Spirit's interior action and external guides, such as masters and lectors.<sup>10</sup> Leo XIII denies categorically that there is no need of external guides to go along with the interior activity of the Holy Spirit. God saves men through men, and especially is this true in the case of those who strive for a higher kind of sanctity.

It follows, therefore, that, as far as Mary's role in the formation of clerics which she carries on through the Spirit is concerned, masters and lectors are not a negligible factor. Normally, Mary and the Spirit are dependent on them and work through them. What, then, can the spiritual guides in the clericates do to promote a marian formation of the clerics?

The first thing they can do is to show more clearly Mary's place in expositions of Franciscanism. Franciscan mariology is rich, but it has not been fully incorporated in those works that are supposed to be used in the spiritual education of clerics. Biographies of St. Francis usually devote a few pages to his devotion to Mary, and the impression is created that Francis had a devotion to her besides other devotions, as departmentalized as that. Works on Franciscanism, at most, give our Lady a chapter or part of it, and they fail to impress the reader with the truth that "to Jesus through Mary" is an essential trait of Franciscanism. They correctly describe Franciscanism as Christocentrism, but they do not always integrate Mary's primacy with Christ's.

The whole truth is that Mary was predestined with Christ by the one and the same decree, so that Mary enjoys the primacy together with Jesus.<sup>11</sup> The former Minister General Perantoni neatly summarizes this whole Christocentric view:

<sup>10</sup> Pope Leo XIII, "Testem benevolentiae" *Acta Sedis Sanctae*, XXXI (1898/9), pp. 474-475.

<sup>11</sup> "...sententiam Doctoris Marialis de glorioso primatu Christi necnon B. Virginis..." Bello, "Litterae encyclicae de Universali Christi Primatu atque Regalitate" *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, 52 (1933), p. 297.

"Imprimis, ut praeclare S. Bernardinus Senensis ac S. Laurentius a Brundisio conclamant, 'Beata Virgo praedestinata est una cum Christo *Primo-genito omnis creaturae* ante omnem creaturam.'" *Ibid.*, p. 301.

"Deum ante omnia alia creata de facto habuisse in sua intentione, et priusquam quodlibet aliud, decrevisse Christum Dominum et ejus sanctissimam Matrem..." Bello, *Encycl. "Perjucundum nobis" Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, 57 (1938), p. 139.

... in Franciscan teaching and piety the virgin Mother Mary is seen linked inseparably with the figure of Christ. She was decreed with him in the same stroke of God's creative goodness, and for that reason she was to remain immune from all stain of original guilt at her conception; to be full of grace and to be co-redeemer of the human race throughout her life; to be assumed into Heaven with body and soul at her precious death; and to be the universal Mediator and the Dispenser of all graces amid the very splendor of eternal glory.<sup>12</sup>

Once this point of view is included in Franciscan works, Mary will regain her rightful place in the minds of our seminarians. They will become conscious of the truth that Franciscan spirituality is marian. They will come to realize that Franciscanism and Franciscan mariology are not distinct and worlds apart, but a unity, a Christomariological theology. A true marian formation will depend on the restoration of this point of view.<sup>13</sup>

The second thing that ought to be done is very difficult: to bridge

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<sup>12</sup> Pacific M. Perantoni, *Franciscan Spirituality* (Chicago, Franciscan Herald Press, 1950), p. 14.

<sup>13</sup> The following propositions, taken mostly from the encyclicals of Minister General Bello already referred to, summarize the theological point of view we are advocating:

- 1) In the beginning God wished to be glorified perfectly by all creation—angels, men and irrational creatures.
- 2) To this end God predestined His only Begotten Son to take upon Himself human nature—the middle point in the scale of creatures—to be Mediator and Mystical Head, and supreme Adorer, as Alone capable of Ineffable love.
- 3) “Uno eodemque decreto” and “in suo ordine” the Blessed Virgin was constituted Mediatrix, having jurisdiction over all outpourings of grace both for angels and men.
- 4) Through these two, with Jesus as Head and Mary as neck, all gifts were to be communicated “ex Christo per Mariam” so that the perfections of God might shine through the Whole Christ unto the glory of God.
- 5) This original plan of the Most Holy Trinity was qualified by the foreseen fall of Adam and Eve. In view of original sin, Mary was exempted by the foreseen merits of Christ from contracting the original stain, so that Christ could be born of a Pure and Immaculate Virgin conceived by the Holy Spirit.
- 6) The Word was made flesh through Mary. Then, in that hour, Jesus propitiated and glorified His Father through the Cross. Mary participated as co-redemptrix.
- 7) Now, both are in heaven, body and soul, and both reign. It belongs both to Jesus and to Mary, “ad modum colli,” to dispense to all rational creatures whether angels or men His ineffable graces.
- 8) From Him through her grace cascades unto the Seraphim and Cherubim, then unto the other angelic orders and saints, finally unto the Church Militant, especially the devoted ones of Mary.
- 9) Thus, through her we attain to the grace and glory of Jesus Christ.

the gap between theology and mariology. In our theological manuals mariology is an appendix. The Incarnation is studied apart from the Annunciation. Soteriology is conspicuous for its neglect of Mary's coredemption. The Church is explained only as a juridical entity, in no way related to the Mother of Christ; Mary, as the archtype of the Church is completely ignored. Thus, Mary is not presented as the mediatrix between Christ and His Church but as if she were one of the side-altars which are essentially independent of the main altar. In theology our Lady appears to be an independent factor in the theory of salvation.

Fortunately, in our times, the problem of presenting redemption as Christo-mariological is under serious discussion.<sup>14</sup> A formidable attempt is being made to present redemption as having "as its poles Christ and Mary," as Christo-mariological, which is our Franciscan position!

### New Trends

First of all, the new trend is to explain the Church as the Pope did in *Mystici Corporis*, not only as a juridical and social union, but also as a mystical union.<sup>15</sup> Since the Reformation and as a reaction to it, theologians have been presenting the Church as a hierarchy, a visible organization, and a perfect society. It was necessary to do so in an age when so many spoke of an invisible Church, of a Church of the Elect, and denied that there was an one and only true Church, visible and organized, to which all had to belong. Today, also, this juridical aspect of the Church needs exposition and emphasis. But, for the sake of the spiritual growth of both priests and faithful, the mystical side of the Church must receive prominence.

Alongside this trend, a new ecclesiological perspective is being worked out in which Mary is seen to be "the complete fulfilment of the Church."<sup>16</sup> This is an attempt to bridge the gap between

<sup>14</sup> Dr. Alois Muller, "The Basic Principles of Mariology" *Theology Digest*, 1 (1953), pp. 138-144. See also partial bibliography on p. 146.

<sup>15</sup> Pope Pius XII, *Mystici Corporis* (Washington, D.C. National Catholic Welfare Conference), pp. 39-41.

<sup>16</sup> For a good presentation and historical study of the Mary—Church parallelism consult the following volumes: "Marie et l'Eglise" *Bulletin de la*



mariology and theology by establishing a Mary-Church parallelism.

According to this view of the Church, Mary is the image of the Church: "Utraque mater, utraque virgo."<sup>17</sup> Mary begot all the members of Christ's body spiritually even as the Church begets all spiritually in the womb that the baptismal fount is: "In utraque virginitas fecunditatem non impedit, in utraque fecunditas virginitatem non adimit."<sup>18</sup>

Mary is an anticipation of the Church. At the Annunciation and then at Calvary she was the Church before the Church became a mystical person or juridical institution.<sup>19</sup> Mary is, of course, a "Maria portio est Ecclesiae, sanctum membrum, excellens membrum supereminens membrum, sed tamen totius corporis membrum."<sup>21</sup> She was the first christian, the first to be filled with total grace.<sup>22</sup> Her redemption was through Christ, but through His foreseen merits, so that, whereas the rest of the members were purified from sin, Mary is the first creation all pure. She was filled with grace not through the Church nor by participation in it; she belongs to the hypostatic order.<sup>23</sup> Supreme among the members, Mary is the supreme realization of the Church redeemed at the end of time; that is to say, that the Church will be what she was and is. And her assumption is a preview of the Church's ascension at the consummation.

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*Société Française D'Études Mariales*, IX (1951); also the following volume, X (1952).

<sup>17</sup> "Utraque mater, utraque virgo; utraque de eodem Spiritu sine libidine concipit; utraque Deo Patri sine peccato prolem fundit. Illa absque omni peccato corpori caput peperit; ista in omnium peccatorum remissione capiti corpus edidit." The words of Isaac of Stella quoted in H. Barré, "Marie et l'Église du Vénérable Bède à Saint Albert le Grand" *Bulletin De La Société Française D'Études Mariales*, IX (1951), p. 86.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>19</sup> Marie-Joseph Nicolas, "Introduction à nos travaux sur la Vierge et l'Église" *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Études Mariales*, IX (1951) p. 2. member of the Church herself,<sup>20</sup> but a most excellent member:

<sup>20</sup> "Beata Virgo habet specialem gradum, sed non facit ordinem." H. Barré, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>22</sup> "Sexto consideremus, carissimi, quod Maria fuerit plena perfectione universalis Ecclesiae. Diversas enim et mirificas perfectiones et gratias in diversis sanctis suis habuit et habet Ecclesia, in quarum plenitudine videtur detenta fuisse Maria . . ." Conradus a Saxonia, *Speculum Beatae Virginis*. (Ad Claras Aquas [Quaracchi] 1904), p. 104.

<sup>23</sup> Nicolas, *op. cit.*, p. 3.



But there is a difference between Mary and the Church. The Church has an external ministry, in which Mary never had a part.<sup>24</sup> For, the external ministry is the domain of the *Ecclesia Docens*, in which Mary never could have had a share by reason of her sex. Hence, it would be false to identify Mary totally with the Church in all its aspects; and wrong, too, to speak of her as "virgin-priest," unless the universal priesthood, interior and mystical, that we call the priesthood of the laity, is intended.

That is the general picture of the new ecclesiological perspective. When the Church is presented as the Woman<sup>25</sup> and Mary is seen to be the archetype of the perfect Church, that is, the Spouse who receives the fulness of God's grace and the Mother who conceives the Whole Christ, it becomes possible to integrate mariology with theology. By paralleling Mary and the Church soteriology becomes a harmonious architecture, a christo-mariological theology. A very important effect on the seminarian's mind results. He no longer sees Mary as an extra in the drama of salvation, which is the reason for the common inability on the part of a seminarian to balance properly his relations with Jesus and Mary. In fact, he is inclined to go to Jesus through Mary.

Furthermore, this new perspective gives new slants to pastoral objectives and practices. It matters a great deal how a priest pictures the Church, whether as a juridical institution or as the Woman. If the Church is a Woman, because with reference to the Creator the creature is essentially passive and receptive, the spiritual life no longer appears as primarily personal effort with the consequent overemphasis on the active element in spiritual exercises, but as submission and consent and receptivity. The spiritual life ought not to be a Horatio Alger tale but the story of a flower which grows simply by opening itself up to sun and rain. The point is not that there is no need of personal effort nor of spiritual exercises that emphasize it; but that this perspective

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<sup>24</sup> René Laurentin, "Role de Marie et de l'Eglise dans l'oeuvre salvifique du Christ" *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Études Mariales*, X (1952), pp. 46-47.

<sup>25</sup> We can consider the Church as identified with Christ or as distinct from Christ: as a unity, in which case we have head and members; or as spouses, in which case we have Christ, the Bridegroom, and the Church, Woman-spouse. For a clearcut explanation see Laurentin, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

makes priests and faithful realize that they must strive to get beyond the active phase of the purgative way and to enter upon the more purifying and enriching ways—illuminative and unitive—in which passivity or submission is the essential approach. The final glory of the Church is not to possess God but to be possessed by Him.

### Church as Mother

When the Church is seen as Mother, spiritual maternity takes on a new dimension. The priest comes to realize that the Church is not built up primarily by building or by an accelerated birth rate or by organized action. Souls receive their birth and their nourishment, on the supernatural level, through the maternal action of faith and love. All graces come through our Mother Mary because of her faith at the Annunciation and submission on Calvary. All members participate in her motherhood by the same faith and charity. Through this truth the priest comes to appreciate the primacy of the spiritual in the apostolate and the heresy of action. He comes to understand that the unbaptized souls receive faith, and dead members live again and the tepid become fervent through the faith and love of the living members. For the priest to know this is the only cure for what Pius XII calls the heresy of action, "that activity which is not based upon the help of grace and does not make constant use of the means necessary to the pursuit of sanctity given us by Christ."<sup>26</sup>

Furthermore, in the light of this spiritual maternity of all the members of the Church, mystical love is seen to be the most sublime. In this perspective married love is an image of the higher mystical love, to which St. Francis gave exact expression in the following words: "We are his spouses when through the Holy Ghost the faithful soul is united with Jesus Christ."<sup>27</sup> For the priest celibacy becomes more understandable, because

... by his law of celibacy, the priest, so far from losing the gift and duties of fatherhood, rather increases them immeasurably, for, although

<sup>26</sup> Pope Pius XII, *Menti Nostrae* (Washington, D.C., National Catholic Welfare Conference), p. 23.

<sup>27</sup> James Meyer, *The Words of Saint Francis* (Chicago, Franciscan Herald Press, 1952), 230j.

he does not beget progeny for this passing life of earth, he begets children for that life which is heavenly and eternal.<sup>28</sup>

The new ecclesiological point of view would broaden the vision of priests who are oftentimes so provincial. They do not see beyond the limits of the parish or of the "obedience." They are also unaware of the ultimate objective, of what the Church should become. If the priest thinks of the Church only as an institution, he will see the ideal as comprising buildings and organizations—his! But if he comes to see the Church as John saw her, "as a bride adorned for her husband"<sup>29</sup> and Mary as the image of what the bride of the Lamb of God should be like, the priest's vision automatically broadens both in time and space and his ideal for the Church becomes clear: the sanctification of the faithful to present them as a bride "holy and without blemish."<sup>30</sup>

The issues of the day are also seen in a different light. So often, the priest's politics are just politics. Consequently, he has no solution to offer to those under his charge except the human ones the world speaks of. He must see history—and the present international situation—as John saw all of history in the Apocalypse: as an epic struggle between the Woman and her seed and the Dragon and his seed. In every age this enmity goes on and the faithful must be properly armed with the only weapons that are of any use in a war "against the spiritual forces of wickedness on high."<sup>31</sup> The Woman suggested them at Lourdes and at Fatima. The priest who identifies Mary with the Church sees history in this light.

Here we must stop with these considerations that flow from the new ecclesiological perspective. There are all too many, and our purpose is not to exhaust them but to show what a different pastoral outlook a cleric would have if he received a marian orientation in the tract, *De Ecclesia*.

This Mary-Church parallelism perhaps might be warmly received by Franciscan mariologists, old and new, for three reasons: first, because Franciscans, generally, accept the marian interpretation

<sup>28</sup> Pope Pius XII, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>29</sup> *Apoc.*, 21, 3.

<sup>30</sup> *Eph.*, 5, 27.

<sup>31</sup> *Eph.*, 6, 12.

of the 12th chapter of the Apocalypse on which this whole relationship is scripturally based;<sup>32</sup> secondly, because Mary as the image of the Church and foremost member flows logically from her predestination with Christ; thirdly, because, ultimately, it is in spiritual maternity that the Church and Mary are parallel, and spiritual maternity is but another expression for "Mediatrice of all graces," a doctrine of the Franciscan school.

### Devotion to Mary

We come, finally, to the third way in which masters and lectors can promote the Marian formation of the clerics: by encouraging them to a devotion to Mary. Knowledge alone will not suffice; devotion is necessary. And devotion is a Franciscan trait, as is clear from the following passage:

. . . approaching Jesus as its brother in special devotion toward his most holy humanity, his sacred Heart, the Holy Eucharist, the mysteries of the Nativity and the Passion, his virgin Mother Mary, and the Catholic Priesthood as administering the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ—distinctive aspects, all, of the Franciscan soul, for which it is easy to find plenteous examples in the admirable life of our Seraphic Father.<sup>33</sup>

What is devotion? It is an attraction, supernatural in nature, to some quality of the person or to some event in the person's life.<sup>34</sup> For instance, devotion to the joys of Mary is an attraction to those events in her life that gave her deep, spiritual joy. The quality or the event has an appeal for the individual, so that he is touched and edified and stimulated to generosity in the exercise of virtue.

Devotion, therefore, is an appeal to the sensible. The underlying justification of this appeal to the sensible is the Incarnation and its implication that the sensible is necessary for the uplifting of man to a holy and divine love.

Furthermore, devotion is personalism, or the attraction of person

<sup>32</sup> The scriptural proof for the Church—Mary parallelism is given in F.-M. Braun, "Marie et l'Église d'après l'Écriture" *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Études Mariiales*, X (1952), pp. 7-21.

Bello accepts this interpretation as solid in Encycl. "Perjucundum Nobis" *Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, 57 (1938), p. 139.

<sup>33</sup> Perantoni, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>34</sup> For a full discussion of devotion see A. Vermeersch, *Pratique et Doctrine de la devotion au Sacré Coeur II* (Paris, Casterman, 1922), pp. 7-16.

to person. Devotion has doctrine for its foundation, but the truth is incarnate in a person, so that the appeal of devotion is not to the mind only but also to the will or love of a man. That explains why Franciscans beginning with Francis have practiced and propagated devotions: the crib, the cross, the Holy Name, the joys of Mary, etc. Whereas other spiritualities find their motivation in pure truth as such, in an appeal to the intellect, Franciscans who believe that love alone can satisfy the will totally find their motivation in devotion, that is, in the personal appeal of Jesus and Mary, in that attraction of person to person. Hence, Francis loved Christ ardently in his humanity, and the whole Franciscan school is voluntaristic.

A good devotion is proportioned as to its practices to the dignity of the person who is the object of the cult. A solid devotion fosters the practice of virtue. Devotion becomes both good and solid when it is explained scripturally and dogmatically, so that the practices are understood to be applications of dogmatic truths and the truths, as motivations to solid virtue.

A devotion ought not to be forced on clerics. Sometimes, an order comes from on high that clerics are to be enrolled in this or that marian society. A devotion is a very personal thing, a supernatural attraction conditioned by the individual's character, taste and state of soul. It must be voluntary. To force a devotion is to ignore personal needs, individual spiritual formation, and liberty of conscience.

It is not good to urge many devotions. . . . After all, devotions overlap. Devotion to the joys of Mary is hardly different from devotion to the Immaculate Heart; the latter embraces the former. A multitude of devotions overwhelm the friar with many practices and much vocal prayer, for which he may not have the time or for which he may not have the inclination if he is advanced spiritually. Pressing all kinds of devotions has its dangers, too. It may inculcate the idea that sanctity is somehow proportioned to the number of devotions with the greater indulgences. That is formalism that the Pope warns against:

And this especially unceasingly teach, lest you weigh down the minds of all, namely, that the Christian life does not consist in many and varied prayers and exercises of piety, but rather in what these things contribute



to the spiritual advancement of Christ's faithful and therefore to the spiritual growth of the whole Church herself.<sup>35</sup>

Highly to be recommended among the many devotions is the De Montfort consecration.<sup>36</sup> It is not Franciscan in origin; St. Louis Marie Grignon de Montfort was never a member of the Franciscan family. But he profited much from our great Franciscan mariologists.<sup>37</sup> It is obvious to anyone who has read his treatise on the true devotion; St. Bonaventure is quoted a dozen times, and St. Bernardine only once, but the quote is the very essence of the whole treatise.

De Montfort's consecration is simply a practical application of the doctrine about the Mediatrix of all graces. For that reason it would seem advisable to place it in the fore when recommending devotions to our clerics.

Finally, devotion to the Mother of God should have two beneficent results: 1) a refinement of character due to Mary's feminine influence; 2) a growing and precise conviction about Mary's intimate participation in the Eternal and temporal priesthood.

As to the first result, it suffices to quote the Marist, Fr. Emil Neubert:

In the spiritual life, our soul always remains human, always in need of that balance of a feminine influence and a masculine influence. And that is why God placed Mary next to Jesus in the economy of our salvation. Because of her we feel much more at home with the Father and the Son . . . In her presence the Father seems to bend down towards us more affectionately; He seems more our Father. And Jesus seems to draw us to Himself more than ever; He is really our Brother. Close to her, our humility is more sincere, our confidence more sure, our love more tender, our will more strong, our piety more joyous . . . Priests without any devotion to Mary lack not only a supernatural quality, but also a natural virtue. The necessary feminine influence is nowhere present to refine their character, uproot their selfishness, challenge their pride. From a natural point of view, they are much less complete personalities than ordinary men who, despite their lack of devotion to Mary are nonetheless perfected by the presence of their wife.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Pope Pius XII, *Mediator Dei* (N.Y., Paulist Press, 1939), pp. 76-77.

<sup>36</sup> An excellent explanation of this consecration is to be found in "De Singulari Missione B. V. Mariae Cultuque ei debito juxta doctrinam S. Ludovici-M. De Montfort" *Alma Socia Christi*, 8 (1953).

<sup>37</sup> Bello, *Encycl. "Perjucundum nobis" Acta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*, 57 (1938), p. 139.

<sup>38</sup> Emil Neubert, "The Mystery of Mary" (Dayton, O., The Marian Library, 1953), n. 16, pp. 9-10.

As to the second beneficent result, it should be observed that it does not suffice for a priest to know Mary as a Mother only, as all christians do. His view of her must be colored by his own vocation of priesthood. He must see her as a participant in the eternal and temporal priesthood.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Consult the following two volume work for an extensive historical and dogmatic study of Mary's relationship to the priesthood: René Laurentin, *Marie l'Église et le Sacerdoce* (Paris, Nouvelle Éditions Latines, 1953).

The growing conviction about Mary's participation in the Eternal Priesthood involves a gradually deepening appreciation of the following propositions:

- a) The priest is essentially a mediator, a go-between between God and creature, through whom creatures go to God and God to men.
- b) *The Mediator* is Jesus, the Christ. He is Jacob's ladder which reaches from earth to heaven, and upon which angels ascend to bring the prayers and works of men up to God and descend to bring the gifts of God to men.
- c) Mary shares in this priesthood or mediatorship. She also "in suo ordine" has jurisdiction over the upward movement and the downward movement, "dependentia a Christo mediatore."
- d) Mary participated in the objective redemption of the High Priest: first, by her consent to the Incarnation whereby Jesus was constituted mediator; secondly, by her participation in Christ's sacrifice on Calvary through compassion and offering.
- e) Now, Mary participates in the subjective redemption, the application of Christ's merits to individuals. The corollary of this truth is that the "other Christs" are not only Christ's instruments but also, to use Pius XII's phrase, "humble instruments of the mercy of the Immaculate Heart."
- f) In heaven, Mary together with Christ continues to make intercession.
- g) The "alter Christus" will, therefore, be a more perfect instrument of the High Priest if he unites his own interior life to Mary's, "una simul cum purissimo Corde Matris Mariae palpitent corda nostra in Dei amorem et proximi." And his apostolic work will be enormously fruitful, if with confidence in Mary's heart he draws on the riches of the Sacred Heart.

We feel that the following consecration of a priest to the Immaculate Heart of Mary which was approved for the Vicariate of Rome admirably includes the above propositions:

Mater Summi et Aeterni Sacerdotis, qui in cruce matrem te reliquit dilecto discipulo, humiliter, sed libentissime sicut Joannes, et hodie in matrem eligimus. Cor Filii tui nos, in ordinatione nostra, amicos suos vocavit et dilectionis suae thesauros nobis aperuit, ut eos in omnes miseros effundamus.

Mater Verbi Incarnati, coredemptrix et mediatrix omnium gratiarum adjuva nos, benignissima, in implendo hoc mandato caritatis divinae. Doce nos praesertim eadem fide, spe et caritate Salvatorem mundi tractare in Eucharistia ac tu in omnibus mysteriis vitae ejus terrestres. Da nobis Cor tuum ad diligendam Sanctissimam Trinitatem et omnes animas ad ejus imaginem creatas et sanguine Filii tui redemptas. Tecum adstemus cruci patientes et fortes. Sub tuum praesidium confugiamus in

Mary is like a prism which reflects various colors. She reveals herself variously as Mother, Virgin, Spouse, and as participant in the Eternal Priesthood. It is this last aspect of her that the priest should favor in his mind-picture of her. As different nationalities picture Mary according to their own looks, so a priest should see her like unto himself for encouragement and motivation in apostolic work. Just as workers are encouraged when they discover Christ too was a worker, a laborer, the priest will find himself stimulated to zeal as he accustoms himself to the habitual realization that Mary is bound up intimately with his work.

### Conclusion

Mary, then, has a role in the formation of our clerics. In this role she is dependent on those in charge of clerics. Ultimately, masters and lectors cannot produce a marian formation. That "increase" is strictly the Spirit's domain who breathes where and how Mary wills. But they can water and cultivate. That is to say, they can provide all the external circumstances that favor Mary's role: explain Christocentrism fully as the predestination of Mary together with Christ, teach a Christo-mariological theology of redemption, and encourage devotion to Mary in a way suitable to the individual cleric with a view to his marian formation.

In St. Andrew's Church, Calumet City, Ill., there is an unusual statue in honor of our Lady. It is called "Mary of the Gospel" and it shows our Lady holding the book of the Gospels. That statue would seem to summarize Mary's role in the formation of clerics: to help them see Christ as she did and to participate in His life as she did, that they may the more effectively give men Jesus through Mary.

### DISCUSSION

AUSTIN LEWINSKI, O.F.M.:—As a basis for comment upon the "Role of Mary in the Spiritual Formation of the Franciscan Seminarian" we can consider this pertinent question: Would the three ways of fostering Mary's

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omnibus necessitatibus nostris. Nihil umquam auferat a corde nostro fiduciam in te, o mater nostra. Amen.

This consecration was taken from José M. Delgado Varela, "Consagración del sacerdote al Inmaculado Corazón de María Santísima" *Alma Socia Christi*, 6 (1952), p. 146.

role as treated by Father Sergius fit into the plan of spiritual formation as given by the Most Reverend Pacific Perantoni in his encyclical letter of August second, 1947? If so, how?

In speaking of a plan for the spiritual formation of Franciscan clerics his Paternity stated that in the Junior theologate (philosophy) Franciscanism ought to be taught, and in the Senior theologate the ideals of the priesthood should be explained. Upon closer observation of Father Sergius's article, the first two ways of fostering Mary's role are seen to harmonize with these two divisions by his Paternity, and the third directive of Father Sergius embraces both of those given in the encyclical.

Accordingly, the first way of fostering Mary's rôle, which consists in "show(ing) more clearly Mary's place in expositions of Franciscanism," could take root in the Junior theologate where *ex professo* Franciscanism is taught. Here Mary's role is to be fostered by the constant development of a basic truth in Franciscan thought, viz., "that Mary was predestined with Christ by one and the same decree, so that Mary enjoys primacy with Christ."

The second way of fostering Mary's role as depicted by Father Sergius finds emphatic expression in the Senior theologate where ideals of the priesthood are progressively unfolded. Here the Mary-Church parallelism applies. By means of this parallelism the priest acquires an inspiring view of his relation to the Church and to Mary. Through it he sees "more in the Church than hierarchy and organization but also a Woman, the Bride and Mother whose most excellent incarnation is Mary."

The above parallelism with its many far-reaching implications fills a major portion of the paper, and is the author's distinctive contribution.

A third way of fostering Mary's role is given, namely, encouraging devotion to Mary, especially the DeMonfort consecration properly understood. This encouragement on the part of lectors as well as masters extends throughout both the Junior and Senior theologate of the Franciscan seminarian.

By clearly showing Mary's place in Franciscanism to the Junior theologian, by inspiring the senior theologian with the Mary-Church parallelism and its implications, and by encouraging the theologians of both Junior and Senior rank to seek knowledge of our Lady with heart as well as head, an outline of Franciscan and Marian formation can be visualized. And in this way Father Sergius's treatment of Mary's role in the spiritual formation of the Franciscan seminarian can also be seen to complement the plan of the Most Reverend Pacific Perantoni.

## MARY, QUEEN OF THE FRIARS MINOR

FIRMIN SCHMIDT, O.F.M.Cap.

In 1949 the Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, granted to the various branches of the Franciscan Order the feast of "Mary, Queen of the Friars Minor."<sup>1</sup> This official declaration of Mary's regal dignity came as a climax to the rich, living Marian tradition in the Franciscan Order. It was not the declaration of a new fact, but rather an official recognition of a fact that is as old as the Franciscan Order. As the Lessons for the Second Nocturn of the feast clearly express, Mary's position in relation to St. Francis and his followers has always been that of Queen and Advocate.<sup>2</sup>

### Queen

In order to appreciate the true significance of the feast and the implication of the royal title as applied to Mary, it is important to have first of all a clear concept of the term "queen." "Queen" just as the term "king" can be taken in a metaphorical sense and a proper sense. In a metaphorical sense queen is indicative of a certain excellence or preeminence in comparison with others in the same category. Thus, when we speak of theology as the "queen" of the sciences, or of charity as the "queen" of the virtues, we are using queen in the metaphorical sense. In the proper sense, queen is related to actual ruling. And this ruling can be twofold: absolute or relative. A queen in the proper, absolute, sense is a woman who on her own authority rules the members of a perfect, organized society, and leads them to their common end. In her own name, she exercises the threefold power: the legislative, judiciary, and executive. Such a woman is really nothing else than a "female king." A queen in

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<sup>1</sup> *Analecta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuccinorum*, Vol. 65 (1949), p. 147. The feast is celebrated on the Octave Day of the Immaculate Conception, namely December 15.

<sup>2</sup> See *Analecta*, Vol. 26 (1910), pp. 314-6, where St. Pius X, *Motu Proprio* speaks of the addition of "Regina Ordinis Minorum" to the Litany of Loreto. The Second Nocturn of the feast of "Regina Ordinis Minorum" is taken from this communication of Pope St. Pius X.



the proper, relative, sense is a woman who partakes of the dignity of a king in her capacity as the king's consort, or as the king's mother.

### Mary—Queen

The term queen is applied to Mary in both the metaphorical and proper sense. By reason of her unique excellence and sanctity she is certainly deserving of the title queen in the metaphorical sense. As the Messenger from God declared at the Annunciation, so have all devotees of Mary ever looked up to her as the most favored of God: "Hail full of grace, the Lord is with thee. Blessed art thou among women" (*Luke*, 1,28).

However, it is primarily in the proper and strict sense that the title of queen is applied to Mary. To be sure this does not in any way derogate from Christ the King. For Mary is not Queen in the proper, absolute sense. She is not the supreme ruler, nor a substitute ruler. Rather, it is in the relative, though proper, sense that Mary is Queen. She is Queen of the Kingdom of which Christ is King. Her royal prerogatives come from and are entirely dependent upon the King. Her authority is derived from, and is exercised under, Christ. Christ is the one and only supreme Ruler, the source of sovereignty in the realm.

An analysis of the status of a temporal queen will convey some idea of the queenly status of Mary. But such an analysis will never result in a complete understanding of Mary's proper royal dignity. Just as Christ surpasses earthly kings in dignity, power and authority, so likewise Mary surpasses earthly queens in dignity, power and authority. Mary is a unique Queen. There is no model by which we can measure her status; just as there is no model for measuring the status of Christ the King. It is on the supernatural plane that Christ is King and Mary is Queen. As grace surpasses nature, as the supernatural order surpasses the natural order, so does the queenly status of Mary surpass temporal queens. Temporal queens at their best can reflect only partially the royal prerogatives of Mary. The comparison that Cornelius a Lapide made between the supernatural order and the natural order can be preserved in comparing the royal dignity of Mary with an earthly or temporal queen: "The order of nature was created and established for the

order of grace. . . . The order of grace, the heights of which are occupied by Christ and the Blessed Virgin is the idea and exemplar according to which God created and arranged the order of nature and of the whole universe.”<sup>3</sup>

### Mary, Queen of the Friars Minor

The title “Queen of the Friars Minor” is therefore more than an expression of endearment or excellence. It is that, but it is much more than that. It designates Mary as having a true and genuine spiritual authority. In her capacity as Queen, Mary exercises her authority in union with, but subordinate to, Christ the King. She exercises her power mainly by the distribution of grace.

Besides vindicating a spiritual authority for Mary, the title “Queen of the Friars Minor” also has a correlative reference to the subjects of the Queen. It expressly designates the Friar Minor as truly a subject of Mary the Queen. And furthermore, it implies that a true Friar Minor lives as a loyal subject.

The title “Queen of the Friars Minor” does not imply a limitation to Mary’s royal jurisdiction. We do not have a selfish claim upon Mary’s governing authority, as if she belonged to us and to no one else. She is also Queen of the Jesuits,<sup>4</sup> Queen of Ireland,<sup>5</sup> Queen of Poland.<sup>6</sup> In fact Mary is “Queen of the Universe.” The Holy Father, Pope Pius XII, has expressed his intention that within a few months he will establish a special feast in honor of “Mary, Queen of the Universe.”<sup>7</sup>

“Queen of the Friars Minor” specifically means that Mary in her royal capacity has a special care for, and jurisdiction over, the Friars Minor. By extension or implication, the title recognizes Mary as a true Queen in the Kingdom of Christ without limitation. Wherever Christ is King, there Mary is Queen.

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<sup>3</sup> Cornelius a Lapide, S.J., *Commentarium in Ecclesiasticum in Commentaria in Scripturam Sacram* (Parisiis, 1859), vol. 9, cap. 24, p. 618.

<sup>4</sup> The Jesuits celebrate the feast in honor of “Our Lady, Queen of the Society” on April 22.

<sup>5</sup> See *The Catholic Bulletin*, vol. 22 (July, 1932), p. 528.

<sup>6</sup> Pope Pius XI spoke of Mary as “Queen of the Kingdom of Poland.” See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. 29 (1937), p. 380.

<sup>7</sup> Pope Pius XII has officially declared this fact in a special Encyclical Letter, *Ad Coeli Reginam*, Oct. 11, 1954.

### Queenship of Mary in History

It may be well to observe at this point that the fact of Mary's Queenship was never seriously questioned in theological circles, as were some of Mary's other prerogatives or privileges. As soon as the term Queen was applied to Mary, it was recognized as her proper title. However, it was only around the fifth century<sup>8</sup> that Mary began to be expressly called a Queen. The doctrine of Mary's Queenship was contained in the original deposit of faith; but it did not emerge from its implicit stage until after the meaning of "divine maternity" had been fully clarified. It was after the Council of Ephesus in 431 that the slow but steady process began of unveiling Mary's true supernatural, royal status. By the 12th century Mary was commonly referred to as Queen. Such outstanding writers as St. Anselm of Canterbury,<sup>9</sup> Aedmer,<sup>10</sup> and Bernard of Clairvaux<sup>11</sup> speak clearly of Mary as Queen in their sermons, prayers, and hymns. By the time St. Francis of Assisi laid the foundation of his Order the fact of Mary's Queenship was universally acknowledged. However, the true significance of her royal dignity and the extent of her authority were many years away from their ultimate clarification. It will redound forever to the glory of the Franciscan Order that it has been an instrument in God's providence to help place Mary on the regal pedestal that was assigned to her by God Himself. This does not mean that the followers of St. Francis down the centuries stood alone in the endeavor to clarify Mary's true queenly status. Theologians of every school worked side by side with the Franciscan scholars in an effort to make Mary's exalted

<sup>8</sup> See H. Barre, CSSp. *La Royauté de Marie pendant les neuf premiers siècles*, in *Rech. de. sc. relig.*, vol. 29 (1939), pp. 129-162; pp. 303-334. Also see Angel Luis, C.SS.R., *La Realeza de Maria* (Madrid, 1942), p. 34f. For a brief summary of the history of the development of the doctrine, see Rev. Dr. Malachi J. Donnelly, S.J., "The Queenship of Mary During the Patristic Period" in *Marian Studies*, IV (1953), p. 84 f.

<sup>9</sup> See *Hymni et Psalterium de S. Maria*, in *P.L.* 158, 1035-1049. For a capable analysis and summary of the doctrine of St. Anselm, see Rev. Dr. William F. Hill, S.S., in "Our Lady's Queenship in the Middle Ages and Modern Times" in *Marian Studies*, IV (1953), p. 137f.

<sup>10</sup> See *De Excellentia Virginis Mariae*, *P.L.*, 159, 557f. See also Luis, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

<sup>11</sup> *P.L.* vols. 182-185. See the excellent summary of Bernard's doctrine by Hill, *art. cit.*, p. 142.

royal dignity known. Even those who had questioned or denied the Immaculate Conception never for one moment doubted her queenly status.

### Queenship of Mary and the Franciscan Order

There was no Scotus needed to defend the Queenship of Mary. But no one can question the fact that St. Francis and all his loyal followers were singularly dedicated to the vocation of proclaiming the genuinely royal dignity of the Immaculate Queen. The influence of St. Francis and his followers in delineating the proper royal status of Mary cannot be determined mathematically. However, the contribution of the Franciscans in clarifying and glorifying this Marian prerogative is unmistakable.

### Mary our Queen and St. Francis

The very beginning of the Franciscan Order received a definite Marian orientation. For when Francis had just a handful of followers, circumstances led him to find comforting refuge in a church dedicated to Mary, Queen of the Angels. It was there, in St. Mary of the Angels or the "Portiuncula" that a Marian tradition took firm root, and later on blossomed forth into one of the greatest glories of Franciscanism and the Church. St. Francis had no express intention, to be sure, of teaching his followers the true meaning of Mary's Queenship. What he purposed was simply to honor Mary with the love and veneration that is due the Mother of the Divine King. An attitude of a servant and subject was inevitable.<sup>12</sup> It was this attitude that he impressed on his followers. And from this sprang the acknowledgment of Mary as Queen among the first Franciscans.

From the beginning of his exalted vocation St. Francis' outlook was truly Christo-centric. And his view of Christo-centricity did not separate or isolate the Mother from the King of heaven and earth. As Celano expressed it: "He (Francis) loved the Mother of the Lord Jesus with a love that cannot be described, because she had made the Lord of Majesty our brother, and through her we have

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<sup>12</sup> See Raphael Brown, *Our Lady and Saint Francis*, 1954, p. 9.

obtained mercy.”<sup>13</sup> It was this view of Mary that led Francis to recognize and acknowledge the Mother of the Redeemer as a true Queen.

Although Francis referred to Mary as Queen,<sup>14</sup> Most Holy Queen,<sup>15</sup> Queen of Heaven and Sovereign of the World, Queen of Mercy,<sup>16</sup> Head of all the Saints,<sup>17</sup> it is more in his devotion than in his words that we find Francis honoring Mary as his true Queen. For Francis, Mary was more than the greatest of saints. She was the Handmaid of the Most High King, the Mother of Jesus Christ, the Spouse of the Holy Spirit. In her honor he used to fast from the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul until the feast of the Assumption.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, he made her the patroness of his Order, and committed to her the protection and care of all his children, even to the end of time.<sup>19</sup>

And finally, in accordance with a decree of the year 1219, he also desired that on every Saturday the “Salve Regina” be chanted in honor of the heavenly Queen.<sup>20</sup>

The following prayer beautifully represents St. Francis’ attitude toward Mary our Queen, even though it is doubtful whether St. Francis himself composed it:

O glorious sovereign Lady and our Hope! Just as the world received its Savior at your hands, so do I hope once to see my Lord Jesus Christ at your hands. Amen. When I say, “Ave Maria,” the heavens smile, the angels rejoice, the world exults, hell trembles, and the devils flee. As wax flows before fire, and dust scatters before the wind, so the whole army of evil spirits is dispersed by the invocation of the name of Mary.<sup>21</sup>

By his exemplary leadership, St. Francis inculcated in his first

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<sup>13</sup> Quoted in the Second Nocturn of the feast “Regina Ordinis Minorum.” See also Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>14</sup> Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 22, 32, 34.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 74.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>19</sup> See the Second Nocturn of the feast “Regina Ordinis Minorum.” Also see Rev. Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M.Conv., *A Documented History of the Franciscan Order* (1944), p. 900.

<sup>20</sup> Huber, *loc. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> See Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 36.



followers an undying love for the Mother of God, the Queen of heaven and earth.

St. Mary of the Angels is therefore rightly looked upon as more than a church in which Francis and his followers found spiritual strength and consolation. It was the symbol under which the spirit and ideals of Francis became permanently enshrined. Significantly, Francis speaks of St. Mary of the Portiuncula in his bequest to his followers. He said:

I wish to appoint and leave to the brothers the "place" of St. Mary of the Portiuncula in my will so that it may always be held in greatest devotion and reverence . . . I want this place to be blessed and ever to remain a mirror and good example for the whole Order, and like a candlestick always burning and shining before the throne of God and before the Blessed Virgin.<sup>22</sup>

The history of the Order speaks for itself in irrefutable testimony to the accomplishment of this will of St. Francis. The dedication of the Order to our Blessed Mother is more than a mere expression. It is a fact that is inseparably connected with the growth and accomplishments of the Order. *Anima Franciscana naturaliter Mariana*.<sup>23</sup>

While St. Francis did not leave to his followers a set of theological or Mariological principles whereby they were to govern their lives, he did leave them a way of life in which theological and Mariological truths and principles are clearly discernible. Next to Christ, Mary occupies the first place in everything. "For it was she who made the Lord of Majesty our brother."<sup>24</sup> Franciscan scholarship perceived this truth, and as a consequence, spent itself in making known and in extolling the dignity of Mary.

### Mary's Queenship and Franciscan Scholars

The outstanding Franciscan scholars from the first days of the Order until the present day have inevitably been led to write about their heavenly Queen. Even when they did not deal directly with Mary's royal prerogative, words about her queenly dignity issued

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>23</sup> The expression is an adaption of Tertullian's well known exclamation: "O testimonium animae naturaliter christianae" in *Apologeticum* 17, *M.L.* 1, 337.

<sup>24</sup> Second Nocturn of the feast of "Regina Ordinis Minorum."

forth almost spontaneously. An uninterrupted chain of Franciscan writers from St. Anthony of Padua to the Franciscan theologian of the twentieth century bears witness to the glorious Franciscan tradition concerning Mary's Queenship. It would be a rather lengthy procedure, and altogether unnecessary to single out every individual Franciscan who has ever made a statement about Mary's royal dignity. For the present purpose it will be sufficient to summarize briefly the regal doctrine of Mary by the more important Franciscan writers in every age of Franciscan history.

### St. Anthony of Padua (d.1231)

St. Anthony, the Evangelical Doctor, wrote no summa, nor a commentary on the Sentences, nor even a special treatise on Mariology. However, his sermons are a veritable treasure of Mariology. In the words of the outstanding Mariologist, Scaramuzzi, "the principal truths regarding the Blessed Virgin Mary are presented by St. Anthony in all their brilliant beauty, with admirable theological precision, and completeness of exposition."<sup>25</sup>

The basic principle of St. Anthony's Mariology is the Divine Maternity. In this main fact St. Anthony sees the foundation for all other Marian prerogatives, including her Queenship. Because of this basic fact St. Anthony sees in Mary "the masterpiece of the Most High Son of God."<sup>26</sup>

Speaking of Mary's glorious Assumption into heaven, the Evangelical Doctor refers to Mary as a true Queen coming to the "dwelling place of the King of Kings."<sup>27</sup> "Christ Jesus," continues St. Anthony, "raised Mary above all the choirs of angels, crowned her with a royal diadem, and placed her upon a throne of Eternal Light."<sup>28</sup> And then contemplating Mary who was exalted above all the choirs of angels, St. Anthony breaks forth in ecstatic exclamation

<sup>25</sup> *La Figura Intellettuale di San Antonio di Padova* (Rome, 1934), p. 197.

<sup>26</sup> See Very Rev. Raphael M. Huber, O.F.M.Conv., *The Mariology of St. Anthony of Padua*, in report of the *First Franciscan National Marian Congress in Acclamation of the Dogma of the Assumption*, October 8-11, 1950 (Studia Mariana-VII), p. 228.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 249.

tion: "Oh inestimable dignity of Mary! Oh unspeakable sublimity of grace! Oh unsearchable profundity of Mercy."<sup>29</sup>

St. Anthony was particularly fond of describing Mary's royal dignity by figures of the Old Testament. Thus, for example, he says: "Sara means princess. This is true of the glorious Virgin. She is a Princess and our Queen."<sup>30</sup> For Mary occupies a place in heaven immediately next to Christ.<sup>31</sup>

The prayer of St. Anthony to Mary, the Queen of Heaven, represents a beautiful summary of his doctrine on Mary's royal dignity:

We beseech thee, therefore, Our Lady, Blessed Mother of God, exalted above the choirs of angels; that thou wouldst fill the vase of our heart with heavenly grace, make it resplendent with the gold of wisdom, confirm it by the power of thy strength, adorn it with the precious stones of all virtues. Pour out upon us, O Blessed Olive, the oil of mercy and by it cover the multitude of our sins, so that we too may one day merit to be raised to the heights of heavenly joy and become blessed with all the saints, through the mercy of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, Who exalted thee this day above the choirs of the angels and crowned thee with a diadem of His Kingdom and placed thee on a throne of Eternal Light, to Whom be honor and glory for all eternity. Let the whole Church respond, Amen. Alleluia.<sup>32</sup>

### St. Bonaventure (d.1274)

Just as St. Anthony, so also St. Bonaventure speaks of Mary's royal dignity mainly in his Assumption sermons. However he also speaks of Mary's Queenship in his other Marian sermons. In his sermons on the Annunciation, for example, he speaks most clearly of Mary's queenly status, and in these sermons he attributes tremendous power to her because of her Queenship. In one of the Annunciation sermons, he says: "Mary is not merely a handmaid; she is also a Sovereign Lady and Queen. In fact, she is Sovereign Lady of everything; and her empire includes not only the earth, but also heaven, . . . In short, the Virgin has been made Queen of the universe."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 239.

<sup>30</sup> *Loc. cit.*, "Sara interpretatur princeps—Haec est gloriosa Virgo, Princeps et Regina Nostra."

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 240. See also Fr. Louis Rohr, O.F.M., *The Use of Sacred Scripture in the Sermons of St. Anthony of Padua* (Washington, D.C., 1948), p. 81.

<sup>32</sup> Quoted by Huber, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

<sup>33</sup> *St. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, ed. ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1882-

Commenting on the effects of Mary's universal dominative power, St. Bonaventure says: "Therefore, everyone ought to praise her . . . because her gifts redound to the benefit of all."<sup>34</sup>

His sermons on the Assumption abound with statements about Mary's Queenship. In his second Sermon on the Assumption, the Seraphic Doctor speaks of Mary as "the Glorious Empress who was exalted above the choirs of the heavenly citizens."<sup>35</sup> This second sermon on the Assumption reveals St. Bonaventure's clear grasp of the meaning of Mary's Queenship. He sees Mary as Queen in the metaphorical and proper or strict sense. He furthermore sees Mary exercising her queenly authority in the realm of grace.<sup>36</sup>

In all six of the sermons on the Assumption the Seraphic Doctor describes Mary in her glorious enthronement, and in her capacity as Queen of heaven. He attributes tremendous power to Mary, but is very careful not to make her the equal of her Son, the Eternal King of Kings. She is great and powerful because of her Son. According to the Seraphic Doctor, God gave to Mary the highest dignity possible, for:

She presides and immediately assists in subordination to the King . . . And that for a threefold reason: 1. because of the closeness of her heart to the heart of the King . . . ; 2. because of her frequent intercession in behalf of sinners; and 3. because just as Christ with His Mother saved the human race, so also they are the rulers of the human race. . . ."<sup>37</sup>

Since Mary is truly the Queen of heaven and earth, she ought to be honored as such. In the words of the Seraphic Doctor: "Just as every knee in heaven, on earth, and under the earth is bent before her Son, so also must everyone bend his knee before her."<sup>38</sup>

The entire second sermon on the Assumption is really an explana-

1902, Vol. 9, p. 673: "Mater Domini non erit *ancilla*, sed *domina* et *regina*, *domina* utique *omnium*, non solum *terrestrium*, sed et *caelestium*, ad quae se extendit *ipsius* imperium . . . Et ideo beata *Virgo* *omnium* *regina* facta est."

<sup>34</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, *De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae, Sermo II*, p. 691: "Imperatrix gloriosa, super choros supernotum civium sublimata. . . ."

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 692.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sermo III*, p. 695: "Et sedit ad dexteram eius. . . : immediata locatio circa Regem. Et sunt ad hoc tres rationes: prima est immediato amoris cordis ad cor . . . Secunda ratio est frequenter interpellandi pro peccatoribus . . . Tertia ratio est . . . quia, sicut illi fuerunt peremptores humani generis, ita isti fuerunt reparatores."

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sermo IV*, p. 698.

tion of Mary's Queenship. He describes Mary's royal dignity under three points: 1. Her perfect beauty; 2. Her nobility, which is par excellence; 3. Her outstanding wisdom.<sup>39</sup> From the context it is clear that the Seraphic Doctor is speaking here of Mary's supernatural excellence and dignity.

1. Her beauty, he explains, is perfect because of her closeness to the source and origin of all beauty.<sup>40</sup> In elaborating on this point, St. Bonaventure shows that the unique glory of Mary is demanded by her special relation to Christ the King. This unique glory, he says, is found only in the Royal Virgin.<sup>41</sup>

2. Mary's nobility is par excellence. This is true, the Seraphic Doctor says, a) because of the affluence of spiritual favors; b) because of the abundance of her eternal treasures; and c) because of the excellence of her dignity and race.<sup>42</sup> In the marvellous explanation of these three points, St. Bonaventure summarizes the reasons for Mary's supernatural dignity. The central theme is briefly expressed as follows: ". . . since she is the Mother of the Most High Emperor, she is the most noble of all creatures in dignity and in race, and for that reason she was deservedly exalted above every creature, and placed at the right hand of her Son, on the most noble throne."<sup>43</sup>

While explaining the supernatural dignity of Mary, St. Bonaventure tells us that the glorious Woman of *Apocalypse*, 12, 1, is the Royal Virgin.<sup>44</sup>

3. Mary's wisdom is outstanding. This is so, the holy Doctor tells us, because of her closeness to the source of wisdom.<sup>45</sup> And because of her outstanding wisdom, he adds, she enlightens all men by the light of reason, and by the light of grace as far as possible.<sup>46</sup> That St. Bonaventure looked upon this function of Mary as a

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sermo II*, p. 691.

<sup>40</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>41</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 692.

<sup>43</sup> *Loc. cit.*: ". . . ipsa enim genere et dignitate, cum sit Mater imperatoris altissimi, est omnium creaturarum nobilissima; et idcirco super omnem creaturam et ad dexteram Filii sui fuit non immerito exaltata et in solio sublimissimo collocata. . . ."

<sup>44</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>45</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>46</sup> *Loc. cit.*



consequent of her royal status is clear. For immediately he adds: ". . . just as the divine light transcends all things as far as the governing and direction of everything is concerned, so the Blessed Virgin transcends all things for the same reason."<sup>47</sup>

In speaking of the work of the Queen, St. Bonaventure does not fail to identify Mary as the Queen of Mercy. To emphasize this specific function of the heavenly Queen, the Seraphic Doctor graphically describes the Kingdom as being divided into two parts, justice and mercy. He says:

. . . In her glorious exaltation in heaven, Mary made an allotment with her Son, dividing with Him the Kingdom of heaven, to which there are two parts, namely justice and mercy. The Blessed Virgin chose the best part for herself, because she was made the Queen of Mercy, and her Son remains the King of Justice; and mercy is better than justice, because mercy glorifies justice.<sup>48</sup>

"Hence," he concludes, "no good of any nature is lacking to her."<sup>49</sup>

From this we may not conclude that there is a conflict or actual division between the Queen and King. For the Seraphic Doctor insists that there is most perfect harmony of wills between the two.<sup>50</sup> The mercy of one is not opposed to the justice of the other. While Christ is most just, He is never lacking in mercy. The Saint simply wanted to emphasize the fact that Mary is specifically Queen of Mercy because of her power of impetration.<sup>51</sup>

### Conrad of Saxony (d.1279)

Conrad of Saxony, a disciple of St. Bonaventure, imitated his master's style so perfectly that for many years his magnificent Marian work *Speculum Beatae Mariae Virginis* had been erroneously attributed to Bonaventure. Not only in style, but also in

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 693.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 703, *Sermo VI—De Assumptione B. Virginis Mariae*: ". . . divisionem fecit cum Filio, cum quo divisit regnum caelorum, cuius duae erant partes, *iustitia* et *misericordia*. Beata Virgo optimam sibi elegit, quia facta est regina *misericordiae*, et Filius eius remansit rex *iustitiae*; et melior *misericordia* quam *iustitia*, quia superexaltat *misericordia* iudicium, et miserationes eius super omnia opera eius."

<sup>49</sup> *Loc. cit.*; "Et sic patet, qualiter nullum bonum sibi defuerit."

<sup>50</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 692.

doctrine Conrad proved himself an outstanding disciple. *Speculum Beatae Mariae Virginis* deserves to be listed among the classical works on Mariology. It is rightly regarded as one of the best Marian works of the thirteenth century.

*Speculum Beatae Mariae Virginis* is a commentary on the Angelic Salutation in eighteen chapters. Around the framework of the *Ave Maria*, he constructs a complete Mariology, dealing with Mary's privileges and offices. The author's facility in the use of Scripture to illustrate Mary's perfections recalls the style of his master, and actually is a confirmation of his thorough acquaintance with the theological approach of his time.

The purpose of the work, as Conrad himself explains in the Prologue, is to show us Mary as in a "mirror that is representative of her life, grace, and glory."<sup>52</sup> As a matter of fact, the *Speculum* is a sketch of Mary as our Queen. After the introductory chapter, in which Conrad introduces his subject, there is not a single chapter that does not deal with Mary's royal prerogative. The treatise reveals beautifully that Mary's Queenship, even though it is distinct, cannot be easily separated or isolated from her other prerogatives.

Like his master, Conrad attributes universal dominion to Mary. Demons, as well as angels and men, come under Mary's power.

Mary is the Sovereign Lady of the Angels . . . because as one who is most powerful she commands them<sup>53</sup> . . . She is the Sovereign Lady of men in the world . . . because from her hands we have whatever good we possess . . . and she is most powerful with the Lord in our behalf so that all of us can feel secure under her protection<sup>54</sup> . . . She is the Sovereign Lady of the demons in hell . . . as one who in her power dominates over them . . . for she is powerful against the infernal enemies . . . and keeps us safe against them.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>52</sup> *Speculum Beatae Mariae Virginis*, ed. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) 1904 (*Bibliotheca Franciscana Ascetica Medii Aevi*, Vol. 2), p. 6.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38-39: ". . . Maria est domina angelorum . . . tanquam potentissima angelis imperando."

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40-41: ". . . Maria est domina hominum in mundo . . . Per manus enim huius dominae habemus quicquid boni possidemus . . . et tam praepotens est apud Dominum super nos, ut securi ad ipsam confugere possimus omnes nos."

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 41-42: ". . . Maria est domina daemonum in inferno, tam potenter eis dominans . . . haec virga, Virgo Maria, virga virtutis est contra inimicos infernales, quibus magna virtute dominatur, et ideo domina tam magnae virtutis merito a nobis amatur . . . ut nos contra inimicos istos tueatur."

Commenting further on how Mary exercises her dominative power over the angels, men and demons, Conrad utilizes a common method of his time, namely by the analysis of a name. Hence, he deduces, "Mary is a sea (Mare), and a bitter sea (Mare amarum). She is for the demons spiritually a bitter sea; for men she is the star of the sea by reason of her office; for angels she is eternally the illuminatrix; hence Mary is universally for all creatures a Sovereign Lady."<sup>56</sup>

The elaboration by Conrad on how these titles are applicable to Mary is both interesting and informative. He says Mary is a bitter sea for the demons because by submerging the devil, she caused his suffocation.<sup>57</sup> By the affluence and abundance of her grace, she deserves to be called a sea (a sea of grace).<sup>58</sup> By her cooperation in the bitter Passion, she deserves to be called a bitter sea.<sup>59</sup> Besides, by her conquering of the devil and his angels she is truly for them a bitter sea spiritually.<sup>60</sup>

From this figurative description it is readily deduced that Conrad recognized Mary as a Queen with true dominative power that is all-embracing. That he considered Mary as Queen in the metaphorical sense also is beyond all doubt.<sup>61</sup>

According to Conrad, Mary's dominion is not only universal, but it is also effective. He speaks of Mary as being most powerful.<sup>62</sup> While commenting on the phrase "Dominus Tecum" of the *Ave Maria*, he says: "The Most powerful Mother of the Creator really

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<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25-26: "Maria enim amarum mare, Maria stella maris . . . Maria domina interpretatur. Maria autem est mare amarum daemonibus, stella maris hominibus, illuminata, vel illuminatrix angelicis spiritibus, domina creaturis omnibus. Maria inquam, daemonibus est amarum mare *spiritualiter*, Maria hominibus est stella maris *officialiter*, Maria angelis est illuminatrix *aeternaliter*, Maria creaturis omnibus est domina *universaliter*."

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26: "Maria est amarum mare diabolum submergendo . . . et per submergentem diaboli suffocationem."

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30: ". . . Maria est mare amarum propter potentiam diabolicæ submersionis."

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67-68: "Nulla pura creatura tantam gratiam in mundo, nulla tantam gloriam in caelo invenit."

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84: "Maria . . . est . . . super omnem creaturam apud potentissimam."

has power in heaven as well as on earth.”<sup>63</sup> In the context it is obvious that Conrad does not make Mary the Supreme Ruler of the Kingdom, as if she were a female King. The power that belongs to Mary, he says, is derived from the Lord of the universe.<sup>64</sup>

Just as his Franciscan predecessors, so also Conrad speaks most clearly of Mary’s royal dignity when speaking of her Assumption. He says:

... See the glory of Mary, when she enters into the heavenly Jerusalem. Consider her excellence . . . power . . . and wealth . . . Observe her excellence, in her sovereignty; her power in her companionship (with Christ); her wealth, in her splendor . . . For Mary is Queen of the World . . . she is also Queen of heaven.<sup>65</sup> She has entered into glory as the Queen of heaven with wealth of countless merits.<sup>66</sup>

In concluding his commentary on Mary’s glorious and royal entrance into heaven, Conrad addresses a beautiful prayer to our heavenly Queen: “O most powerful Queen, grant that the King of Glory, Our Lord Jesus Christ, your Son, may be with us also.”<sup>67</sup>

Conrad of Saxony repeatedly speaks of Mary as the Queen of Mercy. To obtain mercy seems to be the main work of the Queen according to this pupil of Bonaventure. He calls her the “Mother of Mercy,”<sup>68</sup> “throne of mercy,”<sup>69</sup> “the most merciful Sovereign Lady.”<sup>70</sup>

These titles properly belong to her, he explains, because only those who are servants of Mary can be servants of the Lord.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 114: “. . . vere tam in caelis quam in terris potestatem habet mater potentissima Creatoris.”

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 112–114.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184–185: “Considera . . . gloriam Mariae ingredientis in caelestem Jerusalem; considera . . . *excellentiam*, ingredientis *potentiam*, ingredientis *opulentiam*. Considera excellentiam in principatu, potentiam in comitatu, opulentiam in apparatu . . . Maria enim est regina mundi . . . est etiam regina caeli. . . .”

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187: “Ingressa est igitur mater Domini ad gloriam tanquam regina caelorum, ingressa est cum divitiis innumerabilium meritorum.”

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189: “O regina potentissima, fac, ut etiam nobiscum sit Rex gloriae, Dominus noster Iesus Christus, Filius tuus. Amen.”

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 80, 81, 123.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>70</sup> *Loc. cit.*: “Nam sicut misericordissimum Dominum, ita misericordissimam dominam habemus.”

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139: “Per benedictam ancillam Mariam quasi tot servi loti sunt, quot fideles eius suffragiis a peccatis mundati sunt. Ipsa enim quasi tot ser-

In summary, Conrad clearly taught the following points about Mary's royal dignity: 1. Mary is a true Queen because she is the Mother of the eternal King of Kings. 2. She is Queen of the Universe, having dominion over angels, men and demons. 3. Mary is a most powerful Queen. 4. Mary as Queen exercises her authority *over angels* by enlightening them and by issuing precepts to protect and guard men. 5. As Queen, Mary exercises her authority *over men* in so far as she obtains all graces for them. 6. As Queen she exercises her authority *over demons* by preventing them from overcoming man.<sup>72</sup> 7. Mary is truly the Queen of Mercy.

### John Duns Scotus (d.1308)

There were many Franciscan preachers and teachers who carried on the Marian traditions of the Order after Anthony, Bonaventure, and Conrad of Saxony. However, a new impetus came in the person of John Duns Scotus. He will be eternally remembered and honored because of his capable defense of Mary's Immaculate Conception on theological grounds. A careful analysis of Scotistic thought will reveal that Scotus defended not merely the Immaculate Conception but rather the Immaculate Queen. He expended his talent and zeal not merely in defense of a prerogative, but in defense of the prerogative of the Queen. He proved himself a true Knight of the Queen of the Friars Minor.

Scotus championed the doctrine of Christ's absolute primacy. On the plane of final and exemplary causality Christ comes first. His existence as Man does not depend on some contingent being or act, and especially not on the sinful act of man. The Incarnation was willed primarily to give glory to God.<sup>73</sup> Everything in the universe was created in view of the Incarnation, and not vice versa. In the mind of Scotus, Christ must hold the first place in all things (*Col.*, 1, 18).

This concept of Scotus obviously sheds a bright light on Christ's

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vorum Domini pedibus aquam obtulit, quot poenitentibus lacrymas compunctionis obtinuit."

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 41, 42.

<sup>73</sup> See Fr. Dominic Unger, O.F.M.Cap., "Franciscan Christology"—*Absolute and Universal Primacy of Christ in Franciscan Studies*, vol. 23, (1942) No. 4, p. 430.



universal dominion over all creatures. It shows Christ truly as King of the universe.

This doctrine of Christ's absolute primacy and universal Kingship furthermore has a direct bearing on Mary's royal status. For "if Christ was predestined absolutely and independently of sin, then Mary was too. If Christ is the universal End, Exemplar, and Mediator of all creatures, then Mary is the End, Exemplar, and Mediatrix of all creatures, but in a secondary role."<sup>74</sup>

According to Scotistic principles:

. . . Prior to all other creatures God actually had in mind Christ the Lord and his holy Mother, and decreed their existence before anything else. Yes, he wished to produce all other creatures for Christ and his Mother, making that the purpose for which they were to enjoy existence. Wherefore, prior to all creatures God wished the Mother and her Son to exist, for the sake of God Himself and to communicate his bounty to them.<sup>75</sup>

Hence, according to the Most Reverend Leonard Bello, a Franciscan General, the doctrine of the absolute primacy of Christ "glorified in the highest degree of the Most Blessed Virgin. For all things which are predicated of Christ, rightly are attributed to his most glorious Mother (surely in its proper order, namely under Christ and through Christ)."<sup>76</sup>

In a later treatise, the Most Reverend Leonard Bello, while speaking of Mary's universal mediation, said: ". . . According to the opinion of Blessed Duns Scotus regarding the motive of the Incarnation, the Blessed Virgin is predestined before all others unconditionally as the Queen and the Sovereign of the universe, and she is most intimately associated with the Royal dignity and office of King Christ."<sup>77</sup>

The doctrine of the absolute primacy of Christ and of Mary was not an invention of Scotus. There are scholars who see it substantially in the tradition of the Church and find it reflected in the

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 473.

<sup>75</sup> *Acta Ordinis Minorum*, vol. 57 (May 1938), p. 138, a quotation from Charles del Moral, O.F.M., *Fons Illimis theologiae Scotisticae*, I, n. 27, p. 339.

<sup>76</sup> *Acta Ordinis Minorum*, vol. 52 (1933), p. 301: "Beatissimam quoque Virginem summe exaltat. Etenim omnia quae de Christo praedicantur, Matri ejus floriosissimae (in suo utique ordine, videlicet sub Christo et per Christum) merito attribuuntur."

<sup>77</sup> *Acta Ordinis Minorum*, vol. 57 (May 1938), p. 148, a quotation from Charles del Moral, *Op. cit.*, tr. II, d. 1, q. 3, a. 2, n. 24, I, 365.

writings of the Fathers beginning already in the fourth century.<sup>78</sup> With his theological erudition and logical precision, Scotus simply presented the doctrine anew in scholastic fashion. Although this doctrine as presented by Scotus is not universally accepted among theologians, nevertheless his influence particularly in the Franciscan school is unmistakable. Scotus recognized Christ as the King of the universe. In his logical reasoning he could not help but find Mary next to Christ as the Queen.

### St. Bernardine of Siena (d.1444)

In the fifteenth century it was Bernardine of Siena who shed new glory on the Franciscan tradition in the field of Mariology. His reputation as a popular preacher has led some authors to honor him as the "Prince of Orators."<sup>79</sup> He is particularly remembered for his preaching on the Holy Name of Jesus. However, his sermons on the Blessed Mother are also worthy of special note. These reveal a truly Franciscan view of Mary, the Mother of the Redeemer. It was his exalted view of Christ that naturally led him to recognize the royal status of Mary.

Although Bernardine did not write a formal treatise on Mary's Queenship, nevertheless his sermons contain an ordered outline of the main principles of Mary's royal dignity. He builds his explanation of Mary's queenly status on *Apocalypse*, 12, 1: "And a great sign appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon was under her feet, and upon her head a crown of twelve stars."

"A crown of twelve stars" is used as the outline into which Bernardine fits his explanation. The twelve stars, he says are divided respectively into three groups of four each: first group—represents nobility, preservation, merit, and power; second group—represents super-excellence, domination, rule, and dispensation; third group—represents consummation, adornment, retribution, incomprehensibility.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>78</sup> See Fr. Dominic J. Unger, O.F.M.Cap., *art. cit.*, p. 447 f.

<sup>79</sup> See Fr. Anscar Zawart, O.M.Cap., *The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers* (1209-1927) in *The Franciscan Educational Conference*, vol. 9 (1927), p. 319.

<sup>80</sup> *S. Bernardini Senensis Opera Omnia*, ed. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi, 1950), Vol. 2, p. 372.

With this outline as a guide, in logical procedure St. Bernardine explains that: 1. Mary is a true Queen; 2. Mary is a Queen of Mercy; 3. Mary has universal jurisdiction; 4. Mary is Queen by reason of her Divine Maternity; and 5. Mary's jurisdiction is in the realm of grace.<sup>81</sup>

1. Mary is a true Queen. Bernardine shows that the entire Old Testament was meant as a preparation for the coming of Christ the King. Nobility was preserved in the Virgin from whom the King was to be born. Although Bernardine speaks of the line of nobility that was preserved by God from Adam to Christ, it is clear that he recognizes Mary's nobility on the supernatural plane. "For," he says, "she is above all princes and princesses, queens and kings, emperors and empresses, and all powers, tribes and tongues."<sup>82</sup>

2. Mary is Queen of Mercy. Bernardine insists upon the appropriateness and correctness of this title. While Mary has true jurisdiction, Bernardine is not in favor of calling her Empress, because, he says, that title connotes "fear and rigor."<sup>83</sup> The name "Queen is more properly applied to Mary because 'queen' implies providence and equity."<sup>84</sup> Just as the Scriptures speak of Christ as King and not as "Emperor," so also we should speak of Mary not as Empress but as Queen.<sup>85</sup>

After having justified the title of Queen as Mary's proper title, Bernardine goes on at length to explain that Mary is really a "Queen of Mercy."<sup>86</sup> She should not be identified as "Queen of wisdom or power," because that would be limiting Mary. She should be called "Queen of Mercy because a queen of mercy is also a queen of power and wisdom, but not vice versa."<sup>87</sup>

For similar reasons, Bernardine favors the title "Queen of Mercy" over "Queen of glory, grace or justice." "The kingdom of mercy,"

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 372-397.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 373: ". . . eam praeferre omnibus principibus et principissis, reginis et regibus, imperatoribus et impetratricibus, et omnibus potestatibus, tribubus et linguis totius universi."

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.

<sup>84</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>85</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>86</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>87</sup> *Loc. cit.*: "Unde misericordia claudit omnia . . . propterea regina misericordiae est regina potentiae et sapientiae, et non econverso."

he explains, "is bigger than the kingdom of glory, grace or justice."<sup>88</sup>

It must be observed that Bernardine does not deny that Mary is truly a "Queen of grace," or "Queen of glory." He merely wanted to emphasize the extent of Mary's power. Mercy, in his analysis, is wider than glory, or grace, or justice.

3. Mary has universal jurisdiction. Bernardine expressed the extent of Mary's jurisdiction in a statement that has been universally adopted now in speaking of the extent of Mary's royal power. He said: "All the creatures who serve the Trinity serve also the glorious Virgin Mary."<sup>89</sup>

Enlarging on this extensive power of Mary, he adds:

All creatures, no matter what place they hold in creation, whether they are spiritual, as angels, or rational as men, whether corporal as the celestial bodies or elements, and all things which are in heaven and on earth, whether damned or blessed, all these things which are subject to the divine command are also subject to the glorious Virgin.<sup>90</sup>

4. Mary is Queen by reason of her Divine Maternity. Bernardine speaks of the Divine Maternity as an hereditary right to the Kingdom of God. In his own words: ". . . according to the laws by which the world is governed, by hereditary right she merited every principality and kingdom of this world; for her Son in the first instant of His conception, merited and obtained the rule of the whole world."<sup>91</sup>

Bernardine's commentary on this fact is a beautiful analysis of how Mary partakes in the goods of her Son, who is God as well as Man. In showing that Mary did not lose her dominion upon the death and Ascension into heaven, he explains: "Nowhere do we

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 375: "Per se enim plus comprehendit et in amplius se extendit regnum misericordiae, quam gloriae vel gratiae vel iustitiae."

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 377: "Tot enim creaturae serviunt gloriosae Mariae Virgini, quot serviunt Trinitati."

<sup>90</sup> *Loc. cit.*: "Omnes nempe creaturae quemcumque gradum teneant in creatis, sive spirituales ut angeli, sive rationales ut homines, sive corporales ut corpora caelestia vel elementa et omnia quae sunt in caelo et in terra, sive damnati, sive beati, quae omnia sunt divino imperio subiugata, gloriosae Virgini sunt subiecta."

<sup>91</sup> *Loc. cit.*: ". . . secundum leges, quibus regitur mundus, iure hereditario omnem mundi huius promeruit principatum et regnum; quia filius eius in primo instanti suae conceptionis monarchiam totius promeruit et obtinuit universi. . . ."

read that this succession has been revoked; rather daily do we see it more clearly manifested by the operation of the divine gifts, and the grace obtained by the Virgin, while we speak of her universal dominion and Queenship.”<sup>92</sup>

5. Mary’s jurisdiction is in the realm of grace. Since Mary is the Mother of Him who is the source of grace, Bernardine concludes: “I do not fear to say that this Virgin obtained a certain jurisdiction over the pouring forth of all graces.”<sup>93</sup>

From this brief summary we can conclude that Bernardine not only had a clear grasp of Mary’s royal dignity, but that he was able to express it in the language of the people.

### St. Lawrence of Brindisi (d.1619)

St. Lawrence of Brindisi, a popular and effective Capuchin preacher of the latter part of the 16th and first part of the 17th century, continued the traditions of Franciscan glory. Like his Franciscan predecessors, he contributed his share to the glorification of Mary’s royal dignity in the form of sermons. Although he has the reputation of a popular-type preacher, nevertheless his sermons are grounded firmly in theology. His sermons on the Blessed Mother are no exception. An outstanding Marian scholar of the present day says of St. Lawrence of Brindisi: “He was the greatest Mariologist of his time. He has all the polemic power of a Canisius or Bellarmine, all the theological solidity of a Suarez, and all the ascetical fascination of a St. Francis de Sales.”<sup>94</sup>

A characteristic of St. Lawrence’s sermons is his scientific use of Sacred Scripture. He is not satisfied with merely offering an explanation of a doctrine or truth. He wants to show the exact source of the truth or doctrine. That is why St. Lawrence first of all investigates the Scriptures. This is particularly true of his sermons on the Blessed Virgin.

Although Lawrence carefully investigates all Marian references, specifically he sees a basis for Mary’s Queenship in *Genesis*, 3,15,

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 378.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 379: “. . . non timeo dicere quod omnium gratiarum effluxus quandam iurisdictionem habuit haec Virgo, de cuius utero, quasi de quodam divinitatis oceano, rivi et flumina emanabant omnium gratiarum.”

<sup>94</sup> G. Roschini, O.S.M., *La Mariologia di S. Lorenzo da Brindisi* (Padua, 1951), p. 13.



*Apocalypse*, 12, 1, and in the Annunciation text. His analyses of these texts are beautiful and convincing. They have hardly been improved on since his time.

*Genesis*, 3, 15, he says, shows Mary as a "deadly enemy" and "conqueror" of the ancient serpent "at least by bearing Christ who was stronger than Satan and the conqueror of hell."<sup>95</sup> His conclusion that Mary as Queen partakes of the victory with the King is inevitable.

*Apocalypse*, 12, 1, serves as a genuine basis for explaining Mary's glory, according to St. Lawrence. He establishes first of all the fact that Mary is truly indicated in the text. He does this by identifying the child of *Apocalypse*, 12, 5, which says: "And she brought forth a male child, who is to rule all nations with a rod of iron; and her child was caught up to God and to his throne." Lawrence argues: ". . . without a doubt, the author is describing Christ, the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords, the Only Begotten Son of God and of the Virgin Mother of God."<sup>96</sup> Hence, Lawrence deduces, the Woman "clothed with the sun" of *Apocalypse*, 12, 1, was "the Virgin Mother of God, the Mother of Christ, the Spouse of God, the Queen of heaven, the Sovereign Lady of the angels."<sup>97</sup>

In his sermon on the Hail Mary, while commenting on the Annunciation text, St. Lawrence says: "On the day of the Incarnation Christ was crowned King."<sup>98</sup> By describing Mary's part in this crowning of Christ the King he clearly sees Mary in a role of a genuine queen. He confirms that when he says:

. . . Immediately upon the Incarnation, she went into the hill country, being filled with the Holy Spirit, and made truly the bride of God . . . And full as she was of the Holy Spirit, she filled with the Holy Spirit both Elizabeth and John in his mother's womb. Thus the moment she was made Queen, she proved herself to be the Mother of Mercy and the fountain of graces.<sup>99</sup>

<sup>95</sup> *Mariale, Opera Omnia* 1 (Padua, 1928), p. 164.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>97</sup> *Loc. cit.*: "Apparuit ergo Joani Virgo Deipara, Mater Christi, Dei Sponsa, caelorum Regina, Domina Angelorum."

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244: "Ita Christus ter coronatus est rex; in utero Virginis in die incarnationis . . . A Matre dicitur Christus rex coronatus, quia rex Gloriarum ab ipsa est genitus . . . Cum autem Christi caput Deus est, quid caro Christi nisi 'corona aeternae pietatis' . . ."

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 391f.

Besides his capable and effective use of Sacred Scripture, another characteristic of St. Lawrence's sermons is his utter reliance on the teaching of the Church. St. Lawrence sees the actual teaching of the Magisterium of the Church as the proximate guide to our faith. Simply, the fact that the Church teaches the Queenship of Mary is a conclusive proof that Mary must be a true Queen.<sup>100</sup>

St. Lawrence's theological analysis of Mary's Queenship is based on Mary's Divine Maternity and her Co-redemption. Fundamentally, it is really the similarity that he finds between Christ the King and Mary. He sees a perfect parallel between the two (Christ and Mary)—in nature, grace, and glory.<sup>101</sup> In fact, it is on the basis of this comparison that St. Lawrence presents most convincingly Mary's true royal dignity and the extent of her power. Lawrence sees Mary most intimately associated with Christ from the moment of the Incarnation until her glorification as Queen of Heaven. Hence, he concludes: "The Virgin Mother of God is a Queen of such a type and nature that her Kingdom is no less than that of God, nor her sovereignty less than that of Christ."<sup>102</sup> These words bear a striking resemblance to the words of Pope Pius XII in his address to the Pilgrims at Fatima in Portugal in 1946, when he said:

He, the Son of God, reflects on His heavenly Mother the glory, the majesty and dominion of His Kingship; for, having been associated with the King of Martyrs in the ineffable work of human Redemption as Mother and cooperatrix, she remains forever associated with Him, by an almost unlimited power, in the distribution of the graces which flow from the Redemption. Jesus is King throughout all eternity by nature and by right of conquest; through Him, with Him and subordinate to Him, Mary is Queen by grace, by divine relationship, by right of conquest and by singular election. And her kingdom is as vast as that of her Son and God, since nothing is excluded from her dominion.<sup>103</sup>

St. Lawrence was a practical preacher. For that reason he

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<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 454.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>103</sup> Translation from the Portuguese by Rev. Juniper Carol, O.F.M., *Mary's Co-Redemption in the Teaching of Pope Pius XII*, in *The American Ecclesiastical Review*, vol. 121 (Nov. 1949), p. 358. See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. 38 (1946), p. 266.

naturally told the people the purpose of Mary's Queenship. As he summarized it: "For the salvation of the Christian people Mary was exalted in heaven and crowned Queen and Empress of the Universe."<sup>104</sup> And that is why, he says, Mary is truly a Queen of Mercy.<sup>105</sup> Logically, he concludes: "What can there be lacking to the man who has Mary as his omnipotent advocate with the omnipotent God?"<sup>106</sup>

After Lawrence of Brindisi, many Franciscan scholars continued to testify to, and glorify in, Mary's royal dignity. Towards the end of the 17th century there were the renowned Petrus de Alva Y Astorga (d.1667), and Aloysius Fr. D'Argentan, O.F.M.Cap. (d.1680). During the eighteenth century such names as Charles Del Moral (d.1731) and Leonard of Port Maurice (d.1751) immediately come to mind when speaking of Mary's Queenship. No less than their Franciscan predecessors, they wrote beautifully and convincingly about their heavenly Queen.

For example, Charles del Moral, a Franciscan of the 18th century proved his clear grasp of Mary's royal dignity when he wrote: ". . . The Mother of God . . . holds in the divine decrees a place of preference before all creatures, including the angels . . . She is placed at their head as the Queen and Sovereign Lady of the angels, thus becoming their commander as the next in power after her Son, preeminent above them all in point of perfection of grace."<sup>107</sup>

To show that he knew Mary's true power was intimately associated with Christ, yet dependent upon it, Charles del Moral explained masterfully:

For although the Blessed Virgin Mary is set up with her Son as part of one and the same plan as head and mediator of the universe (however secondarily to Christ and in dependence on him, who had first to merit the grace), far from being derogatory to the excellence of Christ our Lord, it is rather complementary to it, inasmuch as the merits of her Son thus

<sup>104</sup> *Mariale*, p. 587.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 389.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>107</sup> Charles del Moral, op. cit., d. 1, q. 3., a.1, n. 10, p. 360, quoted by Most Reverend Leonard Bello, O.F.M., in *Acta Ordinis Minorum*, vol. 62 (May 1938) p. 141.

appear so gloriously fruitful that they can give of his excellence such great virtue, dignity and power to his Mother.

In fact, not the least imperfection is reflected by it on Christ, the absolute head. For, although it is thus said that the Son together with his Mother constitute the one head . . . the Mother shares in the constitution of this head not from any lack on the part of her Son . . . but she shares in it due to the exuberant abundance of her Son, who wishes that his Mother should exercise her influence on his members along with his own influence so that he can give her the honor of being their chief, and she can be his noblest partner through the power and grace derived from him, the primary head.<sup>108</sup>

### Conclusion

The outstanding scholars of the Order form an eloquent testimony to Mary's royal dignity. An acquaintance with the writings and sermons of these scholars reveals not only their knowledge, but also their devotion. In fact, the sermons about the Blessed Mother seem to be an overflow of their devotion. As an unbroken chain of witnesses, these Franciscan scholars are deservedly regarded as the vocal expression of what is a characteristic of a Friar Minor. They recognize Mary as inseparable from her Son. Since the Son is the King of the universe, the Mother must be the Queen of the universe. If the Son must be adored as King, then the Mother must be venerated as Queen.

What Pope Pius XII expressed in *Munificentissimus Deus*, summarizes beautifully the Franciscan attitude toward Mary from St. Francis down to our present day:

. . . From all eternity and by "one and the same decree" of predestination the august Mother of God is united in a mysterious way with Jesus

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<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142: "Etenim, etsi Beata Maria Virgo caput Mediatrixque universorum, secundario quidem et dependenter a Filio suo primo merente, sed per modum unius, cum Eo statuitur; tam longe abest derogatio excellentiae Christi Domini, ut potius magis commendetur: quandoquidem merita Filii tam foecunda resplendent, ut possint ex excellentia eius tam magnam Matri suae communicare virtutem, dignitatem et potestatem. Revera nil imperfectionis infertur Christo absoluto Capiti; quia esto dicatur Filius cum sua Matre esse unum Caput Ecclesiae, Mater ingrediatur ad conflandum unum caput, non ex indigentia Filii, cum non indigeat ipse, nec ad prioritatem nec ad perfectionem nec ad causalitatem (Filii), sed ingrediatur ex exuberanti foecunditate Filii volentis simul cum suo influxu Matrem influere in membra, ut dignitate capitis ipsam honoraret et ipsius esset nobilissimi particeps per virtutem et gratiam ab ipso tanquam a primario Capite derivatam."

Christ; immaculate in her conception, a spotless virgin in her divine motherhood, the noble companion of the Divine Redeemer, who won a complete triumph over sin and its consequences, she finally obtained as the crowning glory of her privileges preservation from the corruption of the tomb, and like her Son before her, she conquered death and was raised body and soul to the glory of heaven, where as Queen she shines refulgent at the right hand of her Son, the Immortal King of Ages.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. 42, 768-769; English translation for NCWC by Msgr. Joseph C. Fenton, *Assumpta Est Maria*, p. 18-19.



## MARY'S PREDESTINATION WITH JESUS AND HER UNIVERSAL QUEENSHIP

FR. JOSEPH MONTALVERNE, O.F.M.

In the letters given by His Excellency Msgr. J. B. Montini, Pro-Secretary of State of the Vatican, on June 14th to the President of the International Marian Academy,—Fr. Charles Balic, O.F.M., here present—we read the following announcement:

"I am happy to make known to your Paternity, that the August Pontiff has kindly deigned to fix for the coming November 1st, the proclamation of the liturgical feast of the Queenship of Mary, as a worthy crowning of the International Mariologico-Marian Congress." <sup>1</sup>

Having been kindly invited by the Very Rev. Pius Barth to take part in this Franciscan gathering, the general theme of which is "Mary in the Seraphic Order"; and not having had time enough to prepare a paper worthy of yours, I thought it would not be useless to bring to mind the full meaning of Mary's queenship in the so-called modern Franciscan point of view, of Mary's absolute predestination with Christ. In a certain way, the long expected institution of the liturgical feast of the *Immaculate Queen of the Universe*, shall be once more a confirmation of the Scotistic theological thesis of Jesus' absolute predestination with Mary in the same eternal decree of God, which grants them absolute primacy and sovereignty above all creatures of the universe.<sup>2</sup>

The proclamation of Mary's universal queenship besides crediting Mary's absolute predestination with Christ, shall also favor the Franciscan way of understanding and explaining the singular privilege of Mary's Immaculate Conception, which even lately has been attacked by learned pan-thomists as a dangerous misconcep-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Osservatore Romano*, June 20th, 1954.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Duns Scotus J., *Ordinatio*, III d. 3 g. 1 ed. Balić, Libernici 1933, p. 36-41; Cf. Balić C., *La prédestination de la T. S. Vierge dans la doctrine de J. Duns Scot* (Paris, 1936), p. 3 ff.; Aperribay B., *Primado de Jesucristo en la Escuela Franciscana in Verdad y vida* 5 (194f) 401-41f.

tion of the defined dogma and of the doctrine of the Redemption.<sup>3</sup> Mary's absolute predestination with Christ was always considered a fundamental departing point of view of Franciscan spirituality. As a matter of fact, the so-called christocentric spirituality either of the Franciscan, Salesian or Alphonsine school, implies Mary's predestination in the same decree with Christ. Its first blossom is Mary's Immaculate Conception, and its acme is Mary's universal queenship. I willingly submit to your appreciation this threefold consideration, which seems to me practically essential for Franciscan mariology and Franciscan spirituality.

### I—Mary's Absolute Primacy with Christ

It has been noted recently that the belief in Mary's predestination, independently of Adam's fall, in the order of intention of God's plan of creation, is generally more widespread in the mind of faithful, in the pious readings, in christian art and preaching, than the absolute primacy of Jesus-Man.<sup>4</sup>

Perhaps owing to the following words of the *Ecclesiasticus*: "From the beginning, and before the world, was I created, etc.,"<sup>5</sup> which we read in the Epistle of the votive masses of the Blessed Virgin—preachers and faithful have no difficulty in believing that in God's mind Mary was planned before all creatures. In matter of fact, the adaptation of those prerogatives of the Uncreated Wisdom to the Blessed Virgin, imply the idea that God conceived Mary not only from all eternity—because that is common to the whole world of creation—but that also in the order of intention she was conceived together with Jesus before any other creature, and therefore before the foresight of sin. The text of the book of *Wisdom*, read in the Epistle of the feast of the Immaculate Conception, is still more significant. Especially the words: "Iahweh possessed me in the beginning of his ways, before He made anything from the beginning. . . . The depths were not as yet, and I was already conceived,"<sup>6</sup> contributed greatly to consider Mary's unsullied purity as a

<sup>3</sup> Cf. below paragraph II.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Bonnefoy J. Fr., *La primauté absolue et universelle de N. S. Jésus Christ et la Très-Sainte Vierge*, In *Bull. de la Sot. Franc. d'Ét. Mariales*, 4 (1933) 83-94.

<sup>5</sup> *Eccli.*, 24, 14; cf. *ib.*, verses 15-16.

<sup>6</sup> *Prov.*, 8, 22, 24.

consequence of her exceptional predestination before all creation. Under the influence of these liturgical texts, even some of those who, as St. Alphonse Liguori, consider Adam's sin the final motive of Incarnation, agree that Mary is the exemplary cause with Jesus of all creation.<sup>7</sup>

St. Alphonse, who following Cajetan, John of St. Thomas and the Salmanticenses, does not admit the absolute primacy of Christ and Mary not even for the general plan of God's Providence, that is, of creation and elevation of man to supernatural order, has some or other expression revealing the survival of the liturgical and traditional doctrine of Mary's predestination before all creatures. Thus, in his booklet, *The Glories of Mary*, he says: "God created all the world for this virgin, who was going to be His Mother";<sup>8</sup> and, what seems a rejection of the thomist's point of view: "God did not destroy man after sin, on account of His special love for this future Daughter."<sup>9</sup>

The influence of the liturgical texts is notorious in the two dogmatic constitutions for the solemn definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and of the Assumption. In the bull "Ineffabilis Deus," St. Pius X says: "From the very beginning and before time began, the eternal Father chose and prepared for His only-begotten Son a Mother in whom the Son of God would become incarnate."<sup>10</sup>

The relationship between Mary's predestination with Christ and her singular prerogatives is more clearly expressed in the words of Pius XII: "Hence the revered Mother of God, from all eternity joined in a hidden way with Jesus Christ in one and the same decree of predestination,"<sup>11</sup> "immaculate in her conception, . . . finally was granted, as the supreme culmination of her privileges, that she should be preserved free from the corruption of the tomb, and that . . . she might be taken up body and soul to the glory of heaven

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Dillenschneider Cl., *La Mariologie de St. Alphonse de Liguori, Sources and Synthèse doctrinale* (Friburg, 1934), p. 74-75-76.

<sup>8</sup> Alphonse di Liguori, *Glorie di Maria, disc. dell'Annunziata* (Napoli, 1871), p. 358.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, *Salve Regina*, cap. 2 P. 1, p. 56.

<sup>10</sup> Pius IX, Bull "Ineffabilis Deus Deus," Dec. 8th, 1854, in: Doheny J.—Kelly J. P., *Papal documents on Mary*, (Milwaukee, 1954), p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Implicit reference to the words of Pius IX; cf. above note 10.

where, as Queen, she sits in splendor at the right of her Son, the immortal King of the Ages."<sup>12</sup>

Although these two texts are not included in the intended dogmatic definitions, nevertheless they surely show the ordinary teaching of the church, and the fact that the two Popes do not make any allusion to the prevision of Adam's fall, grandly favors the Franciscan point of view of the Man-Jesus and Mary's absolute predestination before all creatures, so that in the order of God's intention they are really the premises of all creatures, and so that the Man-Jesus and Mary's absolute predestination by free disposition of God is the final reason of their singular prerogatives and universal kingship.

Already the Carmelites of Salamanca school had grasped the difficulty of denying the absolute predestination of Christ and Mary before all creatures; and, therefore, making the distinction between order of final and material causality, they only denied the absolute primacy in the latter consideration. Thus they taught: "In the order of strict final causality (*finis cuius gratia*) God wanted and saw Christ before all things; on the contrary in the order of material causality and of the benefits to be conceded to mankind (*finis cui*), God wanted and saw first of all the permission of sin and its remedy, before wanting Christ."<sup>13</sup>

It is difficult to understand such a distinction in God's plan, but it is beyond doubt that in modern Thomism there is a strong current for the admission of Jesus and Mary's absolute predestination, so that Incarnation, as well as Mary's unsullied purity and universal queenship are not dependent from Adam's sin, but only connected with sin in the present economy. The final cause of Jesus' and Mary's absolute primacy above all creatures is not sin or at least not only sin and mercy, but God's free will and love.

In this controversy, Father Gabriel Roschini, rector of the Faculty of Theology of Servites in Rome, is considered champion of the conciliation between the Thomist and Scotist point of view.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Pius XII, Bull "Munificentissimus Deus," Nov. 1st. 1950, in Doheny-Kelly, *Papal doc. on Mary* p. 237.

<sup>13</sup> Salmanticenses, *De incarnatione* disp. 2 n. 29. Cf. Dillenschneider, 61., *La Mariologie de St. Alphonse*, p. 74-76.

<sup>14</sup> Roschini G. M. (OFM), *Intorno alla questione sul cosiddetto motiro*



Perhaps he is right in saying that the Thomists have misunderstood St. Thomas' words in this question.<sup>15</sup>

Certainly St. Bonaventure,<sup>16</sup> William of Ware,<sup>17</sup> and St. Thomas,<sup>18</sup> as well as Duns Scotus,<sup>19</sup> hold against many authorities that the Son of God did not become Incarnate only on account of Adam's fall. Besides this, no doubt, we owe to the Doctor of the Immaculate Conception, John Duns Scotus, at least in a way of consequence, the full theological modern elaboration of Jesus' and Mary's absolute prerogatives—independent of the present economy of sin, although connected—and particularly their absolute and universal Kingship.<sup>21</sup>

Notwithstanding the increasing sympathy of modern theologians for Mary's absolute primacy with Christ, this opinion is still considered at least dangerous by those who hold the old Thomist challenge that it leads to an Immaculate Conception alien to Redemption.

## II—The Modern Challenge of the Franciscan Immaculate Conception Alien to Redemption

Since the solemn definition of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, the old challenge of John of Pouilly against Duns Scotus teaching on the Immaculate Conception, repeated in the 14th century by John of Montesonus and later by Bandellus and the Dominicans at the Council of Basle, has been several times renewed obtaining lately a certain success in less learned circles.

Already in 1857, the Bishop of Burges, Msgr. Malou, in his long

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*dell' Incarnazione* (Roma, 1948); cf. Rocca G. — Roschini G., *De ratione primariae existentiae Christi Deiparae* (Romae, 1944).

<sup>15</sup> Roschini G. M., *Intorno alla questione, etc.*, p. 8-10.

<sup>16</sup> Bonaventura, *Sent.* III d., 1a., 2g. 2 in corp. (ed. Claraquen. 1887, col. 21-22).

<sup>17</sup> Guillelmus de Warre, *Sent.* III, d.1.g.1 (Cod. Oxonien. Merton 103, F. 145r-146r).

<sup>18</sup> Thomas, *Seut.* III, d.1.g.1,a.3. Cf. Roschini G. M. *Intorno alla questione*, etc. p. 10.

<sup>19</sup> Duns Scotus I., *Ordinatio*, III, d.7, g.3 in corp. (ed. Balić p. 4-7).

<sup>20</sup> Chrysostome (Urrutibé hety), *Le motif de l'Incarnation au XXe Siècle* (Orléans, 1924); *Le motif de l'Incarnation et les thomistes contemporains* (Tours, 1921); *Marie et l'école franciscaine* (Lille, 1900), p. 20-22, 56-57.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Duns Scotus I., *Ordinatio*, III, d.7.g.3 in corp. (ed. Balić p. 1-10) et *Rep. Paris*, III, d.7.g.4 (ed. Balić p. 11-16).



scientific exposition about the Immaculate Conception, made a long reference to the traditional Franciscan opinion of Mary's unsullied purity by an eternal decision of God's counsel previous to all creation and therefore previous to man's sin and redemption.<sup>22</sup> Further, he not only says that the doctrine of Mary's proximate debt of contracting original sin overturned the theological opinion of the eternal decrees prior to sin and Redemption,<sup>23</sup> but pretends that such a point of view was condemned by the famous bull "Sollicitudo" of Pope Alexander VII,<sup>24</sup> because it says that Mary was preserved from the original stain through the merits of the Saviour.<sup>25</sup>

That Msgr. Malou had in mind the Franciscan school, there can be no doubt, because he expressly says that this opinion was born in the school of Toledo about the year 1600,<sup>26</sup> but he does not say that already in 1616 the Supreme Courts of the Inquisition of Madrid decided that one could defend the proposition that Mary even in her first parents, was not subject to original sin: "nec in primis parentibus fuit obnoxia peccato originali."<sup>27</sup>

However, this challenge of Msgr. Malou found no great repercussion in his time and only in our century was it repeated more explicitly and apparently with more erudition. The head of this recent anti-Scotist literature was the Dominican Father Norbert rel Prado, who expressly wrote: "The reasons of Scotus to show that the Blessed Virgin never incurred in original sin, show likewise—if indeed they prove anything at all—that the Blessed Virgin did not need redemption, as they show that she was totally delivered of contracting any debt of sin."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Malou J. B., *L'immaculée conception de la vien. heureuse V. Marie, considérée comme dogme de foi* (Bruxelles, 1857), I, ch.1, p. 1-18.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>24</sup> Alexander VII, *constitutio dogm.* "Solitude," Dec. 8th, 1661.

That Alexander VII, confirmed entirely the pious opinion of the Franciscan school, forbidding to attack it, cf. Ullathorne W.B., *The immaculate conception of the Mother of God. An exposition* (revised by Canon Iles) London, 1904, p. 56ff. 151.

<sup>25</sup> Malou, J. B., *L'immaculée conception etc.*, p. 10.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 10.

<sup>27</sup> Gr. Ocerinjáuregui B., *Exención del debito y del'fomes peccati' en la Virgen maria in Verdad y Vida* 5 (1947), p. 34.—cf. etian Strozzi T., *Controversia della concezione della beata Vergine Maria descritta istoricamente*, II (Palermo, 1703), p. 460, 537 ff.

<sup>28</sup> Del Prado N., *Divus Thomas et bulla dogmatica "Ineffabilis Deus"*

The same charge against the so-called "Immaculate Conception of Dun Scotus," as alien to redemption, was developed by Fr. Peter Lumbreras, O.P. at the time professor in Notre Dame University, now professor at the "Angelicum" in Rome,<sup>29</sup>—who was efficiently contradicted with due reflection in all his arguments by Fr. Hugolin Storff, O.F.M.<sup>30</sup>

Notwithstanding this downfall of the anti-Scotist old challenge, the Dominican Fr. Marin-Sola, in a special digression concerning the "evolution" of the Immaculate's dogma, develops the same idea against the Franciscan School.<sup>31</sup>

He distinguishes, as Del Prado did,<sup>32</sup> the true Immaculate Conception, preserved immune of original sin by the merits of the Redeemer, from the concept of an unredeemed Immaculate Conception, exempt of all contents of original sin, and therefore exempt of all debt of contracting the original stain, and not needing redemption at all. This Immaculate Conception, alien to Redemption, which he attributes expressly to Duns Scotus and to the Scotists, is erroneous, if not heretical.<sup>33</sup> He then establishes a parallel between the Thomistic and the Scotistic school in regard to the Immaculate Conception, and compares the Scotists to the steam that makes the ship advance, and the Thomists to the rudder that gives the direction and leads the steamer straight to the harbour.<sup>34</sup> He even says that on account of postulating a personal debt of original sin in the Blessed Virgin, "it is to St. Thomas and his disciples that we owe the definition of the true Immaculate Conception."<sup>35</sup>

The same idea of Del Prado and Marin-Sola has been repeated

(Friburgi, 1919) p. 129: "Rationes Scoti as ostendendam B. Virginem numquam fuisse in Peccato originali ostendunt similiter, si quid probant, ipsam B. Virginem non indiguisse redemptione, sive ab omni debito peccatum incurrendi penitus fuisse absolutam."

<sup>29</sup> Lumbreras P., *St. Thomas and the Immaculate Conception*, (Notre Dame, 1923).

<sup>30</sup> Storff H., *The teaching of St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure and Bl. J. Duns Scotus on the Im. Conception of the Bl. V. Mary*, (San Francisco, 1925).

<sup>31</sup> Marin-Solà F., *L'évolution homogène du dogme catholique*, I (Fribourg, Suisse), 1924, p. 322-331.

<sup>32</sup> Del Prado N., *Divus Thomas, etc.*, p. 118-121.

<sup>33</sup> Marin-Solà, F., *L'évolution homogène*, p. 373.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 327-328.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 328.

by some modern Thomists, as e.g., the Dominicans Fr. Hugon,<sup>36</sup> and Fr. Urdanoz,<sup>37</sup> and the so-called head of pan-thomism, Mr. Jacques who, however, have no pretension of being learned in the history of Catholic dogma.

It is nevertheless significant that the most outstanding Thomists of our time, either secular priests, Dominicans, Jesuits, or of other orders, do not repeat the challenge of the Franciscan Immaculate Conception alien to Redemption.

Anybody sufficiently acquainted with the history of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception can grant as undeniable what we read in Preuss' version of Pohle's Mariology: "The strength of the Scotistic argument lies mainly in the concept of praeredemptio."<sup>39</sup> We agree, however, that the concept of preservation from sin through the merits of Jesus, does not correspond to the idea of Redemption-satisfaction in the mind of all scholastics from St. Anselm up to Duns Scotus. As the Thomists who think they can excuse St. Thomas' maculism, charging the Franciscan school with the heresy of an Immaculate Conception alien to Redemption, have no foundation on Duns Scotus' writings, neither in any writing of the Franciscan masters, we do not have to trouble in keeping the modern Scotistic notion of the Blessed Virgin predestinated with Christ before the foresight of man's fall, and preserved from original sin through the merits of the Redeemer. There is no incompatibility between the two doctrines: the defined truth of the Immaculate Conception, and the absolute primacy of Mary in the same decree with Jesus, whence her absolute and universal queenship together with Christ the King. Duns Scotus explicitly never taught Mary's absolute predestination; but modern Scotists inferred it from the fact that Scotus never spoke of any debt of contracting sin in Mary Immaculate.<sup>40</sup> However, he certainly taught that Mary needed the

<sup>36</sup> Hugon Ed., *Tract. de b. Virgine De ipara*, q.2,a.1,n.13; (Paris, 1935), p. 702.

<sup>37</sup> Urdano T.; cf. Review of Kloppenburg B., *De relatione inter peccatum et mortem* (Romae, 1951), in the *Revista española de Teología*, 13 (1953), 294. Maritain,<sup>38</sup> retired professor of Lille and Notre Dame Universities;

<sup>38</sup> Maritain Y., *El Doctor Angelico* (Buenos Aires, 1942), p. 117 ff.

<sup>39</sup> Pohle J. -Preuss A., *Mariology* (St. Louis, 1926), p. 59.

<sup>40</sup> Balić C., *De debito peccati originalis in B. V. Maria, Investigationes de doctrina quam tenuit Joannes Duns Scotus* (Romae, 1941), p. 102-106 et passim.-cf. Ocerinjáuregui B., *Execución del debito, etc.* p. 477-478.

Redeemer to be Immaculate, and that she needed Him more than anyone else.<sup>41</sup>

Provided therefore that the dogma of the Immaculate Conception is not an impediment for Mary's absolute predestination with Christ, let us examine if the concept of Mary's Queenship in the modern Scotist point of view is compatible with the dogma of the Immaculate Conception and the doctrine of her absolute predestination, and if there is an harmonical nexus between these truths.

### III—Mary's Universal Queenship According to the Modern Franciscan School

The dignity and the prerogative of the Blessed Virgin Mary's queenship according to the modern Franciscan School has been studied even lately, and has recalled the attention of Mariologists of different schools such as De Gruyter,<sup>42</sup> Luis,<sup>43</sup> Roschini,<sup>44</sup> Hill,<sup>45</sup> and so many others.

Whilst many writers of the Middle Ages consider Mary's queenship as a prerogative which needs no special proof, because they take the fact for granted; it is in the Franciscan Scholastics since St. Bonaventure, and Conrad of Saxonia, that we find a serious preoccupation of not considering the queenship in a mere metaphorical sense, but of discussing the fundamental base of this prerogative, its extent and character; although they did not say all that could be said.

We have heard the brilliant exposition of Fr. Firmin Schmidt's dissertation about the queenship of Mary according to the Franciscan School. An uninterrupted chain of Franciscan writers since

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<sup>41</sup> Cf. Duns Scotus J., *Ordinatio*, III, d.3.g.1 (ed. Balić p. 35): "Maria Maxime indignisset Christe ut Redemptore; ipsa enim contraxisset originale peccatum ex ratione propagationis communis, nisi fuisset praesentia per gratiam Mediatoris.—cf. Ocerinjáuregui B., *Exención del debito*, etc., p. 43 3ff.

<sup>42</sup> De Gruyter, L.J.L.M., *De B. M. Regina, disquisitio positivo-speculativa*, (Buscoduci, 1934), p. 166-168.

<sup>43</sup> Luis, A., *La realeza de Maria en los ultimos veinte años*, in *Estudios Marianos*, 11 (1951, 227-232).

<sup>44</sup> Roschini, G. M., *Royauté de Marie*, in *Maria* (ed. Du Manoir) I, Paris 1949, p.

<sup>45</sup> Hill, W. F., *Our Lady's Queenship in the Middle Ages and Modern Times*, in the *Marian Studies* 4 (1953) 134-169.



the first Lector of the Order, St. Anthony, bears witness of a glorious tradition concerning Mary's queenship.

From Fr. Schmidt's conscious analysis of the texts of the old Franciscan writers since St. Bonaventure, we must agree that not all has been said to give the radical metaphysical basis to Mary's queenship and to clear up the nature of her absolute sovereignty above all creatures, second only to that of Christ as is being pledged recently.

Anyhow, as an unsuspected author says, it is to the early Franciscan school together with the anonymous sum called "Mariale of St. Albert The Great," to the labor of Richard of St. Lawrence, and later to the sermons of St. Bernadine of Siena, that we owe the preoccupation of settling the problem of Mary's queenship with a scientific research of its foundation, its nature and character, and its extent.<sup>45a</sup>

These contributions of the Franciscan School from the 13th until the 15th centuries represent the greatest developments of the Middle Ages about Mary's queenship. The following century is sparse in testimonies and bare of any new speculation or development, and the greatness of Bonaventure and Bernadine of Siena, so far as Mary's queenship is concerned, is not approached until the 17th century. In that century, it seems that it is to the Spanish Augustinian, Bartholomew de los Rios, that we owe the renewal of the discussion about Mary's queenship.<sup>46</sup> But the great development of this prerogative is due to the subsequent Scotistic school that gave us the theology of Mary's absolute primacy together with Jesus in the same decree of God's eternal plan.

It is this absolute predestination of Mary with Christ independent from Man's fall, that grants Mary a full primacy above all creatures, a real universal queenship by singular election, by nature and by right of conquest, as Pius XII teaches.<sup>46a</sup> Only in this development Mary is exemplar cause with Jesus of all creatures,

<sup>45a</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 154-155.

<sup>46</sup> Bartholomaeus de los Rios y Alarcón, *De hierarchia mariana libri sex*, (Antuerpiae, 1641).

cf. Musters A., *La souveraineté de la Vierge d'après les écrits mariologiques de Barthélemy de los Rios* (Bruges, 1946), p. 82.-cf. Hill W. F., *Our Lady's Queenship*, etc., in *Marian Studies*, 4 (1953) p. 167.

<sup>46a</sup> Pius XII, cf. Under note 51.



and only in this way can Mary by nature and by right of conquest be effective cause with Jesus of the first grace of the Angels and of mankind, even previous to man's fall. Mary's absolute primacy with Jesus makes it easier to develop the nature of Mary's queenship in the sense of co-redemption not only by remote collaboration and the compassion at the foot of the cross, but also by the active intervention in heaven for the subjective redemption of us all.

It has been affirmed that Mary's absolute predestination leads to an Immaculate Conception alien to Redemption. We have seen that the objection has no value, since it is now of faith that Mary was not redeemed from a formerly contracted original sin but was preserved from it through the merits of Jesus Christ. The bull "*Ineffabilis Deus*," expressly refers to the eternal decree of God in which Mary was predestined with Jesus and elected for an unsullied purity.<sup>47</sup>

The bull "*Munificentissimus Deus*," besides quoting the doctrine of Pius IX about Mary's eternal predestination, and besides explaining it in connection with the privileges of Immaculate Conception and glorious Assumption,<sup>48</sup> makes a significant reference to the mysterious association of Mary with Christ in the economy of salvation. Further, it presents the decree of God's eternal plan in such a way that it might be supposed the metaphysical foundation of this bridal association, as well as of Mary's privileges and constant intervention in the labour of redemption, and finally leads us to the contemplation of Mary assumed in body and soul into Heaven, "sitting in splendor at the right of her Son, the immortal King of the ages."<sup>49</sup>

The same bull favors explicitly the full sense of the Protogospel, *Gen.*, 3, 15, in which Mary's threefold victory—victory over sin, over concupiscence, and over death—is a consequence of her eternal election with Christ, which is only clear in the case of the absolute predestination before all creatures in God's order of intention.

It has been noted that it was the logical development of the Franciscan opinion of Mary's association with Christ, in the same decree of absolute predestination, that led theologians of different

<sup>47</sup> Cf. above p. 5 note 10.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. above p. 5, note 11–12.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. above p. 5 note 12.

schools to the full synthesis of Mary's Immaculate Conception, and Assumption, Coredeemption, Mediation of all graces and universal queenship,<sup>50</sup> that is, all the conquests of modern Mariology.

It is true that not only the modern Franciscan School, but also many recent Mariologists, find that the doctrine of Mary's absolute predestination with Christ is the fertile principle for new researches in Mariology. No other principle adduced in Mariology gives us the reason and logical cause of Mary's exceptional prerogatives as her eternal election and primacy with Christ above all creatures, and therefore it seems that theologians may go farther in their investigations and found the universal empire of Christ and Mary in their absolute predestination before any other creature, and consequently before Adam's sin.

Certainly this opinion is freely disputed, but the official teaching of the Church in the past 100 years has favored considerably what we may call the Franciscan point of view of Mary's universal queenship. We are anxiously waiting for the words of the Successor of Peter on the solemn institution of the feast of Mary's universal queenship, which shall be proclaimed on November 1st, at the end of the International Congress of the Immaculate Conception in Rome.

Meanwhile we have in this controversy a sure guide in the words of Pius XII which we read in the radio-speech to Fatima on May 13th, 1946, on the occasion of the coronation of the Blessed Virgin:

"Jesus is King throughout all eternity by nature and by right of conquest; through Him, with Him, and subordinate to Him, Mary is queen by grace, by divine relationship, by right of conquest and by singular election."<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Martini A. (OFM). *L'Assunzione e il primato di Christo*, in *AMi del Congresso Nazionale Mariano dei Frati Minori d'Italia*, (Romae, 1948), p. 596-597.

<sup>51</sup> Pius XII, *Radio Speech to Fatima on May 13th. 1946*; in *AAS*, 38 (1946), 266.

## APPENDIX

### IN QUEST OF A COMMON DENOMINATOR

Very Rev. Bertrand J. Campbell, O.F.M.

Father Pius, Distinguished Guests, Reverend Fathers, Venerable Sisters and Brothers in St. Francis:

Each year, about the beginning of Lent, we receive the invitation to attend the Annual Convention of the National Catholic Educational Association. And when we do, very often, we get to questioning, whether or not, the benefits of attending are proportionate to the trouble and expense involved. Then we lay the matter aside. As Holy Week approaches, we again think of the Convention, and again wonder about its practical value. But we usually work up courage, and present ourselves to the office of the Treasurer or Bursar, for the important wherewithal; and come Easter Sunday, we are on our way. As we speed along, by rail or plane, we continue to feel somewhat uneasy about cost and rewards. But once we are at the scene of the Convention, we experience a complete change of attitude, and the very sight of the thousands of delegates, from every corner of our great country, thrills us, and makes us correctly proud, that we are members of that large and important Association of American Catholic educators. We take part in the proceedings, we meet in friendly and understanding groups, we are renewed in spirit, and we return home certain that, individually and collectively, we have benefited by our attendance and participation.

I trust, too, that this will be the reaction of all of us who are privileged to follow our Seraphic Father, St. Francis, and under whose banner, we find ourselves engaged in the challenging work of education. May some special spark of enlightenment and encouragement come from this luncheon gathering, so that we may return to our Franciscan institution—be it a Seminary, a primary or secondary school, a training school for nurses, or a college or university, with renewed vigor and deepened devotion to the cause.

The overall theme for this 51st Annual Convention is *Planning for Our Educational Needs*. For this reason, it would seem to be in order to discuss some of the educational needs which we Franciscans have, and to suggest some plans for their fulfillment. However, I think for one single speaker, that would be an impossible task. I regret that I shall have to limit myself to the needs of the college level, for that is the only area in which I have any degree of competence. I, therefore, beg the indulgence of the delegates here present, who represent our Major and Minor Seminaries, our schools of nursing, as well as the Sisters, Brothers, and possibly priests, who are engaged in the very apostolic, and difficult area, of primary and secondary education. To all these Franciscans—true educators in every sense of the word—I, as a college person, pay deep and sincere tribute.

Two years ago, in November, 1952, under the auspices of the Franciscan Educational Conference, representatives of our Franciscan teaching Sister-

hoods assembled in Joliet, Illinois, for their First National Meeting. Four hundred and fifty attended, representing 32,000 Franciscan nuns in the United States. When they did so, in my opinion, they launched a project, and brought to light, facts and problems which may well engage the attention of every Franciscan educator, for many years to come. As you are aware, the Report of this meeting has since been published, and I recommend its examination and study to every Franciscan Sister, Brother, and priest. I have a feeling that, already, too much of what was reported at that meeting has been forgotten.

At this time, therefore, I would like to refer to three contributions which were presented at that meeting:

*Number 1*—Certain remarks of Father Pius Barth. The President of the Franciscan Educational Conference, in his scholarly address, spoke as follows: "Franciscan history is being made this morning . . . We must continue to widen the Franciscan educational horizon, by promoting greater Franciscan educational opportunity, for a greater number of our youth, and by fostering closer unity of action and sympathetic cooperation among Franciscan educators of our country . . . We have come here not to change; we have come here to improve and be improved. We have come to evaluate Franciscan purposes, to see the means we use, in the light of the ends we pursue."

*Number 2*—Of special interest to those of us who are engaged in college work, was a very informative paper prepared by Sister M. Theodine, F.S. Perp. Ador., of Viterbo College, LaCrosse, Wisconsin. Sister Theodine's paper bore the title, *Areas of Franciscan Cooperation in Education*.

*Number 3*—Was a thought provoking paper by Sister M. Rose Agnes, O.S.F., of the College of St. Francis, Joliet, Illinois. The title of this paper was *Franciscanism in College Education*—with the sub-title, "Presenting some Facts for Reflection, and an Outline of the Major Aspects of the Subject for Development at Future Conferences."

These two papers, presented by Sister Theodine and Sister Rose Agnes, were based on a questionnaire which each sent to all the colleges and universities conducted by Franciscans in this country. The two questionnaires were a stimulating challenge to every Franciscan college administrator. I doubt that we were ever called upon to subject ourselves and our institutions to such salutary self-examination. The corporate replies, as reported in the two papers, demonstrate beyond a doubt, that we Franciscan educators of Catholic men and women in this country have much to do towards satisfying ourselves and convincing Catholic educators and the laity, that there is such a thing as Franciscan higher education. With most Franciscans, I believe there is, but the synthesis, or the precise establishment of the formula, will be a task only accomplished gradually, by constant study and mutual collaboration. The important fact, it seems to me, as the First National Meeting of our Franciscan Sisterhoods demonstrated, is that we have started the search. Like the two able Sisters who contributed the articles, rather than presume to settle these matters, I prefer to merely set the direction of the search.

My first thought, which I now present to this distinguished gathering, is contained in the title of my remarks—*In Quest of a Common Denominator*. The "common denominator" is a term we find in arithmetic—in treating of fractions—or parts. We Franciscan educators, and our education, must be properly regarded as a part of the whole of Catholic higher education. Just



as the content of the Franciscan ideal is not exclusively Franciscan, for it is the spirit of the early Catholic Church, neither is our Franciscan education exclusively our own, but first and foremost, must it be Catholic education. But, as we learn in arithmetic, in order to handle fractions—in order to work with these parts—we have first to establish or discover what factor or denominator will serve as the basis for common treatment or activity. What, therefore, will be the attributes or possibly accidentals, which should be found among our Franciscan colleges—which will denominate them all, and serve as a basis or area for mutual cooperation?

I have decided to approach this problem in a roundabout way. Let us look at one possible area of mutual assistance.

In the East, and particularly in New York State, all Liberal Arts college enrollment is still on the decline. Our Catholic colleges are obliged to give constant and careful attention to the matter of recruitment. Supposing that similar conditions prevail with all or most of our Franciscan colleges, may I offer as a contribution to the common cause, a suggestion, that we presently unite in a common effort to increase our enrollment. How might this be done?

I am sure that, in our paid advertising, local and national, each and every one of us states the fact that our college is conducted by the Franciscan Sisters, or the Franciscan Brothers, or the Franciscan Fathers, as the case may be. That is good—as far as it goes. My preparation for this address reveals to me that, in the United States today, there are 22 colleges owned and operated by Franciscans: 9 for men, 13 for women. Twenty-two institutions of higher learning in the hands of Franciscans is a fact, of which we should be very proud—and a fact which we should publicize at every opportunity! The Jesuit Fathers are the acknowledged leaders today in Catholic higher education. How many colleges and universities do they have? The latest figure published by the N.C.E.A. News Letter lists 28 Jesuit colleges. No other Order or Community comes close to our number of 22 colleges. Would it not, therefore, be a good idea for all of us Franciscan colleges to state in every bit of advertising we place, that Siena College of Loudonville, New York, or St. Teresa's College of Winona, Illinois, is one of the 22 Catholic institutions of higher learning in the United States conducted by members of the Order of St. Francis of Assisi? We might add "all of whom share the purposes and ideals common to all Catholic colleges and universities." Such advertising copy, it seems to me, would serve in some small way, as a common denominator—or feature, of all our colleges. If we could agree on some one such sentence, as I suggest, I think we would add considerable weight and prestige, to our own specific offerings.

Let us try to proceed further. With this one sentence as a start, I would hope that soon, someone better than I at synthesis might add a second sentence wherein will be stated the common attribute or attributes of a Franciscan college. This would be a valuable contribution. Truthfully, at this time, I am unable to write that sentence. But, I believe it to be possible. In this connection, I pay tribute again to the Jesuits. How do they do it? Here is a paragraph from the series of ads for Jesuit colleges, which appeared last year in America. "College X follows the code of Liberal Education, and is linked in scholarly aim and purpose with twenty-six other Jesuit colleges and universities in the United States." To write a sentence similar to that, we Franciscans would have to agree on our code of Liberal Education. Once that is done, we could really present a formidable united front. When shall we agree



on such a statement of policy? I do not know. But until we formulate a better one, may I suggest the words of St. Bonaventure, as we find them in the *Itinerarium*:

"No reading without unction  
No speculating without reverence  
No investigating without wonder  
No observing without rejoicing  
No zeal without submitting  
No erudition without love  
No understanding without humility  
No aspiring apart from divine grace  
No discernment apart from God-inspired Wisdom!"

So much for our united front! My second suggestion would have to do with curriculum. Briefly, to get things started, I suggest that in all of our colleges, three courses—each of one semester—should be required of all students. Whether these courses be given free or for fee—whether for credit or not—I leave to the vote of our membership. These courses would be: 1) A reading and textual study of *The Gospel According to St. Luke*; 2) A reading and textual study of *The Acts of the Apostles*; and 3) *The Life and Times of St. Francis of Assisi*, a suitable text for which should be any recognized biography. Personally, I prefer *St. Francis of Assisi* by Engelbert. It would require considerable time to state my reasons for each suggestion, but I think these will become apparent, if we give them some thought. In effect, the New Testament courses are but another way to present the Life of Our Savior, and the history of the early Christians, both of which come close to being the secret of our Holy Founder's life. A formal study of his own life, would not only ennoble our students, but would be a history of the 13th century, as well as an introduction to Franciscan literature and art. If these suggestions, or similar ones, could be accepted by all our colleges, the next step would be the writing of a suitable syllabus for each. Again, we would have a common denominator.

And, finally, on every campus of a Franciscan college, we should find an active and large Third Order Fraternity. What great room for improvement do we not find in this regard! There must be difficulties in making this organization attractive to our students, but whatever these obstacles may be, we must overcome them. Not even the most popular Church society for the laity can compare with this true religious order. I submit to your consideration this thought: on every campus, we find popular student activities—for example, the student senate, the student newspaper, the glee club, the debating team, the class officers. Could we not put all these activities under the auspices of the Third Order—so that all such distinguished students be requested to belong to the Third Order? In our men's colleges, we should make special efforts to have our outstanding athletes belong to the Third Order; their example would help to make it attractive to the rank and file of the student body. Some time would be required to make these changes, but I do believe they can, in substance, be accomplished. If Franciscanism is to mean anything to our young Catholic college people, it should be a way of life, an opportunity for them to grow spiritually as well as mentally. The Christian

ideal, after all, is moral rather than intellectual, just as surely as the Christian dispensation is a school for saints, rather than a school of philosophy.

These then, my fellow Franciscans, are some thoughts that have to do with planning for our Franciscan educational needs. The enthusiasm which I have put into the preparation and presentation of this address is a direct result of my reading of the Report of the First Annual Meeting of our Franciscan Teaching Sisterhoods—particularly, Father Barth's address on that occasion, and the papers of Sister Theodine and Sister Rose Agnes. These valuable studies should not be allowed to pass without action. I hesitate to praise my own offerings, yet because of the importance of the issue, I venture to say that in these apparently simple suggestions, on careful reflection, will be found the essence of the true spirit of our Holy Father St. Francis, who was *vir Catholicus et totus apostolicus*. I have found this quest for a common denominator of Franciscan higher education interesting and stimulating. I hope that you did, too!

Thank you!

## FRANCISCAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

### First Session

Monday, Aug. 16, 1954, 7:30 P. M.

The 1954 Educational Conference was held at Padua High School, Watkins Glen, N. Y. The meeting opened as the President read the Marian Year Prayer. In a brief introductory talk Fr. Pius Barth, O.F.M., addressed the delegates with these words: "We wish to thank Very Rev. Fr. Theophane Kalinowski, O.F.M., and Fr. Claude Zabinski, O.F.M., for inviting us to Watkins Glen. We still have lingering memories of our previous Educational Conference sponsored by this province at Burlington, Wis. The province has always made us feel at home and now in this beautiful spot in New York State we are more than glad to be the recipients of your generous hospitality.

The magnificent work that has been done here by the Franciscans at Watkins Glen reveals that the Order has always prospered as a result of wholehearted cooperation of all the friars. In honoring Mary this year the cooperation of the friars is again in much evidence. The subject for this year, *Mary in the Seraphic Order*, is one that is near to the heart of the Order which has contributed so much to the glory and honor of the Blessed Mother. May she be honored highly throughout these days."

At the conclusion of these remarks Fr. Pius asked Fr. Theophane to grace the occasion with a word of welcome. "I wish to thank Fr. Pius," he began, "for his words of appreciation. It is a privilege for our province to be hosts again for the Conference. In the name of our provincial family I extend to all of you a most cordial welcome. We are particularly pleased to be of service during the Marian Year to do special honor to Mary. If there is anything that we can do to make your stay more pleasant and enjoyable, call on us to give it to you. It is your Franciscan home for the duration of the meeting. Make it such. May Mary shower you with the graces you need for your educational work; may the spirit of St. Francis fill your minds and hearts to accomplish what you have set

before you; and may God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost inspire your thoughts and minds each day."

The President then called upon the assembled delegates to introduce themselves to one another. The following friars were in attendance: Fr. Adrian, O.F.M.Cap.; Fr. Francis Affelt, O.F.M.; Bro. Alphonsus, O.S.F.; Fr. Louis B. Antl, O.F.M.; Fr. Charles Augustyniak, O.F.M.; Fr. Carolus Balic, O.F.M.; Fr. Ignatius Brady, O.F.M.; Fr. Hippolyte Baril, O.F.M.; Very Rev. Pius Barth, O.F.M.; Fr. Donald Bilinski, O.F.M.; Fr. Bonaventure Brown, O.F.M.; Fr. Ambrose Burke, T.O.R.; Fr. Camillus Berube, O.F.M.-Cap.; Fr. Aidan Carr, O.F.M.Conv.; Fr. Lawrence Craddock, O.F.M.; Fr. Titus Cranny, S.A.; Fr. Bonaventure Crowley, O.F.M.-Conv.; Fr. Juniper Cummings, O.F.M.Conv.; Fr. Joachim Daleiden, O.F.M.; Fr. Ronald De Dominicis, O.F.M.Cap.; Fr. Vincent Dieckman, O.F.M. Fr. Daniel Egan, T.O.R.; Fr. Roy Effler, O.F.M.; Fr. Sebastian Falcone, O.F.M.Cap.; Very Rev. Matthias Faust, O.F.M.; Bro. Finbarr, O.S.F.; Fr. Carmel Flora, O.F.M.Cap.; Fr. Geron Fournelle, O.F.M.; Fr. Gregory Grabka, O.F.M.Conv.; Fr. Maurice Grajewski, O.F.M.; Fr. Marion Habig, O.F.M.; Very Rev. Basil Heiser, O.F.M.Conv.; Fr. Richard Heppler, O.F.M.; Fr. Irenaeus Herscher, O.F.M.; Fr. Gall Higgins, O.F.M.Cap.; Fr. Pacific Hug, O.F.M.; Fr. Ronald Jansch, O.F.M.Cap.; Very Rev. Theophane Kalinowski, O.F.M.; Fr. Mark Kennedy, O.F.M.; Fr. Simon Kwiatkowski, O.F.M.; Fr. Ernest Latko, O.F.M.; Fr. Ronald Lawler, O.F.M.Cap.; Fr. Adrian Liss, O.F.M.; Fr. Edward Lutz, O.F.M.; Fr. Kilian Lynch, O.F.M.; Fr. Jistin Mikaites, O.F.M.; Fr. Sebastian F. Miklas, O.F.M.Cap.; Fr. Jose Montalverne, O.F.M.; Fr. Celestine O'Callaghan, O.F.M.; Bro. Linus O'Dea, O.S.F.; Fr. Arnold Paroline, O.F.M.; Bro. Philip, O.S.F.; Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M.; Fr. Laurence Rainville, O.F.M.; Fr. Firmin Schmidt, O.F.M.Cap.; Fr. Raphael Sescck, O.F.M.; Fr. Cyril Shircel, O.F.M.; Fr. Benedict Simeone, O.F.M.Cap.; Fr. Justace Smith, O.F.M.; Fr. Duane Stenzel, O.F.M.; Bro. Timothy, O.S.F.; Fr. Osias VandanDague, O.F.M.; Fr. Berard Vogt, O.F.M.; Fr. Crispin Welbes, O.F.M.; Fr. Donald Wiest, O.F.M.Cap.; Fr. Sergius Wroblewski, O.F.M.; Fr. Gilbert Zlatar, O.F.M.

The following members were appointed to the Committee on Resolutions: Fr. Firmin Schmidt, O.F.M.Cap., Fr. Joachim Dalei-

den, O.F.M., Fr. Titus Cranny, S.A., Fr. Bonaventure Crowley, O.F.M.Conv., Brother Finbarr, O.S.F. and Fr. Ambrose Burke, T.O.R.

The Chair then reminded the friars that they were to sign their names in the registration book and then to mark down in their memories that a group picture would be taken on Wednesday at noon; on that same afternoon, they were told, a sightseeing tour of the Glen would be on the schedule.

The meeting was interrupted with the reception of a cablegram from Rome which read: "Holy Father cordially conveys to President and all participants of Franciscan Educational Conference Paternal Apostolic Blessing implored."

Inspired by the blessing of the Holy Father, the President, Fr. Pius, warmed the hearts and heads of the delegates with a stirring keynote address asking them to spend themselves in the service of Mary through their educational work. The first two papers of the Conference were then read. The first was *The Franciscan Position on the Immaculate Conception before Duns Scotus* by Fr. Ernest Latko, O.F.M.; and the second *Duns Scotus and the Immaculate Conception* by Fr. Berard Vogt, O.F.M. A joint discussion of the two papers took place in which the prominent figures were Fr. Kilian Lynch, O.F.M., Fr. Jose Montalverne, O.F.M., Fr. Ignatius Brady, O.F.M. and Fr. Maurice Grajewski, O.F.M.

### Second Session

Tuesday, Aug. 17, 9:00 A. M.

New arrivals were welcomed by the chairman who then proceeded to announce the names of the following friars who were appointed to the Committee on Public Relations: Fr. Claude Zabinski, O.F.M., Fr. Ignatius McCormick, O.F.M.Cap., Fr. Aidan Carr, O.F.M.Conv., Fr. Irenacus Herscher, O.F.M., and Brother Philip, O.S.F. The Session's first paper, *The Position of the Blessed Mother in the Franciscan Theological Synthesis*, was read by Fr. Cyril Shircel, O.F.M. Clearly and effectively Fr. Cyril showed the delegates the place that Mary holds in the theological scheme of thought. The



leaders of the discussion were Fr. Bonaventure Brown, O.F.M., Fr. Edward Lutz, O.F.M. and Fr. Jose Montalverne, O.F.M. The result of this paper and discussion was the suggestion that a commission be set up to establish a Franciscan doctrinal synthesis with a view to publishing textbooks. The idea met with the hearty approval of the participants.

Fr. Maurice Grajewski, O.F.M., presented the second paper of the morning which dealt with *Duns Scotus: Beatification, Canonization and Doctorship*. Backed by the vast experience that Fr. Maurice has had in this field this paper gave an exact, comprehensive survey of the problems to be faced in having Duns Scotus declared a saint.

The session concluded with an impressive symposium which saw five Capuchins seated at the chairman's desk as they took over the meeting to discuss the topic: *Mariology of St. Lawrence of Brindisi*. Fr. Sebastian Falcone, O.F.M.Cap., depicted the life and times of St. Lawrence; Fr. Gall Higgins, O.F.M.Cap., prepared an excellent treatise on St. Lawrence's views of the Immaculate Conception; the Assumption of Mary was the subject handled by Fr. Ronald Jansch, O.F.M.Cap.; very ably Fr. Henry De Dominicis, O.F.M.Cap., pointed out and analyzed the types of Mary found in the Bible; and lastly Fr. Benedict Simeone, O.F.M.Cap., gave us informative matter on the names of Mary. The symposium was well conducted by the five Capuchin friars. As the session adjourned the President thanked the members of the symposium for their preparation and presentation of this vast store of material.

### Third Session

Tuesday, 2:30 P. M.

The third session was presided over by Fr. Basil Heiser, O.F.M.-Conv., who had recently been elected provincial of his province. He began the meeting by announcing that his newly acquired office would demand that he resign from the vice-presidency of the F.E.C. The Chair then announced that the Resolutions Committee would meet immediately after this session. Those participating in any of

the discussions were reminded to hand in their comments to the secretary. Three papers were read at this session:

*Marian Doctrine of St. Bernardine of Siena*—Francis Affelt, O.F.M.

*Mariology and Franciscan Scholastics*—Kilian Lynch, O.F.M.

*Mariology in the Sermons of St. Anthony*—Juniper Cummings, O.F.M.Conv. After the discussion of the first two papers the delegates enjoyed a fifteen minute intermission. The second portion of the afternoon was highlighted by the presence of Fr. Carolus Balic, O.F.M., the Chairman of the Mariological Commission in Rome. Speaking in Latin he greeted the friars and invited them to attend the forthcoming Mariological Congress in Rome. Then in very fluent Latin he spoke for almost a half hour on the Marian Congress, the Immaculate Conception and Scotus' teaching on Mary. It was a real treat for all the delegates. The meeting adjourned with delegates going away with memories of the smiling countenance of Fr. Carolus and his splendid ideas.

#### Fourth Session

Tuesday, 7:30 P. M.

The evening session began with Fr. Cuthbert Gumbinger's (O.F.M.Cap.) paper *Mary Immaculate in Capuchin Devotion and Apostolate* which was read to the assembly by Fr. Ignatius McCormick, O.F.M.Cap. This was followed by two other papers:

*Mary's Sanctification According to St. Bonaventure*—Aidan Carr; O.F.M.Conv.

*Magna Dei Mater: Mariology of St. Pius X.*—Gregory Grabka, O.F.M.Conv. Fr. Mark Kennedy, O.F.M., Fr. Berard Vogt, O.F.M., Fr. Juniper Cummings, O.F.M.Conv., and Fr. Jose Montalverne, O.F.M. were the principals in the discussions that ensued. Fr. Jose made a plea for the use of English terminology rather than the cumbersome Latin forms that are often conscripted into English service. While these papers were being read, the Librarians were holding their annual meeting in another portion of the building. Refreshments were served as the meetings ended.

### Fifth Session

Wednesday, Aug. 18, 9:00 A. M.

Those interested in promoting the Commission for Franciscan Doctrinal Syntheses were asked by the chair to get in touch with Fr. Cyril Shircel, O.F.M. An announcement was made that a tour of Watkins Glen would begin at 1:30 P. M. After these brief announcements Fr. Pius called for the reading of the first two papers:

*Marian Feasts in the Seraphic Order*—Ronald Lawler, O.F.M.-Cap.

*St. Francis and Mary*—Joachim Daleiden, O.F.M.

Fr. Donald Wiest, O.F.M.Cap. and Fr. Pacific Hug, O.F.M., were the discussion leaders for the above papers. A brief intermission was declared before the presentation of the next two papers. The delegates were reminded that the next session would begin at 4:30. The delegates resumed their seats to hear the following papers:

*Our Lady of the Atonement*—Titus Cranny, S.A.

*The Militia of Mary Immaculate*—Bonaventure Crowley, O.F.M.Conv.

Both of these papers were the subject of one continuous discussion which was spearheaded by Fr. Aidan Carr, O.F.M.Conv., and Fr. Juniper Cummings, O.F.M.Conv. The meeting adjourned with the reminder that a picture would be taken of the group after lunch.

### Sixth Session

Wednesday, 4:30 P. M.

After the friars returned from viewing the spectacular ravine of Watkins Glen they again assembled for the sixth session which brought a surprise to the delegates. Fr. Carolus Balic, O.F.M. read a paper on *Mary and Her Immaculate Conception*. He gave a brief outline of his talk in English then went on to give the body of the paper in Latin. A number of questions were asked from the floor concerning Scotus' meaning of the "authority of the Church," the predestination of Mary and the early concepts of Mary's Immaculate Conception. Fr. Carolus concluded with a preview of

the International Marian Congress to be held in Rome. This was followed by the paper: *The Chapel of Our Lady of Good Help: A Franciscan Shrine to Mary, Robinsonville, Wisconsin*, by Fr. Crispin Welbes, O.F.M. In the absence of Fr. Crispin, the paper was read by Fr. Louis Antl, O.F.M. The meeting adjourned for supper.

### Seventh Session

Wednesday, 7:30 P. M.

Fr. Pius spent a bit of time explaining the executive organization of the F.E.C. He described the work of the four officers and then told them about the role of the five Commissioners whose duty it is to promote the projects resolved upon by the delegates. The President also apprised the assembly of the need of a resolution to admit formally to the F.E.C. the Franciscan Teaching Brothers and to consider augmenting the number of Commissioners to six. After announcing that the Executive Board would meet at 9:30 P. M., he asked for the reading of the following three papers:

*Marian Education in Franciscan Schools and Colleges*—Lawrence Rainville, O.F.M.

*The Chaplet of the Immaculate Conception*—Carmel Flora, O.F.M.Cap.

*Franciscan Crown of the Seven Joys*—Linus O'Dea, O.S.F.

Fr. Carmel Flora's paper was read by Fr. Donald Wiest, O.F.M.Cap. The discussions were led by Bro. Finbarr, O.S.F., Fr. James McNanamon, O.F.M. and Bro. Philip Harris, O.S.F. A formal resolution was then read from the floor which stated: "Resolved that the Franciscan Teaching Brothers be admitted to the Franciscan Educational Conference and that a commissioner be appointed from among them." With this the meeting adjourned.

### Eighth Session

Thursday, Aug. 19, 9:00 A. M.

As the last session began the President asked the delegates to make known to Fr. Claude Zabinski their transportation plans for

leaving Watkins Glen. With much work planned for the session the President immediately requested the presentation of the following papers:

*Our Lady in the Near East*—Geron Fournelle, O.F.M.

*Mary in the United States*—Brother Finbarr, O.S.F.

*Role of Mary in the Spiritual Formation of the Franciscan Seminarian*—Sergius Wroblewski, O.F.M.

*Regina Ordinis Minorum*—Firmin Schmidt, O.F.M.Cap.

*The Universal Queenship of Mary*—Jose a Montalverne, O.F.M.

Much of the discussion was carried on by Fr. Marion Habis, O.F.M., Fr. Louis Antl, O.F.M. and Austen Lewinski, O.F.M. With time running out Fr. Pius brought the intellectual aspect of the session to a close and asked the friars to embark upon the business meeting. The first matter taken care of was the new resolution to admit the Franciscan Teaching Brothers to the Franciscan Educational Conference and to establish a sixth Commissioner's post. This was unanimously approved. Brother Finbarr, O.S.F. was appointed the sixth commissioner. The names of the other commissioners were given: Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M.; Rev. Aidan Carr, O.F.M.Conv.; Rev. Daniel Egan, T.O.R.; Rev. Donald Wiest, O.F.M.Cap.; Rev. Titus Cranny, S.A.; and the newly appointed Brother Finbarr. The Secretary made a brief report in which he asked the friars to submit their papers and discussions as soon as possible, preferably before the end of the session. Fr. Donald Wiest, O.F.M.Cap read a brief outline of the work discussed by the Library Committee. The Synthesis Commission and its future possibilities were described to the delegates by Fr. Cyril Shircel, O.F.M. The following financial statement was submitted by the Treasurer:

#### Receipts

On Deposit at the last F.E.C. Meeting	\$2,091.82	
Received from Fathers and Mothers		
Provincial	2,333.00	
Sale of F.E.C. Reports	1,100.00	
Interest	31.73	
Total Receipts		\$5,556.55



## Expenditures

Expenses for President's and Secretary's Office	\$ 121.01	
Cost of First Sisters' Report	1,789.80	
Total Expenses		<u>\$1,910.81</u>
Balance on Hand as of August 1, 1954		<u>\$3,645.74</u>

Fr. Firmin Schmidt, O.F.M.Cap., the chairman of the Resolutions Committee read the resolutions were approved and accepted as read. The President, Fr. Pius then asked for nominations from the floor for the various offices. In doing so he announced that, due to the fact that he, Fr. Pius Barth, O.F.M., and Fr. Basil Heiser, O.F.M.Conv. had recently been elected provincials, their names should not be considered for any offices. At that moment in the name of the Conference a public expression of thanks was proffered to both the President and Vice-President for their loyal and able service to the F.E.C. Consequent upon considerable discussion from the floor, the chairman restated the mind of the delegates when it was announced that next years Conference topic would probably be *Science*. The time of the annual meeting would be sometime in August. The place would have to be designated later. The election of officers produced the following results:

Fr. Ignatius Brady, O.F.M.—*President*

Fr. Aidan Carr, O.F.M.Conv.—*Vice-President*

Fr. Sebastian F. Miklas, O.F.M.Cap.—*Secretary*

Fr. Irenaeus Herscher, O.F.M.—*Treasurer*

The Thirty-fifth annual meeting came to a dramatic close as the delegates wished the two retiring officers God's blessing and guidance in their new roles as provincials and then thanked their hosts and God with a glorious and ringing *Te Deum*.

## RESOLUTIONS

The Committee on Resolutions respectfully submits the following Resolutions:

1. a) *Whereas* His Holiness Pope Pius XII has honored this Conference by imparting his blessing to the delegates.

b) And *whereas* our Holy Father is about to proclaim the feast of Mary, Queen of the Universe.

c) And *whereas* the Pope has honored the Franciscan Order by designating the Very Reverend Carolus Balic, O.F.M., President of the Scotus Commission, Consultor of the Holy Office, President of the International Marian Academy, and Organizer of the International Marian Congress of 1954, *be it resolved* that the delegates express their thanks and renew their pledge of loyalty to the Holy See in their promotion of the proclamation and in their participation in the program of the Marian Congress.

2. *Whereas* the Conference is unanimous in its recognition of the gracious hospitality offered the visiting delegates at Padua High School, Watkins Glen, N.Y., *be it resolved* that we express a vote of thanks to the Very Reverend Theophane Kalinowski, O.F.M., Minister Provincial of the Assumption Province, and to the Reverend Claude Zabinski, O.F.M., Guardian of the monastery, and to the members of his community for providing hospitality and transportation during the days of the meeting.

3. a) *Whereas* the Very Rev. Pius Barth, O.F.M., President of the Franciscan Educational Conference has been elected Minister Provincial of the Sacred Heart Province;

b) And *whereas* the Very Rev. Basil Heiser, O.F.M.Conv., Vice President of the Conference has been elected Minister Provincial of Our Lady of Consolation Province,

*be it resolved* that the Conference offer its congratulations to these Fathers and its gratitude for the splendid services they have rendered in behalf of the Conference.

4. *Whereas* the Very Rev. Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M. and the Rev. Berard Vogt, O.F.M. have celebrated their golden jubilee as Franciscans and have received respectively the honor of *lector jubilatus* from the Minister General, *be it resolved* that the Conference offer its congratulations to them.

5. *Whereas* the Franciscan Order has been dedicated to Our Lady by St. Francis, and *whereas* the Franciscan Educational Conference is intent on carrying out the will of St. Francis, *be it resolved* that greater Marian activity be promoted in Franciscan schools, and that special emphasis be placed on Marian feasts in parishes;

*be it further resolved* that the recitation of the Franciscan Crown be fostered by sermons and devotions with a view to extending the Feast of the Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin to the Universal Church to replace the second Feast in honor of the Seven Sorrows; *be it also resolved* that special devotion to the Blessed Virgin which has been intensified during the Marian year be continued with special emphasis on devotion to Our Lady of Guadalupe, as Queen of the Americas.

6. *Whereas* the Franciscan Educational Conference is aware of the need

of a Franciscan doctrinal synthesis, *be it resolved* that the members of the Conference give a vote of thanks to the promoters of the synthesis and assure them continued interest and cooperation.

7. *Whereas* Mary under the title of the Immaculate Conception is officially the Patroness of our country, *and whereas* a Memorial of the Marian Year Observance is appropriate to increase the devotion of our people, *be it resolved* that the Franciscan Educational Conference petition the Most Reverend Bishops of the United States to request the Holy See to approve the insertion into the Litany of Loretto the Invocation: "Immaculate Patroness of our country, Pray for us."

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